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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XII.

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with tested learning, by the many ways of profiting by
the state receipts, and set forth new positions
of our feet, so long, as in that
of truth; even for that

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THE
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- ART. I.—1. *Histoire Generale des Voyages.* Paris. 1752.
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IN a previous number of this Review we made an attempt to describe something of the Court and Camp of the best and wisest prince Muhammedan India had ever beheld. In the present number we intend to describe that of his great grandson. To this we are urged by two main considerations, the character of the age, and the materials at our command. The appearance, moreover, of Sir H. M. Elliot's work has not unnaturally suggested the comparison of India as it appeared under the Moguls, and India under the Company's rule. That volume has met with, to a certain extent, adverse criticism, and some doubts have been raised as to the soundness, or the justice, of its conclusions. It is therefore just possible that a few readers may not be unwilling to peruse a description of the Government of Aurungzebe, taken not from native historians, but from the accounts of men who saw with the eyes of travellers and of Europeans. For, in this attempt, we regret that Sir H. M. Elliot's researches, as hitherto published, will afford us no material aid. Those, who have read his work, are aware that few of his extracts relate to epochs at all subsequent to that of Akbar. But we need hardly say that we await with anxiety the continuation of his undertaking, for the soundness and accuracy of which, the author's practised scholarship, elaborate research, and varied talents, will be our ample security.

There is a notion prevalent with many readers, that complete, or even average, accuracy in historical points is unattainable, whenever the scene is remote. And to corroborate this and similar views, a foolish story of Sir Walter Raleigh is usually quoted, in which that polite scholar is said to have confessed

himself unable to arrive at the merits of a quarrel which happened under his very windows. From this is deduced the impossibility of knowing how things really happened three or four centuries ago. But, in this age of severe historical criticism, it is hardly necessary to do more than remind the reader, that time alone can pass a true judgment on many important questions, which have divided the opinions of cotemporaries: that stirring events are often as accurately represented to the third and fourth generations, as they were to the majority of men living at the date of their occurrence: and that, under the guidance of impartial eye-witnesses, we can be carried back some centuries, and, with the eye of historical faith, form a true judgment, not only on the more momentous transactions, but can realise to ourselves the interior of the household, the domestic economy, the dress, the spectacles, the meals, the ways of intercourse, the forward or the retrograde movements of civilization, and all the other details, which enthusiastic antiquarians dote on, and grave writers of history do not wholly despise.

The seventeenth century, in which Aurungzebe reigned, gave birth to a succession of Eastern travellers of every European nation, active in body, ready with the pen, eager to contemplate, and sound to judge. The preceding hundred years had also had their generation of oriental adventurers; but these mainly issued from one and the same nation; and, at the time of which we are treating, their sun had set. Few nations however, for the period of a century, had made more use of their opportunities. They had navigated dangerous and unknown seas with success, had made descents, and had stormed cities, under the guidance of such leaders as Albuquerque, and under the example of such exiles as Camoens. They wielded the sword with one hand, and the crucifix with the other. They freighted merchandise from every harbour of the East. Their monasteries and churches towered side by side with the mosque or the pagoda, in places devoted to superstition and to intolerance, and in the very capital of Muhammedan India. They made converts by hundreds. They enlisted and disciplined soldiers. Their forts gave protection to travellers, and their prowess repelled viceroys. They parcelled out lands, obtained the grant of charters, exacted tolls, levied taxes, and made their wrath to be dreaded and their alliance to be courted, by ministers and by kings. The recollections of their fallen greatness did not easily pass away. Even as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, a Mullah

amused and cheated the youth of Aurungzebe with tales of the great Portuguese sovereign, as the first incomparably of all the petty princes who divided amongst themselves the island of Farangistan.

The successful example of this people soon attracted wayfarers from every other European kingdom. The seventeenth century witnessed a great influx of men, who came to seek their fortunes, or to improve their knowledge, in the inexhaustible East. Such may fairly be divided into two sets, each marked by the most opposite and irreconcilable characteristics. In the first set were congregated the very dregs of European society, and the vilest parts of human nature. Scoundrels, who had escaped the stake or the gallows, who had pillaged convents, murdered their employers, or from privateers had become pirates; men who had outraged all the laws of society, and who sighed for the supposed license of an Indian Court, went to seek their fortunes in the camp, or the kingdom, of the Mogul. Some took refuge with the King of Arracan, and, issuing thence on piratical expeditions, and in galleys of remarkable swiftness, turned the flourishing islands of Lower Bengal into dreary wastes. Others sought favour at the foot of the Emperor's throne. Nor were such men wanting in that boldness and activity, which, in certain states of society, ensure success. If they could mount a horse, if they could point a gun, if they could handle a matchlock, if they displayed trueness of sight and activity of body, they were certain of lucrative, and even honourable, employment. They had their horses, their attendants, and their separate residences. They might, in virtue of their office, beat the bodies of true believers. Special immunities were granted in their favour, and their strangest requests were complied with in open durbar. Their misdeeds of whatever kind—a blow hastily struck, or the privacy of a dwelling invaded—were passed over with a moderate reproof. Leagued together by a consciousness of similar guilt, French and Portuguese, English and Dutch, sailors, runaways, and convicts—they lived and died in the country of their adoption, leaving no memorials, but in the rumours current of their disorderly conduct, and in the scandal conferred by them on the Christian name and character. Their evil doings were unwritten, and perished with them.

But there was another, and a very different, race of travellers, who visited India under the various motives of curiosity, traffic, philosophic inquiry, or restless desire. These, too, were of all nations—the phlegmatic Englishman, the lively Frenchman, the inquisitive Neapolitan. They were mostly men of education, and, to a disciplined mind, they

united a manliness of disposition, and a fixity of purpose, which no dangers could daunt. Some of them had stood in the presence of European Kings, and some were the correspondents of acknowledged *savans* and statesmen. All were eager to test the truth of those reports which Europe had listened to, of the vast riches, the despotic government, the strange customs, and the natural, or the artificial, wonders of the East. They came accordingly with ears open, ready to receive and write down everything told them, in the spirit of that truth-loving simplicity, which characterises the Prince of all travelling companions, and the Father of all accurate narratives. No wonder, then, that they occasionally fell into absurd and even childish errors. They jotted down unhesitatingly, and, with perhaps a naive caution against belief, every marvellous incident which lying Portuguese Priests, or ignorant Pandits, thought fit to recite in their presence. Add to this, that their researches were confined, and unaided by the published accounts of previous travellers, from whose errors they might have derived warning, and from whose experiences they might have gathered hints. Accordingly, in one point of view, their accounts appear puerile, fabulous, and unworthy of a second perusal. They have misquoted dates. They have miscalculated distances. They have spelt Eastern names after a fashion, which would puzzle Gilchrist, and astound Elphinstone. Neither the artist's pencil, nor the surveyor's skill, were forthcoming to embellish their tale. They have drawn maps of the Peninsula, where Hooghly appears as an island, and where Rajmahal is seen on the very shores of the Bay of Bengal. Their journals are illustrated by pictures of men, where Asiatics have white, and Europeans black, faces, and where the trees, the fruits, and the animals of the jungle resemble no one single object in Indian landscapes. They have made awful havoc of Indian mythology, and have plunged in inextricable confusion, tales of caste, and sacred puranas, and social customs. They have told us of countries, which they had never visited, either beyond this river or sea, or on the *other* side of that range of mountains; in which black men stabbed elephants with daggers, and handled tigers, as if they were puppies; in which bullock's horns, if planted in the ground, took root, and grew luxuriantly; in which women exposed such naughty children, as refused to suck, to have their eyes pecked out by the crows.

These absurdities are however invariably related as information gained from others, are charged on localities which they had never seen, and are usually followed by doubts as to their accuracy, expressed with the most amusing simplicity. Far

different was the case, when they related the effects of their own personal experience. Here no romantic visions filled their imagination, and no plea of sophistry could blind their clearer judgment. They battled their own way through the difficulties of nature, and the obstructions of man. No invincible prestige was attached to their national character. The respect they inspired, the success they might attain, were due solely to their adroitness, their equanimity, and their individual courage. From them, Hindu and Mussulman, viceroy and merchant, soldier or peon, had nothing to fear, and sometimes not much to hope. Every ordeal of climate, or of circumstance, had therefore to be undergone. To brave the dust, the fierce sun, and the rain; to sleep at night under a clump of bamboos; to be exposed to every variety of pillage or extortion; to bribe swarms of officials, and to evade the custom house; to present the humble nuzzur in open durbar; to fight with robbers or Rajputs in broad day-light, and on the king's highway; to employ alternately entreaties, threats, and blows; to rid themselves of troublesome intruders by diplomacy, or by the drawn steel; to travel on miserable ponies, and to be jolted to death by camels; to follow the Emperor's camp for weeks together; to live on rice or water-melons; to bribe the imperial khansamah for the remnants of the imperial table; to gain admittance into the policy of Eastern cabinets, and to listen to the *on dits* of the Harem; these were amongst the experiences, to which every one of the travellers we shall enumerate, had more or less to submit. On points which they noticed, while thus circumstanced, their testimony is unimpeachable. They did not write to foster pre-conceived prejudices, or to sacrifice to the idols, either of the forum, or of the cave. It was not their object to gratify the passions of demagogues by invidious comparisons, in which the hollow splendour of a native dynasty should be preferred to the solidity of European states. They told their unvarnished tale of the enormities they had witnessed, and the abuses by which they had suffered. Whenever they describe the cities, the palaces, or the tombs, they had visited, the shows at which they had been present, or the toilsome marches they had endured, the reader is at once transported to familiar localities, and will candidly allow that he is perusing a narrative, written by shrewd and intelligent eye-witnesses, and stamped with the impression of authenticity and truth.

We proceed briefly to notice the characteristics of the principal European travellers, who visited the Mogul's Court during the seventeenth century. First in order of time, and in appa-

of eight a year, and that he refused the place: that one day he discovered the virtues hidden in the bamboo, and marvelled to see how the natives, on whom fair words were thrown away, understood a man's thoughts under its sovereign power, and did good service with readiness; that the lower order of natives, generally, were such a degraded set as to receive a beating with thanks, and to return a salaam for kicks: that he travelled all the way from Goa to Muttra, experiencing *en route* all manner of inconvenience: that he never lost an opportunity of smashing idols, and images, when no one observed him: that he wept over Suttees: that he finally reached the Emperor's camp: that there he laughed much at a kotwal, whose "foolish copper trumpet" reminded him of the swine-herds of his native Campania; and that by means of a Christian and of an eunuch his friend, he obtained an audience of Aurungzebe in the year of grace 1695. All this and more, relative to India, we are told by the worthy Doctor, who after this expedition, proceeded on his return to Goa, went on to Macao, visited South America, and completed the tour of the world.

Last of the three, though not last in date, and certainly the first in importance, we have the ardent, the enlightened, the philosophic Bernier. To the vivacity, the wit, and the humour of the Frenchman, he united the Englishman's perseverance and energy. He made friends of the humble and the great. He spared neither pains nor money to arrive at an accurate knowledge of whatever passed around him. Whether it was his skill as a physician, or his character as an individual, that procured him the support and patronage of Danishmand Khan, one of Aurungzebe's chief Amirs, we are not told: but we can see clearly that few men in any court in the world ever enjoyed such facilities for observation. Nothing could repel his ardour, disturb his equanimity, obscure his judgment. He had no credulity for the long-winded absurdities of Pandits, and no belief in the so-called miracles of Mahomedan jugglers. He could talk in fluent Urdú, translate from Persian, and quote couplets from the Gulistan with accuracy. The influence of his master and his own social qualities appear to have given him free access everywhere. Not in the recital of tales of cruelty or licentiousness, as current in Agra or Delhi, does he vindicate his claims as an author and a traveller so successfully, as in those chapters devoted to the internal administration of a kingdom, which he had traversed in person, from Balasore to Kashmír. Here we have the activity of a man, who travelled, just as the natives travel, on horseback in Upper India, and in a budgerow throughout Bengal: the rapid enumeration of those causes which had

turned gardens into jungles : the graphic description of a system, where the watchword was misrule, and the chief maxims were oppression and violence : the characteristic anecdote, the logical deduction, the honest invective, the indignant remonstrance, the profound remark. Those who may be inclined to doubt the validity of these assertions may refer to the author himself. They will be enabled to travel over the India of Aurungzebe in company with a man, amiable as a companion, and delightful as an instructor ; quoted with approbation by Gibbon, and referred to on numerous occasions by Elphinstone ; a cotemporary historian more accurate and less prejudiced than Burnet ; a narrator of incident and anecdote, almost as minute and as pains-taking as Boswell.

Thus much for the materials on which this attempt is based. We next proceed to consider how far the character of Aurungzebe can fairly be taken to represent the genuine character of Eastern absolutism. Here possibly we may be met by objections on the score of cruelty and crime. The man who imprisoned his aged father, planned and plotted for years against his nearest relatives, despatched one brother by the sword and another by poison, the man whose life is represented as a tissue of craftiness and fraud, should never be taken, it may be said, as a fair sample even of the oriental despot. But considerable misapprehension is prevalent as to the crimes or the vices of Aurungzebe. That he could practise successfully every sort of artifice, that he clothed ambitious designs under the guise of humility, that he appeared occupied with rosaries and beads when he was meditating on sovereignty, that he lured and duped his unfortunate brothers to their destruction, that no sentiments of filial piety or of honour restrained his systematic ambition, is not for one moment to be denied. But blood was by him only shed when absolutely necessary for the attainment of some cherished object, or for the removal of some competitor. When he had once reached his high place, his whole system of policy underwent a change. There were no wholesale butchery and no ruthless proscriptions. He had been cruel and calculating only when state reasons required it ; and they were reasons which, however repugnant to common morality, almost justified his course in the eyes of the native population, and well nigh dazzled the judgment of cotemporary travellers. Had he failed, or had he even wished to live unmolested in a private situation, Gwalior, or the poppy draught, would equally have been his fate. Add to this that his private morality was unimpeachable. In the enjoyments which the law of Mahomet

permits, he was unvaryingly temperate: from those which it forbids, he refrained altogether. The wine of Shiraz never tempted him to those excesses, which turned Jehangír's palace into a tavern, and which lightened the sorrows and the hard campaigns of Baber. Strange stories, too, were current in the zenana relative to his rigid asceticism. He would spend whole nights in conversing with pious múllahs, or in reading the koran, until the wondering eunuchs, who attended at the chamber door, believed him to be assisted by the powers of darkness. He prayed regularly five times a day. His food was of the plainest and simplest kind. He worked caps with his own hand; he distributed justice, he read petitions, he endorsed them with his own pen. His continence, his diligent application, his mildness to the officers of state, and to his numerous dependants, his wonderful powers of endurance in health and in sickness, his methodical habits of business, his love of detail, his familiarity with affairs, were the theme of universal admiration and praise. No unbecoming parallel to his character suggests itself in that of the Emperor Augustus. Like him, in the search of power, he had been crafty, ambitious, and un pitying: like him, on its attainment, he became tolerant, equitable, and mild. But Aurungzebe needed the galaxy of talent, the monuments of art or of utility, and the unbroken quiet of thirty years, after which we are half tempted to forget the deliberate massacres of Perusia, and the faithless surrender of Cicero. Had gifted pens been devoted to his service, and had the last years of his reign been undisturbed by the growing insolence of Mahratta leaders, his name might perhaps have been lightened of its obloquy, and his era have been quoted as that of unexampled prosperity and peace. Even all the crimes of his early days, even the failings of his later years, the economy degenerating into avarice, and the diplomacy bordering on suspicion, have not prevented Mússulmans from comparing him with the enlightened Akbar, and, even at this day, from recounting with approbation the main points of his character, and the policy of his not unprosperous reign.*

The above remarks on Aurungzebe's peculiar position are necessary, in order to escape the charge of having purposely selected a sovereign whose career was stained by cruelty and bloodshed. We shall now attempt to describe something of the internal condition of his empire; and commence naturally with the two great cities, which are still known in India, to this

* Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 551

day, as those respectively of Akbar and Shah Jehan, and in which invariably centered the wealth, the power, and the magnificence of the empire.

It was a part of Aurungzebe's policy to have no permanently fixed residence, but to live alternately at the old or the new capital. The appearance of Agra, with its enclosing wall of redstone, its seventy mosques, its eight hundred baths, its fifteen bazars, its eighty caravanserais of two and three stories in height, its magnificent buildings and spacious gardens, the residences of Rajahs and Amirs, suggested a comparison disadvantageous to Ispahan, in spite of the well known Persian proverb that it was "one half of the world," and almost unfavourable to Paris. On the banks of the Jumna was situated the Imperial palace. It was surrounded by fortifications, enclosed by a large moat with the usual draw-bridge and portcullis, and had four principal gates, destined respectively for the Emperor himself, for the princes of the blood, for the nobles, and for the commonalty. Occasionally a magnificent present, or some secret influence, might procure for an anxious European the coveted privilege of inspecting its hidden mysteries. Inside, we are told by a fortunate individual, who managed to gain admittance, were three (if not four) spacious courtyards, surrounded by airy porticos, or by lengthened galleries, or by ranges of small apartments for the swarming inmates of the palace. From one of these galleries, facing the river, the Emperor might behold at his leisure the combat of wild beasts in the lists below. The skill of French or Italian artists had been employed to adorn another; and the walls were decorated with gold, with azure, and with frescoes. In a third, a vine of rubies and emeralds, intended to represent the vintage in its various stages of maturity, but left unfinished owing to the enormous expense, hung down in graceful festoons from the roof. In a fourth was the throne of massive gold, more celebrated as the peacock throne, and studded with jewels of incomparable lustre and size. The other quarters of the city presented a strange mixture of splendour and of wretchedness, of poverty and of pride. The buildings had been raised at various times, and without any regard for symmetry and space. With the exception of four or five principal streets, the remainder of the town was a confused assemblage of alleys, lanes, and culs-de-sac. In this respect, Agra showed at a great disadvantage, when compared with the elegance and order by which the new Delhi was distinguished. But to compensate for this inferiority, the tomb of Akbar at Secundra, and the inimitable Taj Mahal, carried away the palm from the new sister city, and the latter emboldened men

of taste and judgment to declare, that in all the celebrated structures of Europe or Asia, they had met with no monument of art so classical in design, so august in appearance, so exquisite in detail, so harmonious in proportions.

From Agra to Delhi the traveller passed over a noble road, laid down by Jehangír, as straight as a line, and bordered with lofty trees, the date, the cocoanut, and the banyan. Delhi had, like Agra, its enclosing walls, though without the usual ditch, and a palace or fort. Outside the walls, on the bank of the Jumna, a splendid public garden had been laid out, round which extended a cleared space, where the horses of the imperial palace were taken to exercise. The city was distinguished by two principal streets, and five or six others of smaller size ; but here again appeared, in spite of greater symmetry, the same partial union of wealth and poverty, which had characterized Agra. There were houses, or rather miniature palaces, with verandahs to the four quarters of the heavens, and ample courtyards to catch every changing breeze. Others, again, were crowded together, built of common brick, dirty, close, and ill-ventilated. Nor was there wanting the usual number of thatched houses, which distinguish native towns, and which are generally burnt down, during the hot winds, every other year. Two buildings in the city attracted especial notice, the grand mosque, and the caravanserai of Begum Sahib, the eldest daughter of Shah Jehan. The former was a fine piece of architecture, principally of red stone, contrasted by a pavement and turrets of the whitest marble, and adorned by three magnificent doors of entrance. To this mosque the Emperor, on every Friday, would go in state, when the road from the palace was lined with infantry, and the dust was laid by an endless host of water carriers. The Caravanserai was compared by Bernier to the Place Royale at Paris. It had galleries and arcades on all four sides, and was filled by a constant succession of Persians, Usbecks and other merchants, with the wealth and the traffic of Central Asia. But the object, which most excited, and least gratified the curiosity of Bernier, was the Zenana. It was guarded with the usual jealousy of eastern despotism, and closed to strange eyes. Of the beauty or the worth of its inmates Bernier had evidently formed no high opinion, as he applies to them, amongst other epithets, those of *honteuses* and *imbeciles*. But their chambers must have been repositories of elegance and art. Once, when a favourite stood in need of the physician's aid, he was permitted to enter. His head was enveloped in a Kashmír shawl, and he was conducted to her presence by an

eunuch. But he saw nothing save at a furtive glance, and he returned with only such stories, as the attendants related to him, of the comfort and luxury of the inmates, the reservoirs of running water in every apartment, the cool grottos, the endless jets d'eau, the gold and azure of the walls, and all the numerous appliances to defy heat.

The degree of splendour, daily exhibited during the Emperor's residence in one or other of the capitals, was such as we can only realise in part, and (with every fair deduction) from the accounts of eye-witnesses, it must have surpassed the grandeur of Louis the Fourteenth. Early in the morning the Emperor presented himself at the Jarokha, or lattice, for the gratification of his subjects, and at eleven and at six o'clock in the day, he received in durbar the salutations of his nobles. From this daily service no one was exempted save under the most special reasons; and a deduction from the monthly pay was the invariable penalty of non-attendance. On these occasions the King's elephants were passed in review, or the latest batch of horses from Kabúl or Arabia underwent inspection, or the stranger, just arrived from the land of the Feringis, was admitted to make his salaam. Nor did the internal affairs of the empire fail to occupy some portion of the day. Monday was devoted to the affairs of Lahore, Delhi and Agra; Tuesday to Kabúl; Wednesday to Bengal and Patna; Thursday to Guzerat; Friday to the weekly state procession to the grand mosque; and Saturday to the Deccan. These sights were deeply impressed on the memories of those who beheld them. The long lines of each nobleman's retainers, the elephants, the palanquins and the horses, the crowd of suitors for justice, the unvarying habit of exacting presents in durbar from all new comers, the occasional acts of summary and impressive justice, the fulsome compliments, the waving of chowries and the peacock's plumes, the low soft music of the Emperor's band, which played during the whole audience, and the presence of men from all parts of India, and from almost every nation in Europe and Central Asia, contributed to form a spectacle of which the strangeness, in the eyes of our travellers, was not removed by even a daily repetition.

Besides these usual exhibitions, state ceremonies took place, in which the solemn and the ludicrous were singularly blended. Once every year the Emperor was weighed in scales, before the whole Court, against sacks of gold and silver, when a few pounds increase to the imperial weight was obviously a source of gratification and joy. At another time he held a fancy fair in the palace. At this, the beauties of the Zenana for once came

forth from their privacy: the wives and daughters of Amirs and Rajahs attended: and the nautch girls from the bazar were not denied admittance. It was an Eastern Saturnalia. The Emperor bid, and the haughty ladies enhanced the price: female voices disputed in a high key: in short, it was a scene, says an eye-witness, of reiterated jokes, and buffoonery, and unseemliness. The full resources of the Court were, however, not displayed, save from some more weighty cause. One year only was rendered memorable by the arrival simultaneously of five different embassies from as many foreign princes. The first three may be summarily dealt with. The Sharif of Mecca sent his batch of Arabian horses, and a broom of great sanctity, which had been used to sweep the bait-ulla, or small chapel in the centre of the great mosque; a place of the highest importance in the eyes of a true believer, as the first temple dedicated to God by the patriarch Abraham. The king of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, and the ruling prince of Bassora, each sent a similar present of horses, but without any sacred gift. The fourth embassy, from the Christian King of Abyssinia, brought with it a bull's horn full of civet, some elephant's teeth, a live zebra, and twenty-five slaves, which, with a strange inconsistency to the faith he professed, the dusky representative of the primitive church intended to be guardians of the Mahomedan Harem. But the unlucky embassy had met with mishaps by the way. Several of the slaves died on the voyage to Surat, together with the zebra: and Sevají, then commencing his memorable forays, and only known as a rebel with a few followers, plundered the cortége of every thing, but the zebra's skin, half a dozen slaves, and the empty bull's horn. At length they reached Delhi, but in such forlorn and miserable plight that all the influence of Bernier and of his patron, Danishmand Khan, was barely sufficient to procure them an audience of the Emperor, followed by the usual presents of a sir-a-pa, or long robe, some brocades, a jewelled dagger, and six thousand rupees. Far different was the reception given to the fifth and last embassy from the Shah of Persia. Every bazar, through which the cortége had to pass, was decorated for the occasion; and the road was lined with horsemen for miles. Deputations of nobles were sent for the usual *istikbál*, or meeting: the royal artillery saluted the ambassador on his arrival: his letters were received by Aurungzebe's own hand, and his presents were passed in review before all the courtiers, who gazed with admiration on twenty-five horses of the purest breed, twenty camels, brocades, stuffs and carpets curiously worked, and numerous jars of the precious

bed-mushk. On the other hand, the whole splendour of the imperial city was displayed, and the hall of audience was adorned with all the magnificence of the East, and with all the artistic skill of Europe. Thirty-two pillars of marble were inlaid with the choicest specimens of mosaic work, or painted with the most natural imitations of flowers: in the centre was a small couch, canopied, spread with a gold cloth, and hung with the weapons worn by the Emperor himself, the battle-axe, the scimitar, the quiver, and the bow. The place assigned to the officers of state, or to the nobles of rank, who mustered their strength, was portioned off by a balustrade, covered alternately with plates of gold and silver. Before the couch, which served as a throne, ran a small rivulet of clear water, six inches in breadth, at which the candidate for an audience respectfully stood, until a given signal informed him that he might advance, and lay his credentials at the sovereign's feet.

The details of this costly splendour, centering round one exalted object, when related by divers of those old travellers, appear to have excited in their minds the different feelings of awe, of admiration, and of mistrust. But, before entering on the state of the provinces from which this vast wealth was drained, we shall endeavour to describe the third city, in which equally with Delhi and Agra, the court resided for a considerable portion of the year. It resembled the other capitals in the vast amount of its population, far surpassed them in regularity of construction, and was inferior only in permanence and stability. It was, in truth, nothing more or less than the camp. No sudden emergency induced Aurungzebe to exchange stone for canvass walls, such as induced King James the II. to pitch his camp at Hounslow. It was a part of the state policy, handed down from the days of Humayun or Baber, which recurred at stated periods with the changes of the seasons. From the end of October to the middle or end of March in every year, the Emperor took the field with his court and army, for the purpose of quelling some rebellious foe, for indulgence in his favourite pursuit of hunting, or for the mere object of keeping his unwieldy forces in activity and exercise. The propinquity of great towns and the usual lines of intercourse were rather shunned than sought; and the moving city carried with it every thing that could facilitate intercourse, minister to comfort, or provide against want. The Emperor had his double set of tents; and his example was followed by every Amir or Rajah, who could well afford the expence. Agra and Delhi were almost entirely deserted. A huge multitude composed the camp, brought there by the various motives of duty, of necessity,

of profit, of curiosity, and of crime. The nobles brought their horses, their elephants, and their retainers; the banian his sacks of money and his notes of hand; the múdí his stores of rice, of ghee, and of grain: the juggler practised his vocation by day, and the thief plied his silent trade by night. Whenever this mighty armament changed its position, the greatest pains were taken to ensure regularity and order. One set of the royal tents moved on the evening before the change, and an officer was especially charged with the duty of fixing on the encamping ground, and of marking out the four quarters of the city. Whenever the Emperor purposed to make a stay of two or three days' duration, the locality was chosen with a precision and care, such as would not have dishonoured a Roman legion in the field. A detachment of pioneers levelled all inequalities in the ground. A host of attendants and coolies erected the durbar tent, the ghúsal-khana, which then designated the cabinet, where only the highest nobles entered to pay their respects, and the khalwat-khana, or secret council-house. At no great distance rose the private tents of the Emperor, of which the kanats were lined with flowered satin, or with the famed cloth of Masulipatam: adjoining were the apartments of the begums and the zenana; and, a little further off, space was reserved for the officers of state, for the royal stables, where the horses were tethered with ropes of silk, for the menageries containing the tiger, the buffalo, and the nilgao, for the hunting leopards, for the arms, the accoutrements, and the presents given in durbar, and, lastly, for the dried fruits, the saltpetre, the betel, and the never-failing water of the Ganges. From this central spot were drawn the great thoroughfares. One broad street was designated as the royal bazar, and invariably pointed to the direction in which the host would next move. The quarters of the Amirs, of the lesser Mansabdars, and the smaller bazars were sketched with equal accuracy. Posts of bamboo were planted at every crossing, ornamented either with a red flag, or with the tail of the Thibet ox, by the aid of which the traveller, lost in the confusion and bustle, might be enabled to retrace his steps. The whole was surrounded with a palisade and ditch, over which were planted a number of small field-pieces. Men estimated the circumference variously at from three to six miles, and the multitude at not less than two hundred thousand souls. The confusion, which prevailed in spite of all these attempts at symmetry, when the camp broke up, may perhaps be conceived by those who have witnessed a cold weather campaign under Lord Hardinge, or Lord Gough. The tents were struck long before daybreak, and the

heavy artillery moved on by the usual high road. But the Emperor, all the nobles, and all the camp-followers, with the light artillery, or that of "the stirrup," so called from its close attendance on the mounted cortège, just skirted the villages, and made their way over the open plains. Whole crops were destroyed by the moving host. Roads were hastily cut to facilitate progress through the jungle. Bridges of boats were built, on emergencies, to cross streams and nullahs. But, in spite of means and appliances, the armament was occasionally put to great inconvenience, and even loss. When it diverged to some well-preserved hunting ground, all trace of the right road might be lost for days together. Portly cavaliers endured the sun's heat till three o'clock in the day, or rode through grass jungles six and eight feet in height. Camels, ponies, and bullocks, floundered and perished in quicksands: elephants fell down ravines: the beauties of the harem were scared out of their senses. With all this we may imagine the signal to be given for encampment. Chaos and confusion, according to the law of nature, preceded the state of order and array. A few solitary tents, belonging to the richer and nobler class, and sent on previously, formed the nucleus of the town, which arrived piece meal on elephants, camels, and coolies: clouds of dust marked the long files of the beasts of burden: the artillery of "the stirrup" fired a salute: the palanquin, or the howdah, of some great lady might be seen surrounded by a crowd of insolent retainers, who made way for their mistress by abuse and blows: tents were pitched and thrown down again: Bernier himself was lost in a maze of kanats and tent ropes: it was one universal scene of shouts, imprecations, and entreaties. Night fell, as the camp gradually assumed its wonted appearance. Innumerable fires were lit: beacons were erected at the crossings: the beasts were picketed, and the noise sank into a deep hum: even that gradually died away; and the silence was only broken by the periodical shouting of the watchmen, and the tramp of the kotwal's guard. Such was the spectacle, which might be seen every week, for five months of the year, in various parts of the Empire, from Agra to Lahore: a spectacle which has left behind it one lasting memorial in India, in a so-called camp-language, the most harmonious, the most polished, and the most universal of Indian dialects: a spectacle, which, narrated by travellers returned from the east, gave rise to a rumour in the marts and palaces of the West, that the great Mogul made a yearly grande chasse, with his wives, his children, his courtiers, his menageries, and a train of one hundred thousand followers.

The condition of the vast army, maintained at the court and throughout the Empire, forcibly illustrates the power and the policy of Aurungzebe. A very exaggerated account estimated the standing force at three hundred thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot. It is obvious that the last item includes the countless tribe of camp-followers; for the most accurate of our authorities has recorded, after deliberate inspection, that the condition of the infantry was most wretched, their pay mean, their number small, their discipline lax, and their equipments despicable. The total amount of this branch of the army, including European gunners, never exceeded fifteen thousand. The main strength of the Emperor lay in the cavalry, over which were set in the order of their rank, the Amirs, the Mansabdars, and the Rozindahs. The Amirs were from thirty to forty in number, the partisans of rebellions, the pillars of the state, the Governors of provinces. They commanded nominal quotas of ten, five, and one thousand men; and they received monthly pay from the treasury in proportionate ratio. Five thousand rupees a month was the allowance attached to the highest dignity. The Mansabdars were about two hundred in number; and their pay varied from seven, to as low as one hundred rupees a month. The Rozindahs, or, as their name implies, "men of the day," received more than the soldiers of our irregular cavalry, or about thirty rupees. The total of cavalry on service, either near the court, or dispersed through the provinces, might amount to two hundred thousand, without counting the other contingents, which tributary sovereigns or governors of districts were called on to supply or levy on emergencies. The park of heavy artillery numbered seventy pieces: that of "the stirrup," sixty of brass; and two or three hundred zambúruks were mounted on camels. The stables were never filled with less than three thousand horses, of Arab or Persian breed: nine hundred elephants composed the *fíl-khanah*; while the droves of mules, the herds of bullocks, and the hosts of porters, were literally past all enumeration.

The commanders of the army, and the chief ministers of state, were generally selected from the men of pure Mogul descent, and of the Mahommedan religion. Amongst these the highest value was set on the light olive complexion, which, as yet undarkened by a lengthened residence in Hindústan, retained evident marks of the colder climate of Central Asia. But of the Hindu race, there were some who could neither be awed by severity, nor dismissed with neglect. There were men nurtured in the sandy regions of India, whom heat had

failed to enervate, and in whom patriotism was not wholly extinguished : men conspicuous for their lofty bearing, faithful as retainers, formidable as foes. They derived an unbroken descent, it was said, from that second order in the Hindu polity, which had vainly contended with a more powerful priesthood for temporal dominion over the conquered races of India. Their princes had ever been remarkable for a high personal sense of honour : their princesses had maintained unspotted chastity, and had, in occasional sieges, displayed signal heroism ; while among them, as a body, there prevailed a spirit of union and of independance, such as even Akbar could not always controul, and such as Jehangir never dared to provoke. Without their promised aid no revolution in the Court would have been complete, and no pretender to the throne would have thought himself secure. There were amongst them two chieftains, Jai and Jessant Sing, whose forces had decided the event of more than one battle ; while in the times of peace their contingents, and those of similar barons, were employed by the Emperor, either to awe other Rajas, to quell disaffected Mussulmans, or to exact the revenue of recusant feudatories. Special regard was accordingly paid to their prejudices of caste, and to their outbursts of pride. Like other Amirs, the Rajput Princes in their time mounted guard at the Palace ; but they were permitted to reside for such time in their own tents, or in a separate building. Their retainers followed them everywhere ; and the boldest adventurer amongst the Patans, the Usbeks, or the pure Moguls, respected these chivalrous sons of the soil, who openly avowed a dislike to confinement within four walls, and who instantly repaid an insult with the cold steel. Thus in the Emperor's army the elements of activity and valour were not wholly wanting. But a contemplative spirit, such as that of Bernier, could not gaze on this varied array of forces without indulging thoughts of the comparative efficiency of European or Oriental tactics. To the noble spirit of Rajputs, to the courage displayed by Mussulmans in the civil wars which he had himself witnessed, ample justice is done in his narrative. He had not however lived in the seventeenth century, and in the age of Louis the Fourteenth, to be ignorant of the irresistible influence of order and of discipline. Countless numbers covering the plain, long lines of elephants, of camels, and of horses, splendid trappings, luxurious tents, occasional despotic command and implicit obedience, in his mind never compensated for the want of nationality, and the absence of systematic union and controul. In one place Bernier makes honourable mention of certain English merchants, who repulsed

the Mahratta, Sevaji, when he burnt Surat, and who extorted admiration from his plundering companions. In another he gives vent with honest exultation to an opinion, that all these numerous hordes, neither animated by patriotism, nor swayed by a sense of shame, would never make a moment's stand against twenty-five thousand of that famous French infantry, serried in close array, and led on by the Captains, who had conquered at Rocroi, at Fribourg, and at Nordlingen.

The arrangements for the collection of revenue and the administration of justice, together with some details as to the internal condition of the empire, are perhaps equally worthy of our attention with the account of the army and the camp. We commence this part of our subject with the Police of the metropolis. Here are unquestionably found considerable traces of regard for life and property, and of impartiality to all classes. There was a kotwal, appointed for all the large towns, as well as for Agra and Delhi, who was accountable to the Emperor, or the Governor alone. But his office was entirely unknown throughout the district. His powers were evidently more unconfined in their operation, and his local rank was higher than that of the native officer, who, with designation mainly unchanged, is now located at the principal station of every zillah. The retention of the name under the Company's rule in particular localities is easily understood. The term kotwal was retained in those places, where such an officer had held authority for time immemorial under the native regime, or, in the large towns; but where no similar functionary was in existence, or in the district generally, the deficiency was supplied by the designation of darogah.

With a darbar open for five days in the week, to which the humblest were not denied access, and with a sovereign, whose vigilance extended to the minute details of every department, it is very conceivable that a full measure of justice was occasionally meted out. A bell was suspended at the door of the Palace, which any impatient suitor had only to ring. In the reign of an uncertain tyrant like Jehangir, or of a confirmed voluptuary like Shah-Jehan, we may readily believe that, as told us, death was the penalty of such as made groundless calls on the sovereign's time. But with a Prince like Aurungzebe, who was accessible even to a fault, many petitioners had not to complain of neglect. At times too, those acts of summary retribution, or of unbending justice, were displayed, which, in the eyes of the native population, to this day, atone for whole months of tyranny. An insolent Jogi persisted in outraging the decency of all the respectable inhabitants of Delhi, by his matted hair, his

disgusting filth, and his obscene appearance. After a fair amount of ineffectual warning, his head was cut off! A Hindu writer avenged the insulted honour of his family by stabbing to the heart the offender, who happened to be a Mussulman of some consequence in the harem. Yet Aurungzebe was proof against all the bed-chamber influence, and all the outcries of vindictive relations. The Hindu was permitted to turn Mussulman, and live. A third offender, whose conduct touched the honour of the Emperor's family, met, through misapprehension, with a worse fate. He had obtained entrance into the secret apartments of Roshanara Begum, had remained there in concealment for some days, had been committed to the guidance of certain females at the time of his departure, had been by them deserted in a labyrinth of gardens and inclosures, had been discovered wandering about in the morning by the king's guards, and had on inquiry given no other explanation of his conduct, than that he had obtained ingress by climbing over the wall. Aurungzebe simply ordered that he should return by the way he came. This command was interpreted literally, and the unhappy wretch was thrown violently from the top of the walls to the bottom.

Such is some of the court scandal, which Bernier's knowledge of the language and his prolonged residence enabled him to collect. But the effects of a grinding despotism on the one hand, and of habitual lawlessness on the other, were too evident to escape his vigilant eye. There were many powerful nobles at the metropolis, who did what was right in their own eyes, and who met with no interference on the part of the Emperor. That personage, it is true, exacted on their part never-failing attendance and obsequious respect. Without his permission they could not undertake a journey of twenty miles, or absent themselves from durbar for a single day. Few of them had even an acre of land. The governorship of a populous town, the charge of a province for a twelve-month, a dress of honour, a few words of favour, a prominent place in the assembly, a hind quarter of venison killed with his own fowling-piece, a cap embroidered by his own hands, were the rewards by which Aurungzebe flattered and humoured the most conspicuous, or the most dangerous, of his nobles. On one favourite he might now and then bestow a jaghir. To another he would concede the privilege of absence from durbar, and the undisturbed enjoyment of literary and philosophical pursuits. But no single Amir could have a reasonable prospect of acquiring an honest independence. The pay of a commander of thousands was often in arrear for two months, and that of his household for six. He was largely indebted to wealthy banians: and, after his death, his

son was seen begging for bread. Every item of property left by a deceased noble went to swell the Emperor's treasury, and the durbar was sometimes besieged by the widow, who, with little to fear and every thing to gain, wearied out the despot's patience, and obtained support. Even the greatest men about court dared not engage in any speculations with the avowed sanction of their authority and name. Amir Jumlá, the Warwick of his day, to whom Aurungzebe owed his sceptre, only ventured to hold mines in Golconda, *benami*, or under some man of straw. A haughty Rajput, like Jai Singh, alone might occasionally defy imperial mandates, and retire to those hereditary lands, where the master found some relief from the eternal etiquette of a court, and the subjects some relaxation from the oppression of adventurers.

But Aurungzebe did not always care to check abuses of authority and high position on the part of his courtiers. There were men residing within a mile of his palace, whose extortions prudence or policy might teach him to overlook. If they were regular in attendance at the durbar, if their cavalry was handsomely equipped, if their horses were well groomed, if they laid expensive presents before the throne, they might hope, that official inquisitiveness would not pry too closely into the insolence of their retainers. Accordingly the accumulated weight of oppression fell heavily on the mechanic, the tradesman, and the merchant. To have sparkling diamonds, was the greatest crime a jeweller could commit. To set out for show, piles of goods, or bales of rich stuffs, was an imprudence of which the fruits were speedily felt. No man could be certain, that, on the morrow, one-half his stored wealth would not be plundered, or bought at a nominal price; no man could count on the secure enjoyment of his labour and of his time. Trade was thus restricted, industry fettered, and activity repressed. The rich, who really desired to fill their mansions with the products of the loom, or the chisel, with embroidery and hangings, with works of utility or of elegance, maintained, amidst a crowd of other retainers, artificers and handicraftsmen as their domestic servants. Those, who were unable to afford this continued expense, used to seize on the readiest pair of hands in the bazar, lodged the hapless individual within their own courtyards, and forced him to work till their pleasure was satisfied, under valid threats of the *korah* (the lash), and under doubtful promises of pay. Men were thus compelled to conceal their wealth, or deny their skill. There was nothing like honest competition, or expansion of resources. Trade could only be carried on furtively, by the grant of a special charter, or under favour of the great. Even in intellectual

pursuits, there was no emulation ; and the traveller looked with wonder on a populous city, where commerce only existed by the permission of pomp and pride, and where learning was transmitted, without honourable rivalry, in the privacy of families, and the retirement of four walls.

If such things prevailed in the heart of the metropolis, and under the immediate eye of the emperor, it would not be difficult to form plausible conjectures as to the condition of the provinces. But here we are furnished with the direct testimonies of men, who had no favourite theories to support, and in whose mystification no native could have interest. It is gathered from the concurring testimony of sundry travellers, that, in many divisions of the empire, the authority of Aurungzebe was little more than nominal. There were still Rajahs, who in their own kingdoms maintained unimpaired, the traditions of their ancestors, the customs of the Hindu religion, and the authority of their own name. The respect they paid to a mandate from Delhi or Agra, was like that of English feudatory Baron, in exact proportion to the awe they felt of the emperor's army. They paid tribute readily, when refusal was either impolitic or impossible : or they delayed to send their quotas, until a detachment was sent to bring them. But meanwhile the condition of their subjects was undoubtedly better than that of men exposed to a continual succession of greedy Viceroys, unconnected with those, over whom they were placed, by ties of blood, and undeterred by feelings of shame or compunction. It is true, that the territories of these petty princes were often inundated with robbers and outlaws ; that no single traveller could pass through them in safety ; that armed caravans, or companies of merchants, were repeatedly attacked and plundered on their borders, and king's messengers exposed to contumely and insult. But the position of the ruler, who permitted these outrages on others not his subjects, was permanent : he had succeeded to the discus or the chattar held by a long line of ancestors : he derived his descent, perhaps, from the solar or the lunar race : he talked about the glories of the Pandús, and the learning of Mithila : he commanded a reverence from cultivators, who enjoyed under him the free exercise of their religious rites, and some respite from progressive taxation : he paid respect to Brahmans ; he permitted Suttee ; he distributed large sums in a so-called charity ; and he exhibited annually splendid shows. Men, who could no longer endure outrages near the metropolis, flocked to him in numbers, and settled under his protection. His rule, tinged as it was by some show of justice, and founded on hereditary right, to natives and to Europeans seemed undoubtedly pre-

ferable to that of the Usbek or the Pathan nobleman, whom the favour of the sovereign had hastily placed over a large and wealthy province, and whom the sovereign's displeasure might as hastily degrade.

There were thus, we may fairly assume, places which still retained some shadow of the fabled patriarchal government. But it is difficult, without the semblance of exaggeration, to pourtray the condition of those districts, which, confiscated at the time of conquest, and regularly annexed to the empire, were the main sources of the imperial revenue. Authority over them was granted under three different tenures. In some rare cases it was that of a Jaghirdar, who had obtained his fief for a term of years, or for his natural life: or that of a Governor, who was obliged to transmit to Delhi all surplus revenue, beyond his own pension, and the pay of his troops; or lastly, of the farmer, who was bound down to the transmission of a certain yearly sum. But in any case there was no division of authority, and scarce any limit to an absolute will. The main business of the Governor or farmer was to collect the emperor's dues, and to exercise the whole civil and criminal authority. The period of power might variously extend from one to five years. For the sake of appearance, the Governor or farmer was accompanied by a person, specially deputed by Aurungzebe, who bore the title of Wakya-nawis, and who, as his name imports, was commissioned to keep the court informed of occurrences of note, and of the general tenor of the administration. But the governor must have been ill-versed in his trade, who was unable or unwilling to allow this functionary a fair proportion of the spoil. *Il s'accordent et s'accommodent ensemble*, is Bernier's expressive phrase. With a perfect understanding between the man in authority and the Wakya-nawis, all went on smoothly. The governor represented every department in the state. By him revenue was collected, troops called out to quell a disturbance, robbers decapitated, rival claimants satisfied or deluded, taxes enhanced or remitted, justice distributed or denied, a rule exercised as formidable and despotic, as that of Aurungzebe himself. The effects of this system were manifest in villages deserted, fine plains uncultivated, and tanks or temples abandoned to wild beasts. Terry specially mentions the number and the variety of the wild beasts, as one of the plagues of India, more to be dreaded, than even the government, the heat, and the diseases. Mandesloe shot deer as they bounded past him over the high road between Agra and Delhi. Gemelli Carreri carried his gun with him whenever he went out for a stroll. Whole tracts of country were set apart for the preservation of kingly game; whole tracts, under the

oppression of governors, returned by a natural transition to their primeval jungle. To shoot a deer, or to kill a tiger in these sacred places, was a crime. They were preserved for those occasions when the emperor took the field in person, under the operation of forest laws, of which the strictness might have done honour to the Norman Duke. The peasant might snare a stray quail or a partridge, but larger game was destined to receive its death-blow from the imperial hand. When a tiger or a lion fell to the emperor's gun, its death was noted with circumstances of great ceremony. A scribe came forward with his pen and tablets ready in hand: the Amirs stood round in admiration. the dead animal was duly turned over and inspected; and the length of his claws and whiskers, the date of the occurrence, and all other particulars, were gravely recorded in the archives of state.

Traces of energy and vigour, the redeeming points of despotism, were, however, not entirely wanting; and works of public utility or ornament variously represented the pride, the statesmanship, or the beneficence of their founders. The great high way from Agra to Delhi has already been mentioned. Another, in the form of a dyke, as firm and broad as those which line the coast of Holland, extended from the country of Kamrup or Assam, into the plains of Bengal. Every populous town had its public caravanserai; and many were ornamented with bridges of ten and twelve arches. Tavernier and his companion, of course, usually forded or were ferried across the rivers, which interrupted their path; but they enumerate, and in terms of considerable praise, bridges of stone or brick at Gwalior, at Sasseram in the district of Shahabad, at Ahmedabad, at Dacca, at Kadamtala near Dacca, and at a place with an obscure name on the road from Benares to Patna. Tavernier also mentions the canals of Bengal; but he has evidently mistaken the natural nullahs for the works of man's hand. On the other score, examples of summary justice occasionally deterred the robber, and re-assured the ryot. In suitable localities, forts were erected, where officers collected tolls, and had criminals punished. At one of these, near the division of the Ganges above Moorshedabad, Tavernier was startled by the aspect of a row of heads, garnishing the gateway, like those which frowned on the adventurous Dalgetty on his arrival at the castle of Macallummore. Another party saw the road lined with the bodies of one hundred robbers, expedited after the fashion of Jean-qui-pleure, and Jean-qui-rît. At another spot, the same person met a convoy laden with the heads of three hundred rebels, sent as a

present to the king, whose authority they had dared to set at naught. Generally speaking, wherever the emperor's service was interested, difficulties seemed to vanish. In a country, notoriously insecure for life and property, might be seen yearly the spectacle of one hundred bullock carts, each laden with fifty thousand rupees, quietly conveying the revenues of Bengal to the state coffers at Agra.

But occasional acts of salutary justice were balanced by others of passion, of licentiousness, and of caprice. One governor beheaded some unfortunate nautch girls, who refused on a frivolous pretext to dance before his assembly. Another, from interested motives, pardoned a Persian Doctor, although he had, in a transport of jealousy, murdered his wife, his four children, and their thirteen attendants. Shah Jehan poisoned one man in open durbar, and boiled another alive for intruding on his privacy and sullyng his honour. These are recorded on unimpeachable authority. How many similar instances must have passed away without a record! Besides all this there was the general system, where the tenure of office or favour was proverbially insecure, where freedom of trade, interchange of property, direct inheritance, or extension of private resources, were all fettered or clogged by innumerable restrictions, where there never could be a respectable middle class, where there was not even the semblance or the shadow of law, where a jealous suspicion stifled all patriotism or fidelity, and where, under an immutable law of human nature, habitual oppression, if it failed to generate resistance, generated habitual falsity and fraud.

The religion of the Hindus, it may easily be conceived, though not openly attacked under Aurungzebe, was exposed to constant insults from the zeal or the insolence of the faithful. One amusing story is told of a mahout, who had trained an elephant to destroy daily with his trunk one image out of a number, which adorned the threshold of a temple on the public road. It was considered an act of clemency if a Hindu, arraigned on some criminal charge, was permitted to escape by adopting the Moham-medan faith. Large contributions were levied from Brahmans on the occasion of an eclipse, when, according to their fantastic theology, the moon is swallowed by the Giant Rahu. But on the great question of Suttee, Mussulmans listened to the dictates of reason and truth. This rite was only conceded to a formal request, preferred to the principal officer of the district. But permission seems rarely to have been refused, if we may judge from the number of instances on record. Of the travellers,

to whose narratives we refer, various were the impulses, experiences, and impressions. They were plundered. They were promoted to favour. They thought the great Mogul the richest monarch in the world. They looked on him as indigent in the very midst of his treasures. But however dissonant their accounts as to the morals, the statistics, or the policy of the east, in Suttee they are invariably consentient and uniform. They had come burning with curiosity to see if those strange tales were true, which said, that Hindu wives followed cheerfully to death the husband, whom in life they had revered and obeyed. Their curiosity was amply gratified. Not one of them but witnessed half a dozen of these spectacles. Bernier, indeed, prevented one by threatening the loss of a pension, which had been assigned to the children of the deceased husband, by his patron Danishmand Khan. But in all other cases his efforts were useless. Mandesloe received a bracelet, as a last gift from one unfortunate widow to the Feringi stranger, who had come to see her die. In other respects the circumstances of the sad tale are well nigh the same in every recorded instance. The Mahommedan dignitary employed, as he thought best, his earnest entreaties, remonstrances, and threats, in nine cases out of ten, to no purpose. Then came the scene, which those sturdy travellers could hardly describe without tears, which has been witnessed by many men still living, and which posterity shall blush to think our fathers ever sanctioned. There was the pile placed in a dried reservoir, or in a pit dug for the purpose: the crowd of officiating brahmans, and of relatives without one single sign of sympathy and remorse: the deformed hags, the discordant music, the pitchers of ghee to accelerate the closing scene, and the burning sandal wood: the victim deluded with juggling, or stupified by drugs: the howl of delight, which arose, when the pile was fairly kindled, and the attendants who occasionally shared the untoward fate of their mistress. Surely, if the Company's rule had introduced no one other measure, the single abolition of this infernal rite might half atone for the imputed aggressions of questionable morality, and for the decried tendencies of an imperfect or an unjust legislation.

By those, who are familiar with the acts of atrocity depicted in the orations against Verres, or with the well-grounded charges of extortion or violence, which under the later Commonwealth, or the early days of the Roman Empire, frequently pursued a retired Proconsul into private life, the condition of the provinces, under such a government as Aurungzebe's, will be easily realised. And yet Rome possessed many elements of order.

and many aids to justice, which India had not; frequent and regular communication by sea and by land, ready appeals, publicity of procedure, a Senate not yet stripped of all love of freedom, nor deadened to all sense of justice, the indignant eloquence of men like Thræsea, remissions of annual tribute after the calamities inflicted by nature or by man, sympathy with oppressed innocence, and an implanted reverence for discipline and for legality: yet all these things could not check, or could not atone for, the evils of abused authority, as recorded by one of the most brilliant of orators, and by the most philosophic of historians. Unoffending citizens were put to death, wives and daughters were torn from their homes, lands were seized, temples were plundered, the humblest images of devotion, which adorned the private chapel or the domestic hearth, were forcibly taken away, whole provinces were ground down by a succession of rapacious governors: and for all this, a few stray individuals were occasionally banished to Seriphus or to Gyarus. With none of the above checks in India, there were even greater tendencies to abuse. The governors were adventurers from distant lands. Their tenure depended on the machinations of an enemy, or the influence of a friend. The displeasure of the Emperor was fatal to them; nor was his favour always a subject for joy. The present of a cap, worth a few rupees, but embroidered by the Emperor himself, might be a direct intimation to the viceroy, that some substantial return in the shape of a large extra sum of money must be paid into the state treasury. To furnish this, it was necessary to have recourse to intimidation or torture. In any case, whether exactions were practised for the private or the public good, there was no counterpoise, save in the jealous suspicion with which Aurungzebe occasionally inspected every department of state. Where oppression resulted in private advantage, his vigilance was naturally lulled. In other cases, help was remote, and remedies were as bad as the evils they attempted to cure. It was a far cry to Delhi. Such a state of things could not evidently endure for long. Early in the seventeenth century, a sensible Mohammedan Governor of Patna lamented to Roe the unfortunate condition of India, where rights were neither secured by prescription, nor protected by law. Half a century subsequently, Bernier, after a deliberate survey of the empire, prophesied that all this enhanced oppression and tyranny would infallibly end in some tremendous dissolution. Nor was the unwieldy empire long kept together, though its fall was hastened by causes, over which even a more powerful mind, than

that of Aurungzebe, could perhaps have had no controul. Under the standard of a leader noted for his cruelty and his daring, an insignificant people gradually rose into importance. From assailing travellers, they took to plundering convoys: from plundering convoys, they sacked walled cities: after the pillage of cities, they dared to harass armies in the field. Their tactics and their morality were admirably fitted to advance them to power in the decline of a great empire. To good faith, or to the commonest rudiments of honesty, they were utter strangers: and pitched battles, or decisive engagements, they never ventured to risk. Thus, in addition to the consciousness of early crimes, and to the terrors of an unseen world, the close of Aurungzebe's long and adventurous life was embittered by the insults of the perfidious and active Mahratta. He died at Ahmednagar, having almost reached the patriarchal age of ninety. Exactly fifty years and four months later, Clive was encamped on the plains of Plassey.

Our attempt in this paper has been to illustrate the policy, and not to describe the historic events of Aurungzebe's reign. It is to the effect of such a policy, that many of the difficulties are owing with which any subsequent government will have to contend in the introduction of reforms. Not that either Hindu or Mussulman dynasties have failed to bequeath to India many great and worthy memorials. The Hindu has left behind him some of the elements of self-government in his village institutions, and in his local functionaries, who should protect the rights of the community in which they are born and bred. He has left to attest the days of his prosperity, stupendous monuments of labour and art, a rich, copious, and a varied literature, and a national character, of which the best qualities are versatile ingenuity, and, in cherished objects, unexampled perseverance. The Mussulman commands our attention by those classic structures, in which severity and elegance are skilfully harmonised, by the introduction of another language, the vehicle for history, and by some semblance of a legislation, intended to prohibit or to punish crime. Time has dealt variously with the splendour and the policy of either race. The accumulated wealth of provinces, the stored jewels, the peacock throne, most of the public works of utility, and some of those dedicated to religion, have either been dispersed, or have perished. The literature of the two nations still invites the researches of the learned, and their inscriptions on monuments of stone yet arrest the attention of the traveller. Meanwhile, the present activity of trade at least equals that of former days, and the natural fertility of

the soil, which two hundred years ago rivalled the Egyptian Delta, has over a far wider surface increased twofold. But with those monuments, which time has not defaced, and with that fertility, which oppression could not wholly exhaust, there has also descended to us the hateful legacy of faithlessness and corruption. A system, such as we have endeavored to describe, has produced effects on the national character of both Hindu and Mussulman, which the wisest legislation will not speedily repair. Any character, passing through such an ordeal, will be found vilified and deteriorated. Whence, but from the rarity of truth, proceeds the difficulty of reforming any one department of the state? Why should caution be redoubled, checks be multiplied, and supervision exercised to the utmost extent of jealous minuteness? Why is it that Laws, which proceed fresh from the hands of the legislator on a mission of good, in one short twelvemonth are found perverted to the vilest purposes of hatred and oppression? Why is the statesman's brain racked to produce measures, which, while they give security to just rights, it shall defy even the perverse ingenuity of orientals to convert into engines of violence or fraud? What causes disunite families and set brothers at variance, consume in litigation many a fair inheritance, turn Courts of justice into sinks of iniquity, wise provisions into instruments of torture, Zemindars into tyrants, and Ryots into slaves? It is nothing, but an universal want of good faith and honesty. No one, who takes a calm and deliberate survey of the causes which retard the progress of Indian civilisation, but will admit that the main source of popular grievances is an absence of truth in the people themselves. The corruption of one particular department is decried, just as it happens to fall within the scope of individual observation, or, from subordinate causes, to attract more general notice. But it is not that men in peculiar situations are marked by corruption, unknown elsewhere. Perhaps the plague is more virulent in one place than another. The general want of honesty, which has long injured the efficiency of this department, may almost bring that one to a stand. But more or less, it pervades everything: and men, who arraign the corruption prevalent in the executive police, or in the collection of the revenue, or in the salt, or in any one branch which protects public or class interests, may possibly, some day, be inclined to consider, whether, after all, the main evil does not proceed from the corruption of the people. 1150.

The most inveterate enemy of the Company will at least allow, that the native population are but sorry materials to work

with ; and the unprejudiced observer will feel a satisfaction in the thought, that to such a native population the intentions of Government have been mild and beneficent. Our rule in India has, in fact, for the last fifty years, been one of the very best intentions. Comprehensive measures and vigorous reforms are perpetually about to be given to the world. A new enemy starts up from some unforeseen quarter, and the promised measures are immediately shelved and forgotten. But excuses, based on pressing emergencies, will not always be valid. Those men, who would prefer a native dynasty to the present Government of India, are well nigh beyond the power of argument, and may be consigned to the operation of their own prejudices, as Hume placed beyond the pale of reason, English Whigs, who maintain the reality of the Popish plot, Papists, who deny the Irish Massacres of 1641, and Scottish Jacobites, who believe in the innocence of Queen Mary. Those men on the other hand, who laugh at incoherent rant and unscrupulous outcry, may think, that a comparison with the regime of Aurungzebe, or of any other Sovereign, in which the Company shall appear to advantage, is after all, no very great praise. That British functionaries are not habitually rapacious, that power is not perverted to gain, that districts are not plundered, that a numerous population may unhesitatingly confide in the good faith and the impartiality of Government and its officers, is no more than what every man has a right to expect. It were deep shame to the British character were it otherwise. But a high sense of honour in individuals, and an anxiety for the rights of aliens, will not compensate in the eyes of posterity, for the absence or the deficiency of those measures, which, unattended by a direct and visible return of income, repay their projectors ten-fold, by strengthening the hands of Government, by binding together the interests of rulers and subjects, and by diffusing the signs of progression every where. For measures of this kind, to which we have an undoubted claim, Sir H. M. Elliot has demanded the period of six centuries. Grant us but one-twelfth of that time ; grant that the remainder of this century may pass without foreign invasion or external aggrandisement ; and we shall repose our faith in the independance of delegated viceroys, and the irresistible current of public opinion.

As we write, we are incontinently reminded of the favourable position of the empire at this moment. The era of peace, so long prayed for and predicted, seems about to commence. That splendid province, whose ultimate acquisition the ardent have desired, the timid have deprecated, statesmen pondered over, and

all thinking minds have revolved, has at length been annexed to the British empire. The Temple of Janus, open for so many wars, extending over a long series of years, has now been shut: the Indus now forms the natural boundary of the Peninsula, as certainly as the Euphrates should have been an impassable barrier to the Roman power in the East. In both cases the true *limes imperii* has been reached. *Ulterius tentare nefas*. We have perhaps reached the turning point in the long lane. Hitherto, no appanage of any empire, ancient or modern, has given such noble opportunities for the growth of administrative or executive talent, created more Captains, witnessed so many splendid instances of devotion, of self-denial, or of daring, rejoiced the mother country by so many successes, celebrated so many triumphs. In the service, or under the auspices, of the Company, have arisen men, whose toils on Eastern ground have won for them an European reputation, whose incidental researches in Eastern lore have surpassed, in the result, the practised and proverbial industry of continental scholars, whose strategy has in other fields been weighed in the balance and not been found wanting, whose diplomacy has been marked by a rigid adherence to good faith, and whose comprehensiveness of intellect and integrity of purpose have won or increased for them those hereditary honours, which, ennobling as they are, can yet hardly enhance the genuine nobility of their possessors. The rule of the Company, were it to terminate to-morrow, without having left any more enduring monuments of administration, might yet be perpetuated in the skill of its commanders, in the integrity of its officers, and in its general character, which has respected the rights and the prejudices of the highest, and with the humblest of its subjects has literally passed into a proverb. But posterity will demand something more; nor will history pass a favourable judgment on any race of men, who should fail to stamp their own impress on the face of such a country. The present head of this empire has commenced his Indian career by an act, with which other men might have deemed themselves fortunate to close a long and useful administration. Henceforth may his talents be devoted to consolidate our resources, to extend our best interests, and to lay the permanent foundation of those peaceful measures, which, with thinking minds, shall far surpass the most advantageous of treaties, and the most splendid of triumphs.

ART. II.—*Memoirs of the Bengal Artillery, from the formation of the Corps to the present time, by the late Captain E. Buckle, Assistant-Adjutant-General, Artillery; edited by J. W. Kaye, late Lieutenant, Bengal Artillery. London: 1849.*

THE satisfaction which we should have felt in introducing to our readers the forthcoming work, whose title we have just transcribed, is over-clouded by the recollection of the circumstances under which it has been produced. It was well known for some years before Captain Buckle, driven homewards by the pressure of ill-health, resigned the important regimental office, which he had held so creditably to himself and so advantageously to his corps, that he had long been collecting materials for a memoir of the Bengal Artillery, and had been engaged, in brief intervals of leisure, in their arrangement and reproduction in the form of an elaborate work of military history. In the immediate circle of his own private friends it was known, moreover, how deep was the interest that he took in the progress of this work; how laboriously he pursued his investigation into the past history of his regiment; and what gratification it afforded him, in the midst of much that was necessarily dull and thankless, to exhume, out of a mass of long-buried records, or a heap of printed volumes with the damp of years upon them, some neglected historical fact, some forgotten statistics, or some illustrative anecdote, which had never reached the ears of the present generation. It was emphatically a labour of love. It was the recreation, after hours of office drudgery, of the last few years of his sojourn in India—of the last few years of his life. His health had been for some time perceptibly failing; and, for many months before he finally determined to turn his back upon Dum-Dum, he had suffered under one of the most distressing and most fatal disorders of the country. Like many others, who have been buoyed up by such delusive hopes, he thought that he could weather it out a little longer. Intervals of seeming convalescence gave him new confidence and courage; and he was disinclined to anticipate the date at which he had originally designed to visit Great Britain. But the hot weather of 1846 tried him severely; his disorder was aggravated; and at last he reluctantly determined to strike his tent, and to seek renewed health beneath the milder sun of his native country. He embarked on board the steamer leaving Calcutta in September; and it was hoped that the sea-breeze would check the progress of his malady; but, as the vessel steamed down the bay, he grew

worse and worse, and on the 19th of that month, off the island of Ceylon, rendered back his soul to his maker.

It was, we believe, one of his last expressions of earthly solicitude, that the manuscript of the memoir of the Bengal Artillery, on which he had been so long and anxiously employed, should be given over to his executor, an old brother officer and most esteemed friend, to be dealt with as might seem best to him. It was the known wish of the deceased, that the work should be published: indeed, the thought of laying before the world a fitting memoir of the distinguished regiment, to which he was attached, had often in hours of sickness and weariness been a solace and a stimulant to him. It is an ambition worthy of any soldier to be the historian of his corps. Captain Buckle's executor, when the manuscript was entrusted to him, being in England at the time, placed it in the hands of the Editor, who at once undertook to superintend its progress through the press, and to bring the narrative down to a later period:—for the original memoirs extended no further than the close of the operations of Generals Pollock and Nott in Afghanistan. Captain Buckle's manuscript has been faithfully followed. The Editor says, in his preface, that he pretends to no other qualifications for the task entrusted to him than the cheerfulness with which, both from respect for the memory of the deceased, and affection for the regiment of which he had himself been a member, he undertook the labours it entailed—and such aptitude, as may be supposed to be the necessary result of a life spent in literary pursuits; and he has given us without alteration the very words of the author's text. With one or two exceptions, where blanks had been left in the copy, the work, as far as it went, was left in a state fit for publication. But “that, valuable and interesting as are its details, it would ‘have been more valuable and more interesting if he had lived ‘to complete it, is no mere conjecture of the Editor.” The marginal pencil notes, which appeared in the manuscript, indicated the writer's intention of furnishing fuller information on many important points already touched upon, and of supplying many details, which in the progress of the work had escaped his notice, but which subsequent enquiries, or, in some cases, the suggestions of experienced friends, had enabled him to introduce; and which would have been introduced, had he lived to see his book through the press. These were such shadowy memoranda, that the Editor could not avail himself of them; they were for the most part, indeed, only intelligible to the author of the book. Perhaps it is almost as well that the narrative was not amplified. It already extends to 500 pages;

and, unless there had been some condensation in other parts, the introduction of a large number of additional details would have unduly inflated the work. It is now a volume of goodly proportions; and we think that few readers will complain that the details are not sufficiently profuse.

Captain Buckle's memoir is written in a plain, soldier-like style. There is no straining after effect—no ambitious efforts at fine writing. The book is not made up of words. The author had something to say, and he has said it in very intelligible language. But he had no experience in the art of book-making. He was not a practised writer. The memoir is not wanting in the art most serviceable to such a work—the art of clear orderly arrangement; but there is no other art, or artifice in it. So much the better. A more practised literary craftsman would have written a worse military memoir. Coming from such hands, it would have smelt of the lamp; it would have wanted the freshness—the crudity some may call it—which is the great charm of soldiers' books. The value of the work is in the matter. The manner has not the stamp of Paternoster Row; but we could not wish it to be other than it is.

The history of such a regiment as the Bengal Artillery is twofold. There are the active-service life of the corps, and the changes of its internal economy to be recorded. There is, so to speak, a foreign, and there is a domestic, side to the picture. Captain Buckle has given due prominence to both. He has fully narrated the services of the Bengal Artillery; and all the different progressive modifications both of its *materiel* and *personnel*. The services of almost every officer in the regiment from its first formation are here faithfully chronicled. The length of the index, which the Editor has added to the work, sufficiently attests the minuteness of the record. It is not a mere muster-roll of commanding officers. Every captain and subaltern, who has in any way distinguished himself, has here his proper historical niche. It is possible that some living officers may think too much prominence has been given to the services of one, and too little to those of another. The chronicler of cotemporary events must lay his account to be charged with divers offences of omission and commission: what pleases one, offends another; and he is fortunate if he escapes the reproaches of many. In this respect the Editor, who has been compelled to chronicle the events of the two last wars, is in a more unfortunate position than the author. He treads upon more dangerous ground. The best thing that he could do, under such circumstances, was, what he has done, viz. to follow as nearly as possible the official

documents at his command. But we all know that official documents are not always the most infallible "guides to truth." The real history of a corps is not to be found in the gazettes.

The last sentence in Captain Buckle's manuscript is this: "The troops (under Generals Pollock and Nott) were received on their return by the Army of Reserve at Ferozepore, assembled in case its aid should have been wanted; and medals were bestowed for the different services, bearing the inscriptions of "*Candahar* ; *Candahar*, *Ghuznee*, *Caulul*, 1842; "*Ghuznee*, *Caulul*, 1842; and *Caulul*, 1842; the obverse of all was similar, and this and all the medals, since that for Ghuznee, were worn on a parti-colored ribbon of light tints, called "the ribbon of India," ill-fitted for a military decoration." And here, with the return of the victorious army from Afghanistan, and the magnificent spectacle at Ferozepore, the story might, not unfitly, have been closed. But there was no rest for the Bengal Artillery. There were years then of hard service before them. Lord Gough's great Indian battles had yet to be fought. Captain Buckle had made some memoranda for a record of the services of the corps in the Gwalior campaign, although of a very slight and desultory character. But these, and indeed nearly all the other services of the corps, were soon to be dwarfed by the magnitude of the operations, in which the regiment was to be engaged on the other side of the Sutlej. As the memoir was passing through the press, new deeds were done for the Editor to record. It would have been a pity to have left un-chronicled the services of the corps throughout the great Punjab campaign; and it might have seemed better to chronicle them imperfectly than not at all. But there was this difficulty about the matter. These great operations in the Punjab seemed to come somewhat inopportunistically to destroy the proportions of the entire work. Had they been narrated at a length and with a minuteness, proportionate both to their positive and comparative interest and importance, the size of the volume would have been extended beyond all reasonable compass, and the cost of it would have been a bar to the general circulation, which it is desirable that such a volume should obtain. If it be objected, therefore, that in the earlier parts of the volume greater prominence is given to events of comparative insignificance, we would remind the reader that the work was written (and printed indeed,) before the war in the Punjab was brought to a close; and that the chapter, devoted to the services of the Artillery in those memorable campaigns, must be regarded therefore as a supplementary chapter, rather than as a component part of the original work.

Our object in this article is really to review the book; that is, to pass its contents in review order before that great general, the public. We have anticipated, in an elaborate article recently devoted to the "Bengal Artillery," the historical matter, which the publication of this volume would have otherwise afforded us a fitting opportunity of laying before our readers. We have now, therefore, little or nothing to do, but to enrich our pages with some extracts from Captain Buckle's memoir, before the work itself passes into the hands of the public; and, in doing so, we are mistaken if we put not forth the best possible invitation to the military community to possess themselves of the work itself.

We commence our extracts, as in duty bound, with some account of the first formation of the corps:—

"The first company of Bengal Artillery was raised in 1749; the orders were received, it is believed, from Bombay, then the chief presidency. A company was ordered, at the same time, at each presidency, in the Court of Directors' general letter of 17th June, 1748. A copy of the warrant for that at Madras will be found in the "Artillery Records" for October, 1813, and for Bombay, in one of a series of papers entitled "Three Years' Gleanings," which appeared in the *E. I. United Service Journal* in 1838, and some extracts from which are made hereafter in these pages: the entire warrants are too voluminous for insertion. A similar one was most probably sent to Bengal, but all records perished when Calcutta was taken.

Admiral Boscawen was requested to supply such aid in raising the companies as he could spare from the fleet, for gunners; and the master-gunner was appointed to the Bombay company. The companies were to be completed as early as possible, and all the gun-room's crew, who were qualified, were to be included.

The "gun-room's crew" appears to have been the denomination given to a certain number of men set apart for the duties of the artillery; their officers were called gunners, gunners' mates, &c., and combined the magazine duties with the more properly called duties of artillerymen.

The new company was to consist of one captain, one second captain, one captain-lieutenant, and three lieutenant fireworkers; four serjeants, four corporals, three drummers, and one hundred gunners; the established pay was as noted below:

Captain and chief engineer.....	£200 per annum.
2nd captain and 2nd engineer.....	150 "
Captain-lieutenant and director of laboratory	100 "
1st lieutenant fireworker.....	75 "
2nd ditto ditto	60 "
3rd ditto ditto	50*
Serjeant	2s. per diem.
Corporal	1s. 6d. "
Gunner	1s. "

In an old and rather curious volume of travels in India, entitled "Account of the trade in India, by Charles Lockyer," published in 1711, and relating to a period a little antecedent

* There were probably some perquisites or other sources of emolument.

to this date, we find a notice of the "gun-room crew" at Madras, with the rates of pay received by the different grades. "The garrison" he writes "consists of about 250 European soldiers, at ninety-one *fanams* (£1-2-9) per month, and 200 Topasses, or Black Mongrel Portuguese, at fifty, or fifty-two *fanams* a month. The gun-room crew is about twenty experienced Europeans to manage the guns, at 100 *fanams* per month. The Captains are paid fourteen pagodas, per month, Ensigns ten pagodas, Sergeants five pagodas, and Corporals the same pay as the gun-room crew. Chief Gunner of the Inner fort, fourteen pagodas; Gunner of the outworks, twelve pagodas, and their mates in proportion." These rates of pay appear to be sufficiently liberal, seeing that, at that time, the Governor had only £200 per annum salary, and £100 gratuity; the councillors had from £100 to £40 per annum. Senior merchants drew £10; junior merchants £30: factors £15, and writers £5. There were in those days at Madras, "two Ministers" at £100 per annum each; one Surgeon at £36; two Assay Masters at £120; one Judge at £100; an Attorney General at fifty pagodas (gratuity) per annum; and a Scavenger at 100. The Scavenger, it would seem by this, ranked above the Attorney General; and, as we are told that "lawyers are plenty, and as knowing, as can be expected from broken linen drapers and other cracked tradesmen, who seek their fortune here by their wits," we cannot be surprised that the legal dignitary was in no very high repute.

"This by way of digression," as Mr. Lockyer says at the end of a passage, which is much more, to our purpose in this article. He complains that the European soldiers were a shabby looking stunted set of men, because the Company would only enlist Protestants. "I wish" he says "for the honor of the English nation, they would decline sending such diminutive dwarfish crooked recruits, as of late have gone to supply their settlements: to say no better could be had in time of war is an evasion my own experience proves altogether light: for since 'tis no matter what country in Europe they are of, let but three captains be sent to Ireland, in less than three months, they could raise a regiment of picked fellows, who would be able to do them service: besides they look like men, which is enough for them at Fort St. George. Objecting to their religion looks like partiality: for the Topasses in India are all of the same principles. The Queen's Officers list none but Protestants to serve in her troops, wherefore the country is quite over-run with lusty men, who are ready to starve for want of employ." This exclu-

siveness, as we have shown in a former article, and as we shall presently further illustrate by a quotation from Capt. Buckle's memoir, continued to a much later date. One more passage, however, must we give from the old volume before us, if only to show how little change the character of the European soldier in India has undergone in a period of nearly a century and a half. "New House is the soldiers' lodging, and scene of many a drunken frolick. It fronts the main guard, and has a strong battery on the other side against the River; one company at a time sleeps in it, of whom a corporal and two soldiers walk the streets every hour in the night, to suppress disorders, and apprehend any, who cannot give an account of themselves. *Pay day comes once a month, when they'll be sure to have the enjoyment of the few fanams left them by their creditors; their debts, if within due bounds, are all cleared at the pay table.* Every one keeps his boy; who though not above ten years old, is procurer, and *valet de chambre*, for 7 or 8 *fanams* a month."—One need not look for a more accurate description than this of the European artillery-man of the present day.

Fortunately our artillery *officers* of the present day are very different from the occasional pictures we find of them in the writings of the last century. Let us see what they were, when Colonel Pearse took command of the corps. Captain Buckle says:—

"On the death of Major Kindersley, 28th October, 1769, Lieutenant-Colonel Pearse succeeded to the command of the regiment, and, as its organization is much indebted to that officer, it is fortunate that we are able to quote from letters to his early friends his record of the state in which he found it:—

'When I first came into command of the corps, I was astonished at the ignorance of all who composed it. It was a common practice to make any midshipman, who was discontented with the India ships, an officer of artillery, from a strange idea that a knowledge of navigation would perfect an officer of that corps in the knowledge of artillery. They were almost all of this class, and their ideas consonant to the elegant military education which they had received. But, thank God! I have got rid of them all but seven.'

The strange idea above referred to appears to have affected the Home Government at a still earlier period, as, on the first formation of artillery companies, "such assistance as the fleet could spare" was given. To this idea are we indebted for many terms, which have hung about the corps till the present day: our *tindals*, *lascars*, *serangs*, *cossibs*, all came from the naval nomenclature; and their etymology would most probably be found in the Portuguese dialect, which has retained its influence on shipboard. From the same fountain of "English (not) undefiled" must have been drawn the "*bankshall*," a name by which our gun-sheds are known throughout the regiment, but a term of considerable mystification to the uninitiated."

And again :—

“Of the officers of the corps a description was given in Colonel Pearse's letter, above quoted. It was written in 1775, and refers to the period now described. An extract from one, written in 1772, contains a very graphic picture of a *fast* man of those days, specimens of whom long continued :—

‘To be a gentleman you must learn to drink by all means; a man is honored in proportion to the number of bottles he can drink: keep a dozen dogs, but in particular if you have not the least use for them, and hate hunting and shooting. Four horses may barely suffice; but if you have eight, and seven of them are too vicious for the syce to feed, it will be much better.

‘By no means let the horses be paid for; and have a palanquin covered with silver trappings: get 10,000 rupees in debt, but 20,000 would make you an honest man, especially if you are convinced that you will never have the power to pay. Endeavor to forget whatever you have learnt—ridicule learning of all sorts—despise all military knowledge—call duty a bore—encourage your men to laugh at orders—obey such as you like—make a joke of your commanding officer for giving those orders you do not like, and, if you obey them, let it be seen that it is merely to serve yourself.

‘These few rules will make you an officer and a gentleman; and they are the first lessons which young men take when they arrive in this country.’

With officers of this stamp, and the class of men from whom the Company's European troops were then recruited, we cannot suppose that much discipline existed. Drunkenness—the bane of the European soldier in India—was rife, and its natural consequences, disease and death, followed. To this cause, too, must be added the want of good barracks and internal economy, which of late years have gone far to remove the idea of the climates of India being deadly to the European constitution.”

The various improvements effected by Colonel Pearse are detailed in a very interesting manner by the author of this memoir. After describing the wretched state of the *matériel* of the corps, when that excellent officer first took the command, Captain Buckle says :—

“It was under such circumstances that Colonel Pearse took command, and set himself to work to improve the state of the regiment. To weed the inefficient from the officers; to teach the remainder and the new-comers their duty; to introduce an efficient internal economy and discipline into the ranks, and to obtain a proper controul over the *matériel* of the regiment, were his first duties. That his endeavours were in some degree successful may be gathered from his correspondence; for in 1772 he writes,—‘Now I have got all the laboratory implements with me at practice, and am going to teach my officers what they never saw.’ Steadily he pursued his object through difficulties and disappointments, and was rewarded, ere his death, by seeing the corps raised to a high state of discipline and efficiency. At a review of it by General Clavering in November, 1774, he expressed himself as delighted with the corps, and astonished at its performance, being superior to any thing he could have expected in India, and so much to his satisfaction, that Colonel Pearse, in a letter to an old friend, writes, ‘the performances at the review would not have been a disgrace to dear old Woolwich.’”

In the following passage we have a picture of the artillery officer in regimentals, and a glimpse at certain social usages during the reign of Warren Hastings:—

"At this time the head-quarters of the regiment were quartered in Fort William, moving out during the cold months to a practice-ground at Bulkeah, nearly opposite the western mouth of the Circular canal: the powder-works were between the canal and Cossipora. The dress of the regiment consisted of a blue coat, faced with scarlet, and cut away in the fashion of the time; white cloth waistcoat and breeches, with buckles at the knees; and gaiters, or half-spatterdashes, as they were called; red leathern belt, with swivels; black silk stock; buff gloves, and regimental hat, supposed to be a plain cocked hat, in the fashion of George the Second's time. The hair was worn greased, powdered, and tied in a queue; false hair being substituted, when the natural was not long enough.

The hours for parades, and, in fact, for every thing, were early: parades were before gunfire in the cold season; dinners were in the middle of the day, not only in private houses, but on public occasions; and invitations were given on a scale of hospitality only practicable in a small society. The orderly book was the common channel of invitation used by the Governor-General and the officer commanding the garrison. Many such entries, as the following, will be found in it:—'The Honourable the Governor-General requests to be favoured with the company of officers and gentlemen, belonging to the army, now in the garrison of Fort William and the Chitpoor cantonment and the presidency, on Monday next to dinner, at the Court House, and in the evening to a ball and supper. The Governor-General requests that gentlemen will not bring any servants to dinner, nor their hookahs to the ball at night.'

Or, 'Lieutenant-Colonel Wilding presents his compliments to all the officers in Fort William, staff of the garrison, and surgeons, and requests their company to breakfast, and dinner at half-past two o'clock.'

The great maidán at Dum-Dum was first used as a practice-ground in 1775. Captain Buckle gives us the following interesting details relative to the growth of that important station:—

"The artillery, in 1775, appear first to have used Dum-Dum as a practice-ground, and to have been encamped there, when, their tents being wanted for the use of a brigade marching to Patna, they were ordered into Fort William, and their practice cut short, with one fortnight instead of two months. In the following year, however, in December, they marched out with their tents and stores, and began the practice (as the orders record) by firing 'a royal salute, and after that one of 19 guns, for the Company.'

It is not easy to ascertain what Dum-Dum was previous to its occupation by the artillery. The first mention made of it is by Orme, in the account of the action, near Omichund's garden, in 1757. He speaks of Clive crossing 'the Dum-Dum road': this road, however, was only a cutcha bund,* leading to Dum-Dum, the name of the place now occupied by Dum-Dum House, the origin of which building is enveloped in mystery. It is said to have been built by a Mr. (or Colonel) Home† but who he was, or the date, cannot be

* The kacha road was formed of its present breadth in 1782 3.—Colonel Green's Letter, 21st October, 1801.

† Was there not a member of council of that name?

ascertained. Supernatural aid has been called into play; the mound, on which it stands, is reported to have been raised by some spirit of the ring, or lamp, in the course of a single night; and, to this day, visions of ghosts haunt the grounds.

At the practice season, the officers inhabited the house; the men's tents were pitched in the compound, and the natives' in the 'Montague lines,' the ground now occupied by the Nya Bazaar, called after Lieutenant Montague, the adjutant, who marked them out. The name is known to the present day.

It was not until 1783 that the cantonment was marked out by Colonel Duff, who is said to have made, or rather widened, the road from Sambazar to Baraset,* and to have planted the avenue of mulseery trees now running along the southern end of the small exercising-ground.

Many villages were scattered over the ground occupied by the cantonment; their sites were purchased up, from time to time, by Government; the last, that of Deiglah, in 1820."

The reduction of the Golundaz battalions in 1779, owing to an absurd apprehension of the danger of teaching natives of India the use of artillery, has been noticed by us in a former article at some length. Captain Buckle's remarks on the subject are worth quoting:—

"Those who feared the native powers training up good artillerymen by means of deserters from the British service, do not appear to have considered that, without the material, which is provided and kept up at a heavy expence, the best artillerymen would be useless; and that, although artillerymen are *taught* the preparation of stores, still very few have that intimate knowledge, which only results from constantly handling and making them up, and which is, in reality, found in a much greater degree in the magazine workmen—a class, who come and go at their pleasure, and appear to be little thought of, although the practical information, they could carry to an enemy, would be worth more than hundreds of mere well-drilled artillerymen.

The Court of Directors, however, must be excepted; for, in their warrant (17th June, 1748), they direct that 'no Indian, black, or person of a mixed breed, nor any Roman Catholic, of what nation soever, shall, on any pretence, be admitted to set foot in the laboratory, or any of the military magazines, either out of curiosity, or to be employed in them, or to come near them, so as to see what is doing, or contained, therein.' And to such an extent did this fear then carry them, that another paragraph runs: 'And if any person belonging to the company of artillery marry a Roman Catholic, or his wife become a Roman Catholic after marriage, such person shall immediately be dismissed from the company of artillery, and be obliged to serve the remainder of his time in one of the other companies, or be removed to another of the Company's settlements, to serve it out there, if the Council think fit.' And again, in their military letter to Bombay (6th April, 1770), they say: 'As it is very essential that the natives should be kept as ignorant as possible, both of the theory and practice of the artillery branch of the art of war, we esteem it a very pernicious practice to employ the people of the country in working the guns; and, if such practice is in use with you, we direct that in future you attach European artillerymen to the service of the guns, which

* In all probability this formed the regular road to Berhampore.

' may belong to sipahi corps, and that no native be trusted with any part of this important service, unless absolute necessity should require it.'

With these views, it is not to be wondered at that the Home Government should have directed the Golundaz to be reduced; but Indian experience might even then have taught, that no more dangerous ally can be found for a native army than a large and imperfectly-equipped artillery. A native power will hardly bear the heavy *continued* expence required to keep it efficient; or, if the state should supply the means, the want of integrity in its agents will divert them from their proper course; and consequently, in the hour of emergency, the army is forced to fight a pitched battle to protect the unwieldy train of cannon, which becomes an encumbrance, instead of a support; so it had been at Plassey and Buxar, and so it has been in every general action since. Assaye, Argaum, Laswarí, Mahidpúr, would have been avoided, had there been no artillery in the native armies: unencumbered, they could have evaded the British; but the necessity of protecting their trains, and, perhaps, the confidence which their presence inspired, induced them to try the result of a battle.

Instead of discouraging native powers from organizing large parks of artillery, our policy should have been the reverse, resting confident that native parsimony and dishonesty would insure inefficiency in that branch."

Captain Buckle also attributes to a personal feeling against Colonel Pearse, inherited by Sir Eyre Coote from General Clavering, some share in the paternity of this obnoxious measure. Colonel Pearse was an intimate friend and partisan—for in those days of party-strife, there was little neutrality anywhere—of Warren Hastings. When the Governor General fought the celebrated duel with Mr. Francis, Colonel Pearse was Hastings' second; whilst Colonel Watson, a vehement partisan on the other side and a personal enemy of Pearse, officiated for Francis. As to the alleged reasons for the reduction of the Golundáz, it is impossible, in these days, not to recognise the absurdity of the plea. But we are not altogether satisfied with the reasoning of our author. The war in the Punjáb has taught us, that an extensive ordnance corps is not always an encumbrance and a disadvantage to a native army. But that, without the material of artillery, "the best artillerymen would be useless" is a truth beyond the reach of contradiction. Sound policy, it appears to us, dictated that we should keep the native powers of India, as much as possible, in ignorance of the means of manufacturing ordnance for themselves, and render such of them, as were our own allies, entirely dependant upon us for the material of their artillery. They were well content to purchase our old guns; and so convinced was Lord Cornwallis of the wisdom of supplying them from our own stores, that, after the siege of Seringapatam, he presented half-a-dozen pieces of ordnance both to the Nizam and the Peishwah. They were not the most serviceable guns in his park; but the gift was appreciated, and Lord Corn-

wallis judged rightly, that it would have the effect, for some time to come, of diverting them from the thought of making guns for themselves, or going to other European craftsmen to make them for their use.

The exertions of Colonel Pearse to improve both the intellectual and moral condition of the men under his charge are narrated and eulogised by Captain Buckle. The following admirable order, or rider to an order, issued by that excellent officer, would do honour to the most illustrious commander in the most civilized times :—

“As another instance of the interest which Colonel Pearse took in the welfare of his corps, may be quoted the following order; it shews, too, how just were his views on questions of duty and discipline: ‘The rules of duty, as laid down, may seem extremely rigorous to those who do not properly consider the consequence; Colonel Pearse hopes that there are not any; but lest there should be, he desires that they will carefully remember that military discipline can only be really made easy, by being enforced with precision in every part, however minute it may appear; that strictness with mildness will make the soldiers love their officers as their parents, and create in their minds a desire to be highest in esteem, and an emulation to deserve the preference, and the fear of losing it; that it will habituate the officers to regard the soldiers as the object of their attention, and lead them to watch over their morals with that pleasing anxiety, which naturally arises from the desire to produce superior excellence in those who are immediately under them; and lastly, that, in the corps, in which these principles are most conspicuous, courts-martial and punishments are very rare; the lash is only heard, when it falls on the really worthless and abandoned, whom the rest shun and detest for having brought disgrace upon them, and who are, of course, discharged soon after.’”

•The following summary of the character and conduct of Colonel Pearse is just and appropriate :—

“In Colonel Pearse the regiment lost a commandant devoted to its welfare; of a high order of talent; fitted, in no common degree, for command. Fond of his profession, and anxious for distinction in it, his whole energies were directed to the performance of his duties; his intercourse with his officers and men was marked by an earnest desire for their happiness and comfort, and endeavor to raise the tone of manners and habits to be found existing in both ranks. Although a personal friend of Warren Hastings, his influence never seems to have been used for any private end; the good of the service was emphatically his guide; from his duty he never swerved, and in it he was influenced always by high-souled and chivalrous feelings. That he would have won for himself high honours, had an opportunity been afforded, who can doubt who has carefully considered his conduct when in command of the detachment to the coast? and that he had not opportunity must be in part attributed to the prejudice or jealousy of Coote.

For twenty years he commanded the regiment, and under his eye it grew from infancy to maturity, and passed through many trials, yet always winning for itself thanks and praises; to his exertions, in instructing all parties in the details of their duties, it owed its excellence; and, long as the regiment may last, and high as its fame may rise, the name of Pearse ought always to be gratefully associated with it.”

Colonel Deare succeeded Colonel Pearse in the command of the regiment; but was killed, not very long afterwards, by a cannon-shot at Sattimungalum. He was succeeded by his brother, Colonel George Deare, who was superseded by Major-General Duff. There is an anecdote of this man in Captain Buckle's Memoir, which will amuse our readers:—

“Major-General Duff was a man of powerful frame of body. Anecdotes of his strength are told to the present day; on one occasion, a leopard sprung suddenly upon him; but, seizing the animal by the throat, they rolled over and over, the general never relinquishing his grasp, until the animal was fairly powerless, when it was easily put an end to. On another occasion, finding a sentry asleep over the park, he took a 6-pounder* off its carriage, and carried it under his arm *durbin ka mafik*, (as an old native officer, at that time his orderly, described it) “like a telescope.”

Taking a retrospective glance at the “old hands” of the regiment, Captain Buckle, before passing on to what may be called a cotemporary period, speaks of them with kindness and with justice, judging them according to the times in which they lived:—

“But while we must consider many of the old hands deficient in some qualities requisite to the formation of good officers, let us not forget the habits of the times in which they lived, nor that these men proved themselves good and brave soldiers in the many hard services, in which they were employed. “*Per mare, per terras*” might have been their motto. In the wars of Bengal and the Carnatic they filled their part with credit; and many are the names from among them, which have been handed down to our respect and esteem, both as good soldiers, and men of high talent and conduct. Pearse, Montague, Hutchinson, Duff, of the old hands, and others, such as Horsford, Clement Brown, Pennington, who, living long into this century, may fairly claim no small share in giving a tone to the present corps, are all names, which we should not willingly allow to be forgotten; and, although we may laugh at the anecdotes of the Hindes, Paschauds, and Greenies, and be tempted to rate the moderns highly, when we look to the bright halo, with which the Mahratta, Nepál, Ava, and Afghanistan campaigns have encircled the heads of those whom we delight to honour, let us not forget those, who shared in the wars with Hyder and Tippoo, and in the earlier campaigns, in which the foundation of our Indian empire was laid. “*Vixerunt fortes ante Agememnona multi.*”

In 1813, the head-quarters of the regiment were permanently removed to Dum-Dum. Captain Buckle notices the subject in a passage which is worth quoting:—

“An important change in the location of the regiment took place in 1813. The head-quarters had hitherto been in Fort William, and moved out to Dum-Dum during the cold months for practice and exercise; this year, barracks having been completed, Dum-Dum was permanently occupied as the head-quarters of the artillery,—a change, no doubt, adding much to the comfort of all ranks: for there can be no comparison, as to the comfort and health of men cooped up within the narrow limits of a fortress, and of those

* The 6-pounder of that day was probably four hundred weights and a half, or 504 lbs.

occupying an airy, roomy cantonment—even if a cantonment surrounded with swamps, as Dum-Dum is; and, in spite of which, it is now one of the most salubrious of stations for European troops. As it had been used as a practice-ground for upwards of thirty years, many bungalows of different degrees of stability had sprung up, chiefly, we believe, of mat and thatch; and, as the officers doubtless were not idle, while the barracks were building, we may believe that they found plenty of accommodation ready for them: and houses, of a more durable nature, soon began to spring up, some on new sites, others, replacing the temporary habitations. A mess-house, we believe, had been previously built by Government, occupying the site of the centre room of the present building, which, by gradual additions and alterations, has reached its present handsome proportions. These were chiefly made in 1824-5, in 1836, and in 1841-2, when the verandah was raised, and the portico added. The last improvement was made in 1845, when the roof, put on twenty years before, requiring to be renewed, the centre rooms were raised several feet. The other houses in the cantonment have hardly undergone less change: brick walls first replaced the mats, and then puckah roofs superseded the thatch; the usual additions of rooms and verandahs taking place. The very last of the old bungalows was recently transformed into a puckah house, and, save the old avenue, which all declare to have been exactly in its present state, when they landed half a century ago, there is little in the present cantonment which can be recognized by those who first occupied it permanently. The barracks had an upper story placed on them about 1830; the church was built in 1819; and, a year or two ago, a racket-court, for the men of the regiment, was built; the officers erected one for themselves in 1834.

For many years Dum-Dum was a very favourite station; its mess, its amateur theatre, its band, and, at one time, its pack of fox-hounds, rendered it a place of resort to many from Calcutta, and the neighbouring stations; but the gradual change in the location of the artillery has necessarily reduced the numbers there; and the heavy tax upon the means of living, caused by the station being placed on half-batta in 1829, causes all who can to avoid it; and, consequently, hardly any are to be found there, save the staff of the regiment of the station, and the battalions quartered there, with the young men just arrived from England, and awaiting their dispatch to the provinces."

A due proportion of the volume is devoted to the several changes in the material and organisation of the corps, which are traced with great minuteness, and illustrated with engravings and tabular statements. Accompanying these, are practical remarks often of much value. The professional reader will peruse with interest the following observations on the relative value of light and heavy, as also of long and short guns:—

"The relative merits of light and heavy guns has been a *vexata questio* from the earliest date, nor is it entirely set at rest up to the present day; though general opinion has decided in favour of a *via media*, rejecting both extremes. Still some members of the profession maintain that, by a judicious disposition of metal, a light gun may be made as effective as a heavy; while others, on the contrary, run into the other extreme, and would introduce guns heavier even than those at present in use. Late experiments at Woolwich on a 9-pounder of 10 cwt., nearly similar to the Bengal pattern, strengthen the opinion that the two extremes should be avoided.

A curious experiment was tried at Dum-Dum in 1787, with a view to deciding the point at issue; and it furnishes some data, which, combined

with practical experience, would tend to prove that a medium gun will give a range so slightly below that of a heavier one, that the increase would be dearly purchased by the increased difficulty of draught. A 6-pounder was cast, weighing 10 cwt. and 24 lbs., and fired a certain number of rounds; after which a portion, equal to a calibre in length, was cut off, and the firing continued; this process was carried on, diminishing the gun, calibre by calibre, until it weighed only 3 cwt. 3 qrs. and 2 lbs., the elevation and charge of powder being in all cases the same. The result was, that of the first sixteen lengths, the seventh carried the furthest,—2,305 yards, the gun weighing 8 cwt. 2 qrs. 20 lbs.; at the fourteenth length, the gun threw 2,098 yards, the gun weighing 6 cwt. 1 qr. 3 lbs.; and at the seventeenth length, 2,106 yards, the gun weighing 4 cwt. 3 qrs. 23 lbs.

It would have been more satisfactory had the first graze, as well as the extreme range, as has been the case, been given; however, it appears that 200 yards are gained by nearly doubling the weight of the gun; and the conclusion would be in favour of the very light gun, were it not that experience shews, that a light gun shakes its carriage very much, and therefore that, what is gained in metal, is lost in strengthening the carriage to bear the shock; it is also found, that a gun giving a long point-blank range does not give a proportional extreme range; and the result has been to make 6-pounders of the present day, 6 cwt. in weight. The best test perhaps is a range of 800 yards, with the least elevation for a field-gun."

In the following passage, a point of the highest importance is touched upon. The strictures it contains are, unhappily, as applicable to the present times, as to the military history of the early part of the present century:—

"The insufficient provision of ordnance and stores for siege purposes will henceforth often strike the reader; and the question why (possessed, as Bengal is, of an inland navigation from one extremity of the presidency to the other, offering every facility for a speedy and cheap conveyance of stores) ample materials had not been pushed forward to meet our wants, must continually recur. The suddenness of the campaign cannot be admitted as a valid reason; the war had been deliberately entered on eighteen months before, and it was known that the enemy possessed many strong-holds, which required battering trains for their reduction. The first campaign had given us Agra, a place admirably situated for a dépôt, with reference to the scene of war, to which an adequate equipment should have been forwarded; but it was not done, and the want was severely felt in the course of this campaign. If ample supplies are not available against a fortified place, and it is absolutely necessary to reduce it, men's lives must be substituted for shot and shells; in some cases, no doubt, time is most precious; and it may be a matter of calculation whether time or men can best be spared; but when near our own frontier, there can be no excuse for the improvidence, which has failed to provide the requisite stores, and by that means to take from the commander the choice between expenditure of his troops, or of the munitions of war.

In most we must attribute the blame to the cumbrous and inefficient machinery of the Military Board, in whose province lies the supervision of the magazines; but the Board, composed of many members, becomes a screen for individual responsibility; and this must always be the case, until each member is vested with the sole controul of the details of his own department, subject only to a discussion in the Board of the general question, that each may have the benefit of his colleagues' opinions, and be made aware of what is going on in other departments, that all may work in concert.

The opinion above given of the inefficient state of our siege-trains is fully borne out by that recorded by the Marquis of Hastings, in his 'Summary.' When speaking of Hattrass, he says, 'One of my earliest military cares on arriving in India had been to satisfy myself, why we had made so comparatively unfavourable a display in sieges.' The details at once unfolded the cause: it is well known that nothing can be more insignificant than shells thrown with long intervals; and we never brought forward more than four or five mortars, where we undertook the capture of a fortified place. Hence the bombardment was futile; so that at last the issue was to be staked on mounting a breach, and fighting hand to hand with a soldiery skilful, as well as gallant, in defending the prepared intrenchments. This was not the oversight of the Bengal Artillery officers, for no men can be better instructed in the theory, or more careful in the practice of their profession than they are; it was imputable to a false economy on the part of government. The outlay for providing for the transport of mortars, shells, and platforms, in due quantity, would certainly have been considerable; and it was on that account forborne; the miserable carriages of the country, hired for the purpose, where a military exertion was contemplated, were utterly unequal to the service, and constantly failed under the unusual weight, in the deep roads through which they had to pass. Therefore we never sat down before a place of real strength, furnished with the means, which a proper calculation would have allotted for its reduction."

Captain Buckle has investigated the long rolls of the regiments, which, he says, are tolerably perfect, with a view to ascertain the mortality in the artillery, fifty or sixty years ago; and the result, as compared with the present times, is not so unfavourable to the earlier period as might be expected:—

"It will not be uninteresting at this period to examine the casualties of the regiment, with a view to ascertaining the relative health enjoyed in those days, and at present: fortunately, the long rolls of the regiment are tolerably perfect at this period, and the following is an abstract:—

	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795
Strength on 1st November	969	980	1176	1155	1162	1083	844	755
Died	51	80	133	146	102	83	65	65
Deserted	3	6	7	11	14	10	10	8
Discharged	25	30	9	7	10	11	5	7
Invalided	26	15	21	25	35	31	15	37
Total.....	105	131	170	189	161	135	95	117

This gives an average of 138 casualties per annum to a strength of 1,016, or about 13 per cent. per annum,—almost the same proportion of casualties, as has taken place from the same causes during the last three years: their amount is 368, and the strength of the regiment in Europeans may be taken as 3,000. The average, however, of a longer period will be more favourable to modern times, as the losses during the Afghanistan war, the destructions of the 1st troop, and mortality from disease at Sukkur, all tend to swell these years beyond their predecessors; but this subject will be adverted to hereafter, when abstracts of longer periods have been made."

The fluctuations in the above table are very great. It will be seen that in 1788, the mortality was not much above five

per cent., whilst in 1791 it was twelve per cent. This, we presume, is to be accounted for by a reference to the operations during the latter year, in the Mysore country. The average mortality in the regiment, we believe, exclusive of war casualties, is now about four per cent.

With an anecdote or two taken at random, and a passage descriptive of the extraordinary march to Bamian, we may conclude our notice of this interesting Memoir. From a narrative of the services of Lieut. Col. Montague, who was killed at the siege of Seringapatam in 1799, we take the following illustration of the opinion which was entertained of him by Lord Cornwallis:—

“The following conversation took place between the deputy adjutant-general and Major Montague, as the latter passed head quarters on his march; “Lord C. has it in contemplation to give Colonel Smith the command of the artillery to be employed against Severn-drug, and he wishes to know if that circumstance will be any impediment to your exertions.” The major replied, “that he did not expect to take the command; that his only wish was to be employed, and that his lordship might rely on his utmost exertions for the public service under Smith.” The deputy adjutant-general did not think that answer sufficiently explicit; and said, “Lord C. wished to know whether Major M. could act with more effect, when independent of Colonel Smith, than when under his command?” The major answered, “that he could certainly carry a plan of his own into execution, in the same time that it would require to suggest and explain it to another.” The deputy adjutant-general therefore concluded that Major M.’s real opinion was, that he should prefer to conduct the business by himself, and informed him that his Lordship was disposed to give Colonel Smith an opportunity of knocking down the walls of the place, where he had been so long confined in a former war; but, as it might be attended with some risk to the service, he was at length determined to appoint Major M. to command and conduct the artillery against that important place, as the capture of it was absolutely necessary to the further progress of the campaign.”

There is an anecdote, most creditable to the character of Lieutenant Mathison, a very gallant officer, who distinguished himself greatly both in the Nepál and the Pindarri campaigns. In the former, on one occasion, when all his men were killed or wounded, he did good service by working a gun with his own hands. The following relates to the affair of Jawud in January, 1818:—

“During the most severe part of this affair, a circumstance occurred truly creditable to the character of this officer, and fully substantiated by the testimony of an eye-witness. An European horse artilleryman fell deadly wounded, and, on his comrades attempting to carry him to the rear, he entreated them to desist, adding, “I know I must die, and I only wish to shake Lieutenant Mathison by the hand before I die.” His wish was immediately gratified; and he expired uttering “God bless you.”

Captain Buckle speaks of the march of the 4th troop, 3d Brigade, across the Hindu-kush as “the most extraordinary ever performed by horse artillery.” He had left a blank space

in his manuscript for the insertion of the details of this interesting movement; and the narrative has been supplied very effectively by another writer:—

“ We have now to notice perhaps the most extraordinary march ever performed by artillery,—that of a native troop of horse artillery across the Hindu Kush to Bamian; extraordinary both from the obstacles overcome, and the circumstance of the men of this troop being natives of Hindostan. The 4th troop, 3rd brigade, was ordered for this trip in September, 1839, and, Captain Timmings having just died, it was under the command of a subaltern, Lieutenant M. Mackenzie, with whom was Lieutenant E. Kaye.

The valley of Bamian lies about N. W. from Cabul, distant only 112 miles; but it is separated from the valley, in which the capital is situated by a broad belt of stupendous mountains, the highest range of which exceeds in altitude 12,000 feet. The troop entered upon its mountain road, near the village of Urghundi, and, while toiling up the first laborious ascent, (steep in itself, but rendered still more difficult by huge stones and fragments of rock), it was met by Major Thomson, of the engineers, and some other officers,* who were just returning from an excursion to Bamian. Major Thomson immediately declared the road to Bamian to be impracticable for guns, and that the passes in advance were still more difficult in their nature than that of Urghundi; and he said that he would, immediately on arrival at Cabul, report to the envoy that it would be useless to attempt to reach Bamian. The troop however continued its march, and, the passage of the Urghundi ghât accomplished, descended into the beautiful valley of the Cabul river, along the banks of which the route continued for three marches, passing Julraiz and Sir-i-Chushmeh. The road was at times difficult, being frequently in the rocky bed of the stream, and always ascending, gradually becoming steeper and more toilsome.

The summit of the Unai pass is said to be 11,400 feet in elevation; at this great elevation, even in September, the cold was intense. The passage of the range was a work of great toil, as the ascents and descents were numerous. The summit of the range is in general a table land, gradually sloping towards the north-west; not one continuous table-land, but intersected by numerous deep glens, running parallel to each other, with steep precipitous sides, difficult to ascend or descend. On the 21st, a small mud fort, named Youatt, was reached; and, on the 23rd, the troop, after crossing several spurs from the range just surmounted, descended to the banks of the Helmund, beyond which towered the snow-capped peaks of Koh-i-Baba.

In consequence of the report, received from Major Thomson, of the impracticable nature of the road to Bamian, the envoy had sent instructions for three guns and all the ammunition waggons to return to Cabul—the other three guns to halt until elephants, sent from Cabul, should arrive; it was then intended that the three guns should be dismounted, and carried over the remaining passes on elephants. These instructions were received at Youatt; but, the neighbourhood being entirely destitute of forage, it was considered advisable to move the troop on to Gurden Dewál, on the river Helmund. Having arrived there, the troop halted, and Lieutenant Mackenzie went forward, and examined the pass over the Hindu Kush range. This officer, having considered the passage practicable, forwarded a report to that effect to head-quarters, and requested permission to proceed with the whole of the troop. Permission was at length received, and, on the 30th, the march was resumed. The foot of the Irak pass was attained in three difficult marches, the ascent being constant and fatiguing. The passage was commenced immediately, nearly all the guns and carriages be

* Major (now Lieutenant Colonel) Salter of the cavalry, and Lieutenant Sturt of the engineers (since killed in action).

ing pulled up by hand (the horses being taken out). At this work, the artillery and infantry soldiers, and some 200 Hazarehs, were employed during the whole day, and it was not until dark that the entire battery had reached the foot of the western face of the mountain, which was found to be considerably steeper than that up which the ascent led. On the following day, the march was resumed through a deep and dreary defile, abounding in rocks, and the precipices enclosing it so steep and lofty, that the sun's rays scarcely ever penetrated to its lowest depths. Through this tortuous glen the troop wound its way, until, after many an interruption from rocky ledges of dangerous descent, the small valley of Miani Irak was reached on the 4th of October, and vegetation and human habitations were once more seen.

The whole of the 5th was occupied in passing the Kuski ghât, over a range of no great elevation (a spur only of the Hindu Kûsh), but of great difficulty. The ascent was occasionally so steep (at an angle of 45°—) that the men working at the drag-ropes could not keep their footing: horses, of course, were out of the question. The ascent was, however, accomplished in the afternoon; and the descent, by the edge of a precipice, where a false step would have ensured instant destruction, commenced. This too was effected; but night found the troop in a defile so narrow, and enclosed by such steep walls, that it seemed to be but a fissure in the mountain, caused by some convulsion of nature. Nothing further could be done till daylight; early on the morning of the 6th of October, the troop crossed the last intervening ridge, and entered the valley of Bamian at Zohak. Next day the troop reached Bamian, and encamped close to some mud forts, which were destined now, for the first time, to become the dwelling-places of British officers and soldiers.

This march to Bamian has been dwelt upon somewhat longer than is altogether suitable to the pages of a work of this nature; but, within a smaller space, it would have been scarcely practicable to give an idea of the service performed. It was certainly one of the most arduous undertakings ever accomplished by horse artillery.*

With this passage, descriptive of a march, such as no troop of artillery had ever before accomplished, we bring our extracts to a close. They will suffice to show the interesting and instructive contents of the forth-coming artillery memoir. We must not omit to state that the work is illustrated with engravings on wood, of all the medals issued to the artillery, and with designs of gun-carriages, ammunition, wagons, &c. &c. Captain Buckle had, we know, taken great pains to obtain correct copies of all these medals from time of Warren Hastings up to 1846. The first is one of which the reverse is illegible, and which, he conjectures, was issued to Colonel Goddard's force. He had, besides, drawn up a detached paper on the subject of these medals (not improbably intended to be corrected and expanded into an article for this journal), the materials contained in which, we may perhaps make use of on a future occasion. The book is dedicated by the Editor to Sir George Pollock; and we are sure that there are few officers in the regiment, who will not approve of the choice.

* The highest point surmounted, the Irak pass, was 12,100 feet above the sea.

ART. III.—*Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India. By H. M. Elliot, Esq., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. In four volumes. Vol. 1. General Histories. Baptist Mission Press. 1849.*

THE 'Mines of the East,' though vanity may have formed a different conclusion, have had as yet, comparatively speaking, but few properly qualified hands to work them. The reason for this is sufficiently obvious: for, independent of the difficulties that beset the Orientalist, the attraction of physical science strongly draws away enquirers into tracts, where there are no philological obstacles in the way, where analysis is easier, and results more palpable. The investigation of the phenomena of physical science is the great hobby of the age. The demonstration of what is sensibly perceptible and tangible has a popularity, which the study of mental and social progress cannot command. Though the labourers in Oriental mines have been few, they form, nevertheless, a glorious band, who, in the face of many disadvantages, have resolutely devoted themselves to the cause of intellectual research. Who, while adding to his stores of knowledge, through their generous efforts, will not gratefully respond to the great benefits conferred on the world, by such men as Jones, Colebrooke, Heeren, Lassen, Wilson, Remusat, Prinsep, Von Haumer and other distinguished Orientalists? Destined to be hailed as a worthy member of the illustrious band, is the writer, whose work, bearing a characteristically modest title, heads these remarks.

It may be as well to premise, that, by the term Orientalist, is not always understood a general scholar. Some are marshalled in the rank, who were mere linguists. Others have attained high proficiency in one or more Eastern tongues, who were deficient in powers of critical and philosophical generalization. Some might be named, who have made valuable additions to the stock of oriental lore, who were almost wholly ignorant of the languages of ancient Greece and Rome. The author of the work before us, on the contrary, is essentially a scholar. He is equally at home in the West, or in the East; and it is delightful to see how his right scholarly affluence is brought happily to bear on the subject in hand. One thus fortified by ancient learning, and enlightened by its facts and suggestions, is not likely to be carried away by that unreasoning passion for Orientalism, which some yield to. These are apt to be lured into tracks of paradox and hypothesis (unconscious of the power of prejudice) in favour of any thing falling under the head of their favourite pursuit. Accordingly, they

contract habits of partisanship, and cannot bear to have their pet theories questioned, even when their foundations, to cooler enquirers, appear to rest palpably on fancy or assumption.

The titles of books do not always convey an accurate notion of their contents. The work under review forms no exception to this remark. It requires to be handled, read, and turned over and over, before one can form an adequate idea of the immense labour of collating from such copious, various, and often difficult, sources of information, as those referred to, and illustrated. Here we have an abstract of much miscellaneous, yet valuable, knowledge, and can well conceive the amount of rubbish, from which it has been so skilfully sifted. The reader, even at starting, should not lose sight of the principle on which the work is founded, but bear the author's caveat in constant recollection. 'It must be understood that this Index has not been constructed on account of any intrinsic value in the Histories themselves. Indeed it is almost a misnomer to style them histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals.*'

Most Indian histories somewhat resemble, in plan and detail, that puerile exhibition called a Pútlí Nách. Certain so-called Rajahs, Nuwábs, soldiers, topee-wallahs, tigers, and so forth, are introduced with a flourish on the mimic stage. They take their places with wooden solemnity. After sitting in silent state for some time, the action of the drama commences. There is some dancing, and thieving, and beheading, and drinking, among the rather dissipated manikins; and, when the whole exhibition comes to a close, with the hissing and gambols of snakes, and the valedictory grin and wave of the ineffectual hand by the scaramouch figure nodding over the curtain, there is no distinct impression of *casus fæderis*, scope of result, or harmony of motive and incident. In a word, the whole exhibition lacks logic. These Indian histories indeed, like the ghostly eyes that made the Thane quail, have no speculation in them.

It is a notable effect of despotism upon a people long subject to it, that they become in a measure characterless. Society offers no picturesque diversity to the contemplative observer. All is a Bengal-plain-like level, above which excellence cannot raise head. Action itself becomes slowly monotonous, like the progress of a becalmed budgerow. Where energy makes a man marked, not as meritorious, but suspicious; and acquisition brands a man for the victim of eventual spoliation; mediocrity and puerility become the panoply of safety. Triviality is the

refuge of the many in such circumstances. No wonder then, that triviality and puerility should beset the genius of such a people's history. Even in the region of passion, there will be found a cloying sameness. Treachery so resembles treachery, outrage outrage, crimes of ambition look so like each other, and even virtue itself, it may be said, is so little variegated or relieved, that the faculties are liable to slumber over the retrospect. The moralist nods over his task, and the wearying uniformity of villany becomes as offensive to his eye, as the formality of a Dutch landscape did to the poet's.

" Grove nods at grove ; each alley has its brother ;
And half the platform just reflects the other."

Observes our author, 'if we are somewhat relieved from the contemplation of such scenes, when we come to the accounts of the earlier Mogul Emperors, we have, what is little more inviting, in the records of the stately magnificence and ceremonious observances of the court, and the titles, jewels, swords, drums, standards, elephants, and honours, bestowed upon the dignitaries of the Empire.* In studying Indian history, and indeed all history, it is due to a just view of the subject, that we carry in our minds some tolerably authentic recollection of the civilization of each epoch. No one, studying the history of England, would look for the manners, learning, and science of the Elizabethan period in the troubled times of the Roses, no more than he would weigh the manners of the reign of Elizabeth by the standard of Queen Anne's. Neither ought we to look for Vedic ideas, or manners, in periods of Pûrânic influences ; nor expect the generous sympathies and courtly polish of Akbar's day, in the rough time of Mahmud of Ghazni. This indeed has been placed in so just a light by a high authority, that we feel tempted to cite the passage: 'By the immutable principles of morality, and by them alone, must the historian try the conduct of all men, before he allows himself to consider all the circumstances of time, place, opinion, example, temptation, and obstacle, which, though they never authorise a removal of the everlasting landmarks of right and wrong, ought to be well weighed, in allotting a due degree of commendation or censure to human actions.†

The significance of words becomes modified in the course of ages. The term barbarian‡ of old conveyed much the same

* Preface.

+ History of the Revolution of 1688, by Sir Jas. Macintosh.

‡ When Cyrus the younger is said, by Xenophôn, to have taken the field against Artaxerxes, with one hundred thousand 'barbarians,' we at once recognise his meaning as a designation for foreigners.

meaning that alien or foreigner does with us, or that gentile did to the Jews. Moderns use the term to express either deficient civilization, or a total absence of it. The word uncivilized is still current even in civilized countries, in the same sense as rustic (*agrestis*), clownish, or unpolished. Of late years, it has appeared a good deal in discussion, as bearing on the social and moral state of a portion of the British population. Accordingly the terms Celt and Saxon have been bandied in a less generous than emphatic fashion. The free use of such party epithets has been in a great measure defensive; since the great Irish agitator, and his pigmy imitators, used these class terms in an invidious sense. The stone of national reproach was cast with a malignant, if not strong, hand; and the reiteration of that Irish Shibboleth, has been used as a spell of malevolence for rousing to frenzy masses of an ill-educated, ill-fed, and ill-governed people. Need we be surprised, if, in the re-action of feeling, the blunt Saxon should have been provoked to retort? He has not always done so justly; but without doubt there have been times, when he has heartily wished that the connexion between the two races had never been formed. Nations are continually apt to forget, that national, like individual, injustice and oppression must sooner or later prove a ruinous policy. In the blindness of selfishness and passion, they lose sight of the awful truth, that the inexorable Nemesis keeps a strictly accurate account, and that a day will arrive when it must be settled. England has at length been summoned to reckon for the wrongs of Ireland; and let us aspire a wish that she may not have to pay to the uttermost farthing. It required a long period of ill-considered sway, and harsh expedients, to bring the truth home to the ruling power. It is too often the province of contemporary history to cast dust into the eyes of mankind. Time, however, brings the euphrasy; and that, which once seemed dim and complicated, or cunningly hidden, becomes as palpable as household objects.

It is often felt to be a difficult task, to trace accurately historical parallels. The reason is obvious: the enquirer scarcely knows where to look for a beginning. History, like Astronomy, has scarcely any definite commencement.* It becomes therefore a relief to come back to the present. To us it furnishes a topic sufficiently momentous. The Alembic of events seems

* 'Probably because man is so deeply immersed in the stream of change, that the faculty would be practically useless. No power is given to him, by which he can cognise beginnings. Around him on every side, replete with germinating causes, lies the dark unfathomable.'

full of lurid smoke. What the product may be, who shall say? The spirit of national retribution appears to have drawn the sword. Race looks menacingly at race. There is an array, as if for the hostile collision of the olden time. Tenacious is alike the vitality of races, and of their hoarded wrongs. Has a struggle indeed commenced again of race with race, or are we to consider it rather as the combat of principles, of order with disorder, of monarchy and democracy? Statesmen have foreseen some such result. Mr. Canning foretold it. Napoleon had prescience of it. A man of genius, though of less penetrating intellect than either, perceived the shadow of the coming event. There must come, as he deemed, a state of social decomposition. Many years ago he wrote, that society, as then constituted, could not continue to exist. 'As instruction descends to the lower classes, they will discover the secret cancer, which has been corroding social order ever since the beginning of the world, a complaint which is the cause of all the popular discontents and commotions. The too great inequality of conditions and fortunes has been able to uphold society itself, so long as it was tied down, on the one hand by ignorance, on the other, by the factitious organization of the city; but no sooner is the inequality generally perceived, than a mortal blow is given to it.'*

If we ask what the object of recent agitations and conflicts has been—we find it answered by a popular author, who, twenty years ago, wrote that—'the deep strong cry of all civilized men—a cry, which, every one now sees, must and will be answered, is, Give us a reform of government! A good structure of legislation, a proper check upon the executive, a wise arrangement of the judiciary, is all that is wanting for human happiness.'† Though there is a sting of application, in the remark of the writer bearing upon the *all*, as not comprehending spiritual requisitions, yet these are obvious and reasonable practicabilities, such as men will strive, and arm, in order to secure for themselves, when satisfied that they are sufficiently strong for the venture. Will the struggle be favourable to the interests of civilization? Eventually, it is to be hoped,—but it will scarcely prove so in our day. When men take to the sword, it shows that every other kind of argument has failed. An appeal to force must ever be considered as a sign of a halting civilization. Were civilization all that it ought to be, the sword would be the last and most reluctantly appealed to, of all arguments;

* Chateaubriand's *Sketches of English Literature*.

† Mr. Carlyle in the *Edinburgh Review*.

instead of being, as is too often the case, the first and the most wantonly used.

When we behold the rolled, round, and polished pebbles on the sea shore, we are apt to forget their original state, and the long continued process of attrition by the billows of the ocean, by which they have been so changed in form. We can scarcely realize to ourselves the fact, that these polished round stones were once rough, jagged, and angular, pieces of rock. In like manner, on viewing flowery meadows, and fields of corn, or tracts of country blooming with groves, gardens, and orchards, it requires some philosophical exertion of the faculties to trace the history of the landscape. Nevertheless, it is an instructive and pleasing task to do so, and, step by step, to revert to the time, when tradition testified to the meadow being a pestiferous marsh, the copse a barren hill, the gardens and orchards, dreary moors, or sterile wolds. A primeval forest, with its gigantic timber trees, screens of luxuriant creepers, and layers on layers of rotting foliage, the lair of reptiles, and the generator of malaria—and the same, cleared, and drained, and dressed, till it teems with village, vineyards, and all affluence of fruitful tillage—is an apt illustration of the progress from barbarism to civilization. It was the work of time to produce the results. Posterity are apt to lose sight of the hardships, and the turmoil, that beset the efforts of their ancestors. To fell the trees, to form the log hut, to dig up gnarled roots, to enclose the clearing, till it merges in a hamlet, and then to trace the populous village, till it assumes the condition of a prosperous town—form altogether an epitome of sturdy struggles and eventful changes, which few pause to consider.

What hopes and fears, what sufferings and honest joy, may the history of such a landscape comprehend! There we behold on a small scale, as it were, the history of civilization itself; for what is civilization but culture? Culture has its stages and degrees; so has civilization; which, conveniently as justly, may be classed under the heads of a simple or rude, a middle or competent, a high, and a corrupt or vicious civilization. The writers of all countries love to dwell on traditions representing a time, when young agriculture was flourishing, and all around was peace and plenty. It is usually represented also as an age of peace, and simplicity of wants and manners. In the national heroic poem of the Persians, it is said of a great Prince,

——— every art was known
To Jamshid, without equal in the world.

We are further told regarding him,

— Desert lands
 Were cultivated ; and wherever stream
 Or rivulet wandered, and the soil was good,
 He fixed the habitation of his people,
 And there they ploughed and reaped ; for in that age
 All laboured ; none in sloth and idleness
 Were suffered to remain.*

All pictures, and descriptions of ancient civilization, suppose not merely sufficiency, but plenty of food. That surely can scarcely be deemed a complete state of civilization, where many mouths are without food, or any certain expectation of a subsistence. Neither can that be admitted to be a competent civilization, where masses are in a state of barbarous ignorance, and on the verge of starvation. In what respect then are classes so situated in Great Britain, a jot more advanced in civilization, than thousands of the poor natives of India ?

Imperfect soever as civilization may be, it early becomes corrective of morals. When Cæcrops led an Egyptian colony to Athens, he found that no restraint existed upon the intercourse of the sexes. Every man and woman did what was right or pleasing in his own, or her own mind. We have no reason to doubt the tradition, that he was the first to establish the law there, that each man should have his own wife. He also introduced the custom of burying the dead, which (had we no other source of information, than Grecian tradition) would be sufficient to indicate the usages of Egypt in regard to those points. But when are we destined to behold the harmony of civilization in all its completeness ? When to have the privilege of witnessing that boasted perfectibility, of which some ardent minds deem our fallen race capable ? When are we to realize the often foretold optimism in all its happy fruition ? We apprehend the answer must be, not till Lapland shall bloom like Italy ; not till Sumatra shall boast the genial clime of Madeira ; not till the natives of Andaman shall prefer a kid curry and rice, to rations carved from some sacrificed human victim ; not till the lion shall lie down with the lamb, or till reason and moral suasion shall rule action every where.

Where then are we to look for perfect civilization, or a beautiful approach to it ? Might we look for it in a country, where the supply of the means of subsistence, and of the decencies of life, amply meets the demand ? History informs us of no such condition in any country for permanence ; for it not more surely shews humanity—‘ in perpetual alternations of des-

* Atkinson's *Shahs Nameh*.

potism and anarchy, repose and convulsion '*—than of seasons of plenty and scarcity, of prosperity and adversity. The first care of man everywhere, and at all times, is, to make sure of the means of subsistence, if he can. For a country under a despotism, this of itself affords sufficient occupation. It is only after a competent, or abundant provision, for the necessities of their position, that men begin to look about them, and to speculate. Supposing these conditions duly fulfilled, where, in this hard age, are we to look for perfect civilisation? Shall we turn to Paris, or Vienna, or Moscow, or Florence, or London, or Ispahan, or Pekin, or New York, or Nangasaki—or where? Every citizen of each capital will consider himself and his capital as representatives of true civilization. Are we to look to the ancients, or to the moderns, for a standard of civilization?

Learned Hindus claim for their country an extensive knowledge of arts and sciences, or, in short, a high civilization, anterior to every other country. In a periodical, ably conducted here, years ago, under native agency and dictation,† occurred the following passage :—"There is more of humiliation than pride in the reflection, that, when the whole of Europe was semi-barbarous, where the most wealthy and powerful could neither read nor write, India, at a period so remote, that it is beyond the range of credible history, was the seat of knowledge, literature, and the cradle of the arts. It is from India that the knowledge of several manufactures was first attained. Indeed it is generally supposed to have been first peopled and civilized; and that from India first came the rays of that knowledge, which has since shed its lustre through the Western world.‡ We cannot

* History of Ten Years,—by Louis Blanc.

† 'The Reformer.'

‡ With reference to this assertion, let us consider, that the Jews have a history, which furnishes valuable landmarks for universal history. The Hindus have no history. At the time of the Exodus, the Jews had a knowledge of reading, writing, and of arts. In the Book of Numbers mention is made of gold, silver, brass (copper), tin, and lead. This of itself carries back the knowledge of sundry branches of art and handicraft three thousand years. The construction of the Tabernacle and its furniture, under circumstances of difficulty, sufficiently indicates the mastery of various crafts. On their entrance into Canaan, the Israelites found a people, whom no one will pretend to have had an Indian origin, a people in a state of advanced, but vicious, civilisation, with towns and cities 'walled up to heaven.' To come further down, we find that, about a thousand years before our era, Solomon erected a temple, that may be called a Polytechnicon of arts, and the glory of Phenician artistical skill. The Phenicians were a very energetic and adventurous maritime nation—which the Hindus never were; and knowledge will always spring up in the track of commerce. We have seen how old an article of trade tin must have been. The ancient Tarshish, it is supposed, comprehended all the countries beyond the pillars of Hercules—the British Isles included—between which and the Phenicians a commercial link existed, in regard to this very article of tin. It was through this connection that the metals of Great Britain were first distributed to more civilized parts of the world. Pliny and Arrian have recorded their export to India, where they were exchanged for precious stones and pearls.

but feel some degree of pride and gratification, when we reflect on this; but how humiliating is the thought, that, while our pupils have attained the strength of lions, we alas! have become feeble and impotent as children; and are now glad to receive instruction from them, who were formerly taught by our fathers; and, in order to attain that knowledge, are obliged to study a language enriched, and probably derived, from our own noble, though now almost obsolete, language." National vanity is a very excusable foible; perhaps sometimes it may be a respectable quality. To constitute it so, however, it must rest on broad and strong grounds. The Native writer, in the passage cited, has assumed that when the whole of Europe (not even excepting Greece) was semi-barbarous, India, at a period so remote, that it is beyond the range of credible history, was the seat of knowledge, literature, and the arts. This may be true—we do not stop to question it: but, since the writer has admitted the proof of his assertion to be beyond the range of credible history, he might perhaps have spared himself his feelings of humiliation. There are certainly to be found in India traces of very old art and civilization; but it remains to be yet demonstrated, that they are older than those of Phœnician, Chaldean, and Egyptian remains. Of India, indeed, such partial writers, as the one quoted, are apt to speak, as if it were all Asia. In regard to the Sanscrit again, it was always to the people an obsolete, or rather an unattainable, language. Since Europeans have been stated to derive their learning, science, and knowledge, from a language always sealed from the people, the only mode, in which the paradox can be explained, is a supposition that a colony of Brahmins travelled westward.* As yet,

* The ancient Britons were Gauls, of whom a portion were known as *κελτοι*, or Celts. The name, by which the Romans distinguished the inhabitants of Gaul, was applied to a very wide extent of country, even as far as Macedon and the Danube. The Galli were a people of Illyria, known in the time of Alexander the Great. They sent him an Embassy, from an apprehension that he would invade their country.—*Strabo, Lib. VIII.*

With reference to the civilization of the *κελτοι* and all their off-sets, their descent has been supposed to be derived from the Pelasgi, a people of Phœnician extraction. The Gauls thus trace their descent to a root different from the Hindu. The term *braca* was applied to a portion of their clothing; so that those beyond the Alps were named from it, *Bracati*, to distinguish them from the cisalpine Gauls, who, conforming to the Roman fashion, were known as occupying *Gallia Togata*. The word *braca* is significant of any tessellated or variegated plaid-like apparel. The description of Diodorus indicates a costume very different from that of the Hindu.

χιτωσι μεν βαπτοις, χρωμασι παντοδαποις δινηθισμενοις, και αναξυρισιν, ας εκεινοι βρακας προσαγορευουσιν.

This description is more applicable to a Nepālese or Burmese costume, than to a Hindu. In regard to the Druids, who were the high priests of the Gallic religion, let us not forget, that their office and dignity were elective, while, with the Brahmins, these were and are hereditary. The Brahmins too were not priests, but theologians.

the Sanscrit has rather disappointed expectation, since it has not unlocked to the world those literary treasures, that enthusiasts had looked for. The arts that were known of old to the Hindus, seem rather to have been mechanical, than liberal. In architecture they were inferior to the Egyptians and the Phenicians. Of painting they had but a very rude conception. Their sculpture was much better. Of the early history of India so little is known, that it is almost a blank. Of the Egyptians we know much more. At a period of most remote antiquity, they had magnificent cities and temples. The Hindus have nothing similar, with the exception of cave temples, which, there is good reason to infer, are posterior in date to the Christian era. There are several points of resemblance between the Egyptians and the Hindus: but their polity widely differed in many respects—and in nothing more remarkably than in the disposal of the dead, whom the Egyptians, at great cost and trouble, scrupulously preserved, but whom the Hindus, in a very unscrupulous manner, destroy. Finally, if the Europeans were the pupils of the Hindus, is it not remarkable that we should not find stronger traces of Hindu belief, morality, law, and custom, in Europe?

The more modern ancients, as distinguished from the Phenicians, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians, acknowledged the Greeks to be the most civilized people in the world. This claim has been generally allowed, as well grounded on their love of liberty, and their advancement in literature, science, and the arts. As regards the last, indeed, they attained such a degree of excellence, as has never been equalled. So far then Grecian civilization merits to be classed high. It was however, if viewed according to modern impressions, very far from being a complete civilization; since no amount of civilization can be admitted as having reached that point, that includes not the true claims of woman. Ancient civilization, at the best, was contracted and exclusive, as respected either the extent of its sphere of action, or the classes to benefit by it. It bore very inconsequentially on political administration in every department, and was productive of no just, enlightened, and merciful scheme of rule and regulation. The Government, springing from ancient civilization, was either the harsh tyranny of

They had no more to do with ritual, than a modern Bishop has with the office of Curate. Then let us again look to ethnological differences. Who ever sees a blue-eyed, flaxen haired Hindu? With our Pelasgic leaning, we look rather to a Phenician, than to a Hindu, teaching in Europe; for the Pelasgi were no mean people even in the time of Homer, and he alludes to them among the other inhabitants of Crete.

Ἐν δ' Ἐτεοκρητες μεγαλητορες, ἐν δε Κυδωνες,
Δωριεες τε τριχαικες, διοι τε Πελασγοι.

ΟΔ. τ. 176.

one, or of the capricious many-headed sway of a democracy. Perfect civilization, indeed, must be founded upon a principle not recognised by the ancients—the sublime one of doing to others, as one would be done by. A competent civilization would comprise a due regard for the value of human life and freedom, and a proper appreciation of woman's mission and office; as well as a due respect for property in all its integrity. Civilization then naturally embraces the perfect harmony of principle and manners. In regard to the second of these, the Greeks undoubtedly bore the palm. That of principle, again, can scarcely be conceded to a people, with whom slavery was an institution; for slaves, of every age and nation, constituted a considerable object of traffic throughout all Greece.

The general subject is a vast one, and fraught in its historical connections with profound interest. Here we can afford merely a slight glance at it. There is comparatively but little to stimulate the mind in the scanty records of the earliest civilization. From the simple reason, that letters were not, such possess little interest. Had it been otherwise, it would surely be very curious to follow the track, step by step. Were they more copious than they are, they would, in all probability, be *caviare* to the multitude. The Annals, elaborated with such wonderful patience, and philosophical insight, in Niebuhr's pages, regarding the earlier Romans, call for an exertion of the reflective faculty, not demanded for the more advanced epochs, illustrated by Sallust, Tacitus, and Suetonius. The reader of English history in general skips all that relates to Caractacus, the Scots and Picts, or even the Saxons and the Heptarchy. A preference therefore is naturally given to times that are nearest our own, or times at least, that seem nearer, because more cognate to our associations and prejudices. In these, the motives and results come more graphically home to our thoughts and experience. It is for the same reason, that the history of the Greeks (to say nothing of their splendid literature) has a more life-like interest, than the annals of the Phenicians and Egyptians, or even of the Chinese.

Civilization being a slow process, the extreme points of which are barbarism and refinement, we shall not be surprised to find, that with some, it halts; while with others, it has made considerable progress, both intellectually and morally. Barbarism is ever apt to give or take offence, and to strike. Civilization is slow to take offence—bears and forbears, and would repel violence, rather by suasion than force. Civilization contemplates the interests and welfare of the many; its opposite limits regard to the few. The savage, we may suppose,

has advanced several steps, and has at length become a cultivator. The practice of husbandry, and the use of the diet thus raised, have at length harnessed him for civilization. With him, as with the most civilized, the object is much the same—to work as little as he can possibly help, consistently with providing the means of passing enjoyment. The more advanced he is in civilization, the more will he be solicitous to provide for the future. There are those, however, who never settle down to agricultural pursuits, who nevertheless cannot justly be deemed savages. It is not merely agreeable, but necessary, to nomadic races, to wander from place to place. Military encampments in our own day, soon exhaust forage, and become offensive, from the aggregation of multitudes of human beings, and animals, in one place. These two causes of themselves, combined with the peculiar idiosyncrasy, arising from the long continued influence of both, sufficiently account for the love of roving, which distinguishes the Arabs and the Tartars, above all other races. Nevertheless the former are not barbarous in the just sense of the term, but, as an able moral statist* has remarked,—‘ They have an uncivilized civilization of their own, unlike that of civic or settled life, yet as much removed from that of a mere rude and ignorant barbarism.’ The wants, even, of a crude or partial civilization, by stimulating to reflection and exertion, and thus rearing habits of forecast, become incentives to virtue, and so carry a blessing with them. Providers and consumers thus become benefactors to each other; neither must we forget, that a life of objectless idleness may become the vice of a high, as well as of a low, civilization, and, in either case, becomes a plague spot of real suffering to the individual.

It is not until associated numbers begin to form townships, that their annals can be instructive. The hunter and pastoral measure of civilization gradually merges in the agricultural; and, according to facilities of transit, that passes into the commercial, political, and artistic. As the circle of civilization extends, refinement begins to assume form and perfection at the centre. In the ratio that the interests of the few, or of the many, are the chief objects of consideration in the polity, will the civilization be low or high. While a just civilization contemplates the interests of the many, it also watches jealously over individual rights. One of the most obvious marks of a just civilization, is the accurate recognition as, a rule of practice, of the injunction—‘ let every thing be done in order.’ Never-

* Shar. n Turner.

theless, in no case, can civilization be deemed stereotyped, in regard to social bearings. An obstinate adherence to inexpedient conventionality is a sign of halting, or retrograde, civilization. The civilization of Spain was probably of a higher order in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, than in those of Ferdinand VII. or his daughter. The Hindus are celebrated for their unreasoning adherence to *dustúr*, or custom, which is only another name, for what is recognised in England, as 'the wisdom of our ancestors.' A slowness to innovate, without cogent and conclusive reason, is undoubtedly a sign of true wisdom. This has proved, constitutionally and morally, conservative of English institutions. Occasionally, however, *dustúr*, as an obstacle to improvement, is found as rampantly obstructive in England, as in Bengal; of which the opposition, shown to the cleansing, draining, and ventilating provisions of the health-of-towns bill, by the city of London, may be referred to as an instance.

Up to our own times, the process of civilization, or culture of the heart's best dispositions, in unison with advancement in intellectual knowledge, has gone on, as it were (using the term with all reverence), as one of experiment. The end was, has been, and is, to try the nations, as to their civilizing and educating qualifications. An opportunity has been given to each and all to be weighed in that balance. Many have been found wanting; or, contributing all they were capable of bestowing, have been wiped away, like a sum worked out on a slate, which is sponged out to prepare for another. Each nation has directed its energies towards some particular work, for which its capacity sufficed: but, heart-faith being deficient, it has faded away. The capabilities of such nations, as true and progressive civilizers, having failed in the day of trial—they were cast aside for ever. This, in little, is the terrible epitome of history; but it is not more terrible, than true—as witness the Chaldeans, the Phenicians, the Egyptians, and the ancient Syrians. The remark applies equally to the Jews, as a nation, though, as a race, they still survive. In the reign of Solomon, their civilization and prosperity alike culminated.

As far as reading and writing go, it may admit of doubt, whether the mass of the British people now are superior to the Grecians, or to the natives of India. The custom of Ostracism alone, required that a man should know how to write, unless indeed, we suppose, what is not at all improbable, that some who knew not themselves how to scratch the obnoxious name, on the shell or potsherd, got some qualified person to do the needful for himself, and a round dozen besides, it may be, for a

present of onions, leeks, salt, a jar of Hybla honey, some salt-fish, or, better still, the Copaic eel.* A time at length came, (which comes to all nations) when the heart religion of the Greeks became corrupted or effete. Considering bigotry, at any rate, to be an evidence of sincerity, neither in Greece, nor any other country, can general dereliction take place without a struggle with principle, or with that, which too often assumes its authority—bigotry. Of all those who sat in judgment on Socrates, it may well be doubted, whether any had such a deep and well-grounded heart faith, on the very points of the inculcation, as the accused. In the Roman Empire, the national religion and morality began to decay at the metropolis, or heart. It was in consequence of this rapidly growing free-thinking, that the office of Augur came to be looked upon as a perfect farce. The incumbents consequently must have had a struggle to maintain their gravity during the performance of what they deemed a ludicrous mummerly; though considered so awful an affair by their ancestors. What has been, may be again; for we learn from an old and sacred authority, that there is nothing new under the sun—not even Atheism.

If civilization, leaving the firm ground of religious prescription and moral sentiment, degenerate into a system based upon a false philosophy and mere external refinement, no nation so affected can be otherwise than tossed. There will be wanting the strong anchor of principle to hold by. This is a state of things that has roused the indignant comments of some of our most gifted minds. Burke, Robert Hall, and Carlyle have assailed it, each in turn. The 'Mechanic Philosophy,' according to the first, has a direct tendency to tear away rudely—'all the decent drapery of life,—all the superadded ideas furnished from the wardrobe of a moral imagination.† The reason, to which this philosophy leads, is that which banishes the affections. It is the fashion of it to 'reduce every question to a calculation of expedience.‡ A callous indifference to all moral distinctions is an almost inseparable effect of the familiar application of this theory.§ 'Virtue is no longer contemplated as the object of any particular sentiment

* See 'The Acharnians' of Aristophanes.

† Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution.

‡ Works of the Revd. Robert Hall.

§ Even in the place where we dwell, have we not had impressive exhibitions of the embarrassment, distress and ruin, brought on hundreds, by the memorable laxity of principle, and shocking dishonesty, of parties to whom immense public property was trusted? Many are still suffering, and will, for years to come, smart from consequences that have made Calcutta a bye-word and a reproach all over the world.

or feeling, but solely with regard to its effects on society; it is what it produces, not what it is, that is alone considered. This desecration of virtue, this incessant domination of physical over moral ideas, of ideas of expedience over those of right, having already dethroned religion, and displaced virtue from her ancient basis, will, if it is suffered to proceed, ere long shake the foundation of states, and endanger the existence of the civilized world.* As this forcible writer anticipated, this domination of ideas, has become popular, and has in a measure descended from speculation into common life, where it ever and anon startles us, as chartism, socialism, or communism. 'It is no longer the moral, religious, spiritual condition of the people that is our concern, but their physical, practical, economical condition. Men are to be guided only by their self-interests.† The same writer shows how, even religion itself, works as a mere machine. A still more recent writer observes—'The characteristics of the age which bear most immediately on the condition and prospects of Christianity, may be conveniently classed, as including scepticism, materialism, and contempt of the past, together with strong reactions, which those tendencies have severally called forth.‡ Nor is this state of things new. The same oscillation between authority and innovation, prescription and neology, scepticism and religion, distinguished the latter days of ancient states. Is the civilization of our own days so strongly based, as to run no risk of further deterioration? Does it not fade in some places like a Daguerreotype picture? As in a great city, and especially the city in which we dwell, we behold desolate spots, and putrifying ponds, a deserted tenement in ruins, the claims of which are in Chancery, and, here and there, pet conservancy nurseries of miasma; so, in the midst of general civilization, may be observable that tendency to barbarism, which besets it as surely, as the law of rapid corruption treads on the heels of all life. The steel mirror will rust, if not watchfully kept clean.

Though there will be great difference of opinion regarding the national standards of civilization, we suppose it will scarcely be denied, that the presence of a court, and the influence of an aristocracy, and a substantial and enlightened middle class, tend greatly to form such a standard. In such a frame of society, the female influence will have the most genial field to work in, as a most powerful element, in producing and ensuring that constant self-control and unaffected urbanity, which

* Revd. Robert Hall.

† Mr. Carlyle in the "Edinburgh Review."

‡ 'The Age and Christianity,' by Dr. Vaughan.

are such charming features of good civilization. An extract from the work of a recent traveller is suggestive on this head. It alludes to Washington, the capital of the United States, and the seat of government. It appears to be a mere fourth rate town of little commercial importance, which, during the recess, is abandoned to the boarding-house keepers, and a few dull officials. The contrast, afforded by this state of things and the bustle attendant on the return of the legislature, is marked. The senators, for the most part, however, leave their families at home, and live bachelor-fashion, while at Washington. The listless streets and boarding-houses now assume their wonted liveliness, and it becomes obvious that the absence of the ladies operates prejudicially on manners, for the majority give themselves up to jollity and gambling, and the delights of sherry-cobblers and mint juleps. 'On most persons who come in contact with this state of things, its effect is speedily discernible. In some it tarnishes the lustre of precontracted refinements; in others it aggravates the rougher and more repulsive features of their character. Many sink to the condition of moral bears, demeaning themselves, as if they had never known a social restraint, and as if the more graceful conventionalities of civilization were especially alien to their nature. In their mutual intercourse, but little courtesy of manner, or suavity of disposition, is displayed. They are manly, without being gentlemanly.* Is not this description applicable to some scenes of Mofussil and cantonment life in India? Extreme selfishness is very current with high civilization, or rather that phase of mere external refinement, which passes for such with many. This becomes sufficiently perceptible in the course of travel, or at any place of public entertainment. Another traveller has a remark on those who consider themselves the most civilized of all people; suggested by the company in a French steam boat. 'I cannot like the middle classes of the French nation, particularly in travelling, and in rough weather; they have little idea of cleanliness, never shaving and dressing, and often exhibit all that is disgusting in the epicure, added to the German unmannerly mode of eating.†

A certain amount of knowledge, and of intimacy with the living representatives and expositors of knowledge and science, may be consistent with imperfect civilization. We learn from a very able historical work of our own times, in regard to the

* 'The Western World,' by Alexander Mackay, Esq., &c.

† Sir Chas. Fellows' Travels in Asia Minor.

Grand Duke Constantine, who stepped aside, or was forced aside, to make way for the present Emperor of Russia, as follows ;—

‘The Grand Duke was one of those inexplicable beings, who, baffling observation, disappoint alike their friends and their foes. His figure was athletic, and admirably symmetrical; his face hideous; and yet gleams of good nature shot from his eyes, deep set beneath their bushy and sandy brows, and tempered the savage expression of his countenance. Fierce by caprice, sensitive by fits, he had astonished men by renouncing the throne of the Czars to wed a young Pole, whom he loved, and to whose influence he assiduously submitted with the docility of a child, and the respectfulness of a knight. Versed in science and literature, he had nothing but contempt to bestow on their professors; he availed himself of his own acquirements to deride them; and he spoke of the genius of the west, the treasures of which he seemed to possess, sometimes with the flippancy of a grandee, sometimes with the brutal disdain of a barbarian. He delighted in military exercises, in the manœuvres of camps, and in *corps de garde* scenes; and, though he sometimes gave way to passion, so far as to strike officers, and even to spit in their faces, he loved the Polish army, and was proud of it, having himself drilled and disciplined it.’*

This portrait, from the hand of a man of undoubted genius, and (notwithstanding some startling circumstances, we believe,) of a man of sincere convictions and honest intentions—has *vraisemblance*, and, now that the subject of it is no longer sensible to praise or censure, strikes us as a faithful one, not merely individually, but nationally, considered. Even as respects all Russia, this portrait will suit classes. At any rate, it is of the East;—Eastern; and reminds us strongly of many, who have figured in Indian history from Muhammed of Ghuzni downwards.

Time was, when institutions moved harmoniously round a principle of some kind, strong as adamant; of moral power, or spiritual responsibility. We have succinctly shewn what the conclusions of some original minds are, in regard to the selfishness of the age. They deem it a religion! Such it would seem to be, by the apparent profound belief in the power of its energies, not merely to get over all difficulties without scruple, but to varnish over beautifully all flaws, that may become apparent in justifying the means by the end. Whatever relates to self, is, as it were, of sacred consequence: what to the general, of none at all. A regard to our own general happiness, as the author of ‘The Analogy’ has demonstrated, is not a vice in itself, but the contrary. ‘The weakness of the social affections, and the strength of the private desires, properly constitute selfishness.’ This feeling certainly loses nothing of its intensity by travelling eastward; but, be that as it may, an over confiding

* ‘The History of Ten Years,’ by Louis Blanc.

spirit, or a readiness to believe the sentiment expressed, is not the foible of our age. Men now-a-days, in general intercourse, do not err by overflowing trustfulness—save in Union Bank and other bubbles! This should not astonish us in India, where the government, by multiplying checks on checks, sufficiently shows that it trusts its servants no farther than they are watched. High and low are in the position of being suspected of a continued desire to avail themselves of clipping opportunities—and no wonder! Let us not be surprised then, at a general doubt of every man's honesty—if we find the mistrust running like a black thread, through sundry regulations of the state, till it becomes obstructive of real business. The Hermit of Rydal Mount sayeth most truly that 'the world is too much with us.' Late and early it is the same, ever getting and expending; we lay waste our powers, till in his yearning for simplicity and heart faith, we echo the Poet's invocation—

————— Great God! I'd rather be
 A Pagan suckled in a creed out worn,
 So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
 Have glimpses that might make me less forlorn,
 Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea,
 Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.*

To mollify human feelings and tendencies, which are so apt to harden with a high civilization, an appeal to reason alone will not be sufficient. It is not a new system the world requires, but a simple and honest practical recognition of one long known, and spoken of; and more spoken of and written about, than acted upon. What is needed, is an earnest and comprehensive co-operation of motives and professions, promises and performances, sentiments and deeds—in short, the fulfilment of that Christianity 'which under any theory of it, in the believing or unbelieving mind, must ever be regarded as the crowning glory, or rather the life and soul of our whole modern culture.'†

The character of a people, be it great or petty, beautiful or repulsive, is the growth of ages of varying duration. The distinguishing qualities will have grown in accordance with the gratification, or contended for gratification, of the parties concerned. The character, or, in other words, the civilization of India, has strong claims upon our consideration—especially in reference to the views of those who deem that it has undergone deterioration from a high and palmy state. As in individual, so in national genius, the powers must have an internal source. Much originality is recognisable in the

* Wordsworth

† Carlyle.

history of the Hindu mind, although the directors of its movements have not always shown themselves averse, from urging originality beyond its indigenous legitimate consequences. They have rather shown themselves to be very ready to claim foreign ideas as their own, in directions where their pretensions have proved more specious than solid. Brahman flexibility has thus exhibited a promptness, on occasion, to appropriate, or to reject, as might under peculiar circumstances seem most expedient. The forms, in which the Hindu mind has manifested its powers, nevertheless, appear to be for the most part derived from its own resources. They are like nothing else, unless indeed we admit a resemblance to Egyptian types. The Hindu mind, therefore, has that character of genius, which we acknowledge in self-derived resources. Whatever has been felt by the individual in sympathy with others, will, by a natural process, at length become interwoven with the national mind. In this way, the most extraordinary, and even monstrous, conceptions of the preternatural, or supernatural, may become intimately associated with the national ideas. We find in some countries the love of nature, and the associations of place become a portion of the national sentiment. Do we recognise this as a characteristic of the national mind in India? Do we find it, irrespective of mere animal habitude? A cat likes a particular house. A Bengali, or Irish Cottier, loves his squalid holding, on which he has been used to squat. Do we find the sentiment of patriotism existing in either case? Are the Hindus and the Mahommedans sentient of, and warmly alive to, the beauties of general nature, and the surpassing loveliness of form and colour, investing the various departments of nature's empire? If the mind has lived in the full and proper freedom of its own powers, and has innate intelligence, feeling, and vigour, for guidance, it will manifest its strength in forms of loveliness and majesty. In a system like the Brahminical, are we justified in looking for a field favourable to such high development?

The latest Historian of India was struck with the contrast, in regard to the nature of the gods, between those of India and Greece. 'The Hindu gods, though imbued with human passions, have always something monstrous in their appearance, and wild and capricious as their conduct.* The Greek gods, on the other hand, were formed like men, with greatly increased powers and faculties—' and acted as men would do, if so circumstanced, but with the dignity and energy suited to their

* History of India, by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, Vol. i.

near approach to perfection.* We have it, on the authority and experience of the same fine historian—that the indirect influence, on its votaries, of the Hindu religion, is—‘to debase and debilitate the mind.’

What then are the Indian standards of the great, the good, and the beautiful? In the religion of the Greeks there was nurtured the beau-ideal of the beautiful and the great, but, in a more stunted measure, that of the good. The Hindus, in several respects, remind one of the Greeks, but it is much after the fashion, that the wrong side of the tapestry resembles the right. The Greek priests never formed one organized body, nor were incorporated into any kind of hierarchy. This was the case also with the Hindus. The Brahmins are to be considered as an aristocracy—not as a priesthood. They were the custodiers of all learning, but not ritual officials. The Hindus had no colleges of priests, no cardinals, no popes. Considered therefore as a body—the officiating priests had no power. They were maintained by voluntarism. They were, and are, indeed, considered rather as a degraded body.

As in the Homeric poems no mention is made of hero-worship, neither do we find a trace of it in the Vedantic writings. Since their age, we have the Púrānic legends, fraught with hero-worship. Every where, the tomb has been shown to have a tendency to become an altar. This is sufficiently observable in India—and is not confined to the Hindus. It was, if any thing, still more prominent in Greece. In the mythology of the Hindus, the beau-ideal of the great is always extravagant or absurd; that of the good very doubtful, and hinging too much on ritual austerity, or senseless abstraction from the world; while of the beautiful there are but few traces. Their conceptions of the great and the beautiful being thus defective, their works of art have never come up to a standard, that could be acknowledged as universal. As any power overthrown, not by accident, but by time, by a change gradually effected in ideas, can never be re-established, we need look no more for the revival of Indian art, than of Egyptian or Assyrian art. Art in India has only the life in death, of rapid decline verging on extinction. The Hindu imagination is not creative in our day. Whether it possess any regenerative vitality, remains to be seen.

Schlegel has observed of modern literature, that it has yielded

* It is told of Mrs. Siddons, that, when standing before the Apollo Belvedere, while in the gallery of Louvre, she exclaimed, “How great must be the Being, who created the genius, which produced such a form as this!” Such an exclamation is not likely to be exacted by the view of a Hindu statue.

to the feminine influence, or prejudice. That of antiquity was open to an entirely different reproach. It is scarcely to be doubted that women were spectators of the Grecian acted drama. If so, they must have often heard allusions, which, to modern ideas, would be distressing and startling. Circumstanced as they were, in all probability their feelings of delicacy were not very sensitive. Even in their religious festivals, the eyes of the women must have been exposed to many sights of great indecency.* The Dyonisiac festivals, borrowed originally from the East, were no more favourable to national morality, than the *Holi saturnalia* of the Hindus. Even tragedy itself, at first, was only a chorus in honour of Bacchus. Persons dressed as Satyrs were the performers. Can this have any connection with the *Ram-lila* of India, and *Hun-númán's* army of monkeys, which, at the annual festival, form such a prominent part of the dramatic pageant? As with the Egyptians and Greeks, there are also invocations and *pújas* of the Hindus, which indicate either the simplicity, or the depravity, of the votaries. Much of this may be owing to a desire to realize the symbolical, or what was deemed sacred, as much as possible; no less than to their being like the Greeks, a seeing, rather than a reading, people. Let philosophical writers, however, speculate as they may, the phallic worship must have a direct, and a continual, tendency to corrupt the imagination and the heart. It is impossible to look at the sculptures on some temples, and pictures in distemper on walls, in India; and to hear and see, what may be heard and seen, at Indian festivals, bearing in mind also what has been recorded of *Sakti*; and not to feel, that the phallic element in the Hindu system has been productive of much moral deterioration.† Where there is grossness of taste, it will necessarily affect the social leaven in a variety of ways. Let this continue from generation to generation for ages, and where is there room for surprise, at the great falling away, which the natives themselves acknowledge as the characteristic of the *Kali Yug*? This will in a great measure account for the absence of that innate delicacy among the natives of India, that is recognisable in a variety of ways among the people of the European nations, especially the English. There are a thousand little traits of modesty in bearing

* A. W. Schlegel's 6th Lect.

† The great feature of the religion, taught by the Tantras, is the worship of *Sakti*—Divine power personified as a female, and individualised not only in the goddesses of mythology, but in every woman; to whom, therefore, in her own person, religious worship may be, and is occasionally, addressed. The chief objects of adoration, however, are the manifold forms of the bride of Siva; *Parvati*, *Umá*, *Dúrga*, *Kali*, &c. &c.—*Two Lectures*, by H. H. Wilson, M. A.

and allusion, the want of which is such an obvious defect of Indian civilization. The Zenana, or the Harem, is one of the causes of this absence of rare delicacy. In countries, where women are not shut up, there is a general standard of what is considered propriety in the presence of the sex. In the East, there can scarcely be a general standard. Every Zenana, or Harem, is its own standard. The existence of the Harem guard shows how low is the estimate of female honour. The necessity for such an animal, as an eunuch, is of itself the emphatic mark of immense social corruption. Nor is the indelicacy, springing out of such a system, confined to the intercourse of the sexes; it affects the whole mass. It is accordingly no uncommon thing to hear natives of India, with the most unblushing effrontery, ask favours of people, upon whom they have little or no claim, with the most unwearied tenacity. The Harem system, too, habitually fosters a turn for concealment and evasion. It comprises a moiety of man's life and economy, to which no allusion even must be made in conversation. This naturally begets disingenuousness and reserve, that extend to other things, tinging the national mind. Wherever woman is shut up, manly feeling will be in abeyance, and civilization very incomplete.

In every country, where it has taken root, the institution of slavery also has tended to give a coarseness to the feelings and manners. Independent of other influences, the very fact of a man being entitled to consider human beings, as mere goods and chattels, to be used as he may please, infers a mental and social position, altogether at variance with just notions of civilization. The united influence of the phallic and servile element, in national polity, has proved alike prejudicial to the holiness of truth, and of modesty. Among the natives of antiquity, slavery had a domestic and a municipal phase. The lat-

The same high authority states of *left hand* Sakti faith,—‘It is to this that the bloody sacrifices offered to Kali must be imputed; and all the barbarities and indecencies, perpetrated at the Durga pūja, the annual worship of Durga and the Churuck pūja, (the swinging festival,) are to be ascribed. There are other atrocities which do not meet the public eye. This is not an unfounded accusation, not a controversial calumny. We have the books, &c. Of course no respectable Hindu will admit that he is a Vamachari, a follower of the left hand ritual, or that he is a member of a society, in which meat is eaten, and wine is drunk, and abominations not to be named practised.’ In regard to the Hindu religion in general—the same distinguished writer states of faith, that it is all sufficient, wholly independent of conduct, to ensure salvation. ‘Entire dependence upon Krishna, or any other favourite deity, not only obviates the necessity of virtue, but it sanctifies vice. Conduct is wholly immaterial. It matters not how atrocious a sinner a man may be, if he paints his face, his breast, his arms, with certain sectarial marks; or which is better, if he brand his skin permanently with them with a hot iron stamp; if he is constantly chaunting hymns in honor of Vishnu, or, what is equally efficacious, if he spend hours in the simple reiteration of his name or names; if he die with the word Kali or Rama, or Krishna, on his lips, and the thought of him in his mind;—he may have lived a monster of iniquity—he is certain of heaven.’

ter enabled corporations, to turn the captives, taken in battle, to public account. The natives of India, like the Greeks, also distinguished between indigenous slaves, and those brought from other countries. It is evident, that many of the disadvantages, under which native society labours, arise from the nullity of female influence for good. It is only in a country where the female influence is weak, and civilization incomplete, that polygamy would be tolerated.

All nations are under the domination, more or less, of what may be called the life idea, and the death idea. The first of these embraces all that regards life and its enjoyments; the last look to the close of all earthly enjoyment, and the commencement of a new existence, hinging on the responsibilities of the former. In some countries, the restraining power of the one is more constant and effective than in others. The proper balancing of both embraces a large amount of civilization, or has a most important bearing on all civilization. Where the bulk of the people is Hindu, we find religion manifesting itself chiefly by rites and forms, in unison with a competent civilization. This indeed, there can be little doubt, they had some ages before its benign influences extended to parts of Europe. The absorption dogma of Hinduism appears to have had a manifestly injurious effect, in regard to the hopes and fears, and, as reflected from them, on the civilization of the people. 'It is needless to add,' observes a writer, whose authority is entitled to the highest respect—'that the opinion concerning the nature of the soul, as making a part of a celestial substance, to which after the dissolution of the body it was to be restored, is entirely destructive of a belief of future rewards and punishments, because it removes all idea of individuality.*' This belief, entering as an element into the national mind for ages, has obviously been influential in lessening the stimulation to life energies, and producing an indifference, bordering on apathy, as to the issues of death. The Brahmin doctrine of contemplation is either its source, or its fruit. This contemplation, as a regenerative principle (the very essence of all the intellectual dreams of Plotinus), or speculative separation from all material interests, was an impossible process—a mere will of the wisp. According to this transcendental doctrine, man is capable, by meditation, of altogether separating his material from the immaterial part—a process that in this life would be useless, even if it were possible. The inculcation of it, as a duty, or a merit, is, however, worse than useless, tending as it directly does,

* "Records of the Creation," by the R. R. John Bird Sumner, D. D.

to draw away active and capable men, into a state of drowsy idleness. How different from the contemplation referred to by Plutarch,* as that which should not only merely be passive, but that which had a tendency to nourish the soul, and lead to action!

Nations, like individuals, inherit a debt, that derivatively, or personally, has been contracted. The whole scheme of the Me-tempsychosis rests on the belief of an entail of offence, that man is bound, or embarrassed by, as surely, though not as patently to all comprehension, as by process of human legislation. Hard to understand as may seem the doctrine of original, or entailed, transgression, yet do we find it shadowed out even in various forms of factitious religion—so to distinguish all belief, that is at variance with revealed truth. Do we not daily perceive, how the infant, in the womb even, is, as it were, bound by obligations of man's law, ready to limit his movements, and hamper his free will, on his entrance into our world? To foreclose the divine mortgage may, after all, be an easier process than to get absolved from the bonds of human law. We know from history, that nations even, to say nothing of individuals, may become the retributive victims of crimes, or follies, in which they had no direct, or personal, participation.

Among all nations, the commencement of literature is mostly a series of myths, arising out of the religious idea, which is natural to all men. It is always connected with a very crude civilization. Homer, on the whole, describes a rude age. The manners of it strike us as eminently selfish and coarse. Above all other qualifications, personal strength and ferocious courage were deemed virtue. The quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles could only have occurred in a half barbarous age.† The same may be said of the whole 'causa teterrima' of the Trojan war. The fair Helen would have been neither fought for, nor received back, by her husband, in a civilized age. In this respect he is more complaisant, or (shall we say in other words?) less civilized than the Hero of the Ramayana—of which Ravana is the Paris, but not so fortunate with the lady, as the Trojan.

* Life of Pericles.

† The clumsy attempt at reconciliation is of a piece. Both naturally grew out of a state of things, in which woman might be disposed of, like a horse, or a bale of goods. 'The king of men' not only engages to return Briseis insured from all taint, as far as his royal oath could demonstrate; but offers him the choice of his three daughters, Chryssithemis, Laodice, or Iphianassa; and—by way of anticipating every objection—without dowry.

Τρεις δὲ μοι εἴσι θυγάτρες ἐν μεγάρῳ ἑυπύκτω.

Hom. *Iliad*: ix.

Upon the fall of Ravana, Sita was recovered—'but before being re-admitted to her husband's embraces, she was compelled to vindicate her purity, by undergoing the ordeal of fire. Having passed unhurt through the blazing pile, and been further justified by the oral testimony of Brahma and other gods, as well as the spirit of Dasaratha, her father-in-law, she was once more united to Rama.'* To counterbalance this, however, it must not be forgotten, that Rama, most ungallantly, had previously requited the tender sentiments with which he had inspired her, by cutting off the nose and ears of Surparakha, the sister of Ravana.

Myths by degrees deepen their channels, and merge into annals, forming the germ of speculation and philosophy. The first poems among the Greeks were long supposed to be the Orphic hymns, or similar compositions. It has, however, been shewn, on cogent grounds, that these emanated, for the most part, from the poets of the Alexandrian age, and subsequently to the Christian era.† It would be interesting to trace the scanty sources, in myth and fable, of that stream, which ere long became a majestic river, that at length bears the voyager into the majestic sea of Greek literature, with its wonderful and soul-agitating Drama. The Romans again—for ages—were unacquainted with dramatic representation, and their earliest attempts at poetry were in honour of the gods, to which succeeded the rude Saturnine verses. It was not till after the destruction of Carthage, that we have the real commencement of their literature, and the approach to refinement, which follows the tracks even of rude poetry, as the birds, the furrow of the plough. The language, until then, was unfixed, and rude. Poetry everywhere precedes history. It was not till about three centuries before the Christian era, that we have any thing we can admit to be Roman history. As previous to Hesiod and Homer, we have little authentic Grecian literature; so in India, previous to the Vedas and the Code of Menu, we have nothing. In process of time, however, the Hindu mind produced a noble body of poetry, and dramatic excellence, as the *Muhabharat* and 'The Theatre of the Hindus,' sufficiently testify.

True civilization has three departments, 'what was, what is, and what ought to be.'‡ Barbarism concerns itself very little with history, or 'what has been.' We are, according to the authority quoted, to look to the physical sciences, for answer

* Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*.—Preface to *Uttara Rama Cherita*.

† Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. 1.

‡ Sir James Macintosh, in the *Edinburgh Review*.

to the question, What is ? The moral senses teach us, What ought to be, aiming at ascertaining the rules, which ought to govern voluntary actions, and habitual dispositions of mind. Though true civilization claims to be that, in which religion affects not form only, but principle, and is conservative, no less of man's, than of woman's, civil rights ; yet are there several observances which indicate its degree, as the custom of marriage, of meals, the nature and measure of punishment, and the disposal of the dead. Early civilization will of course be imperfect, according to the notions of posterity, in conventional refinement.

In regard to marriage, that feature of the social compact, which perhaps points to a lower civilization, than the Hindus are willing to admit, and which at any rate is a theme of reproach, is their joining mere children in an indissoluble covenant. The Vedas did not sanction this.

'In fact, it was impossible for a man to marry before maturity, as nine years are specified as the shortest term of studentship, until the expiration of which he was not allowed to marry. He did not enter his studentship till he was seven or eight, and therefore, at the earliest, he could not have been married before he was seventeen ; an early age enough, in our estimation, but absolute manhood, as compared with the age of nine, or ten, at which Hindu boys are, according to the present practice, husbands. There is no doubt that many other innovations for the worse have been made, in the marriage ritual and usages of the Hindus ;—and the whole system, the premature age at which the parties are married, the practice of polygamy, and the circumstances, under which the alliance is commonly contracted, involving the utter degradation of the female sex, is equally fatal to the development of the moral virtues, and intellectual energies of the man, and is utterly destructive both of public advancement and domestic felicity.*

To say that this custom has proved unfavourable, alike to morality and civilization, is only to reiterate a truism. It is, nevertheless, but just to admit for the civilization of the code of Menu, that it views marriage as a stringent and indissoluble compact ; and has made conjugal fidelity equally obligatory on the husband, as the wife. What has been called 'the spirit of family,' exists in greater strength, we have every reason to believe, among the Hindus, than the Muhammedans. It will ever be strongest, where monogamy is the rule,—and has been appropriately called, by a man of genius and celebrity, 'the second soul of humanity.'†

The economy of the table, as far as concerns the natives of India, constitutes mere eating, seeing that a table, with all its genial social reunion, is not. Nothing need be said in regard to heroic meals in any country ; for, pleasant as it may be to

* Two Lectures, &c. &c., by H. H. Wilson, M. A.

† A. De Lamartine—'Pilgrimage,' &c.

read of heroes, yet would nothing be so startling to our degenerate ideas, as the realization of a hero, either preparing (they were generally their own cooks), or discussing, his provant. It could scarcely have been pleasant to a Greek—say one of the ten thousand even—to be invited to a Persian feast of a roasted horse, ass, or camel, served up whole, as, we have it from Herodotus, was their fashion on birth-days, and such like grand occasions. Even a Grecian bill of fare, in the days of Aristophanes, does not seem to have been very inviting. When the little Bœotian informs his master Dikaiopolis that he brings ducks, geese, and hares, foxes, moles, weasels, hedge-hogs, and other things,* it is to be hoped, that some of the articles were intended for some other purpose than table consumption. There is, in fact, no accounting for tastes† In the earlier ages, the Romans fed on fruits, and such like simple fare, and their drink was water. In this they resembled the Greeks, who, so far, were oriental in their tastes, but were more sociably inclined than the Hindus. At least the family ate together, and their meals were served in dishes laid on tables. This, however, was a strictly domestic arrangement, as when there was, what in modern vulgar phraseology we term (and we know not a more pithy term), a regular ‘blow out,’ the ladies did not appear.‡ With the table economy of the Greeks was fostered a branch of art—all the plates and vessels being models of elegance, as well as of utility. The more barren, or morose, feeling of the Hindu has produced nothing better than the common earthen pot, and the brass *lota*, and *towa*, or *salver*. Eating with the hand of itself, laying aside its being done unsociably, is not consistent with any elevated notions of refinement. Indeed it may be considered a sure sign of the reverse. The European nations, and their descendants elsewhere, have

* ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ. καὶ μαν φερῶ χανας, λαγως, ἄλωπεκας,
σκαλοπας, εχινως, αἰελουρως, πυκτιδας,
ἰκτιδας ἐνυδρως, εγγελοις Κωπαικας.

Αχαρνεις.

† In Scotland, sheep's head is a highly relished dish. In Belgium, it is never used but as a medicine for dogs. The Englishman does not fancy a frog. The Frenchman relishes it. The Chinese are unique in their culinary use of puppy dogs.

‡ Even as late as the time of Cornelius Nepos, a passage bearing on the subject suggests more than it expresses. It refers to Greek manners, as compared to Roman. ‘Contra ea, pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora, quæ apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? aut ejus materfamilias non primum locum tenet ædium, atque in celebritate versatur? quod multo fit aliter in Græcia; nam neque in convivium adhibetur, nisi propinquorum; neque sedet, nisi in interiore parte ædium, quæ gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.’ The Roman mode infers European heartiness, and confidence in woman; the Grecian smacks strongly of Oriental jealousy. The Romans were thus more civilized in that matter.

dropped this very uncouth mode of feeding, for ages ; but the Natives of India still adhere to it with Oriental tenacity!* Hospitality was one of the five sacraments of old Hinduism, and its rules contain precepts of politeness and self denial, ' which would be very pleasing if they were not so much restricted to Brahmins entertaining men of their own class.†

The Hindus have for ages had the reputation of being a merciful people. In this respect they contrast favourably even with European nations, at least as respects times past. Their punishments accordingly were not of the relentless and cruel nature, of countries deeming themselves perhaps more advanced in civilization—and such as, till a very recent period, disgraced the British Code. Their mode of disposing of the dead, on the other hand, is wholly at variance with occidental ideas of the natural and the seemly. Perhaps there can be nowhere a more sad exhibition than a Hindu funeral, especially if the parties concerned be poor. It is not an uncommon thing in Bengal, to see a dead body, slung like a bundle to a bamboo, borne on the shoulders of two of the relations, who thus trot with it perhaps for miles, in a hot day towards the river side, or any nullah, that for the nonce represents the Ganges. The whole thing looks very irreverent, and humiliating to human nature: but the poor fellows cannot help it. They have a painful duty to perform, and they get through it as well as they can, at the cost of a great deal of personal dis-

* Even this fact, however, requires qualifying. It is necessary continually, in considering Eastern civilization, to revert to our own. The difference between Europeans and Asiatics is, that the former, getting a hint even how to advance, go on ahead—while those, who are considered by their own sages to have been our teachers, take ages to improve a hint. England, under the Plantagenets, was, politically and socially considered, worse off than India in general. While the state of villenage continued, the progress of civilization in the West was almost stationary. We need not trace the blows, by which Villenage was knocked on the head by Wat Tyler, and Jack Cade. Worthless as might be the demagogues who led the movement, yet had their outbursts most important results. Villenage ceased to be a direct engine of force—and workmen became invested with a degree of self respect, and social importance previously unknown. Under the Plantagenets, the rooms, in which even Baronial company were entertained, were daily covered during winter, with straw and hay, and in summer with rushes and boughs, on which the gentry sat, and ate of the dishes with their hands as they best might. At this time too, when knives and forks, and even spoons, were not, the houses were abundantly furnished with gold and silver vessels, and costly meats and wines. Indeed, it may be said, that much of Orientalism clung to Western manners, far down into our times. In the middle of the fifteenth century, women were under more restriction than afterwards, and generally went veiled. There was even a sumptuary law, that ' no veil of silk, but only of yarn made within the realm, is to be worn by their wives and daughters.'—(Act 37, Ed. III.) Carters, ploughmen cowherds, (the English Sudras in short,) were restricted to blanket cloth, and with their grisly bearded faces, must altogether have borne a strong resemblance to the Ghulies of Kabul, or the Belooches of Schinde. In regard to eating with the hand, it is but just to remark that the traveller in Central America, to this hour, will often have to join in a meal where there is neither knife, fork, or spoon—and this among the descendants of the Spanish conquerors!—(See *Stephen's Travels in Central America*, 1810.)

† Elphinstone's History, Vol. I.

comfort and laborious trouble. We leave it to the reader's judgment to determine, which is the most expedient way of disposing of the remains of human beings,—leaving them to be devoured by vultures, dogs, and jackalls, or to be tossed (as in Naples) stark-naked, heels over head, into a pit of horror, an earthly malebolgia, where hundreds and thousands, treated in the same way, are sweltering. Compared with either, there is real decency in the Parsee 'tower of silence'—and the vultures wheeling over it. The custom of burning the dead, unless the means be complete, is not without offence.* It is the inadequacy from poverty, that has led to debasing exhibitions, with which all on the banks of the Hoogly are too familiar. It were almost a work of supererogation to shew the deteriorating effects on the living, of carelessness to the sacred claims of death. To say the least, reverence in this matter reflects a mournful grace on mortality, and tends to hallow the sweet memories of the heart. The Hindu mode of burial, as generally practised, is unfavourable to morality. It weakens a great safeguard of the current value of life. This familiarity with revolting abasements of death hardens the heart. Need we be surprised then at the general indifference to life in India? Need we be surprised, that, though good swimmers, no native will help a drowning fellow creature a few yards distant from him? This mode of dealing with the dead, too, there is reason to apprehend, offers great facility to the murderer. In every way it is unfavourable to advancement in civilization.

'Noscitur a sociis' is an old rule, but it would scarcely form an index in India. 'Noscitur a domo' would give a better idea of station. In regard to the habitations of the natives of India, if improvement be slow, let us not forget that in England, late in the sixteenth century, the ordinary dwellings of the people were so imperfect, that Erasmus, a citizen of a country more scrupulous in regard to domestic neatness

* It is difficult to say how cremation (which is as old as the Iliad at least) came first to be adopted as a mode of burial. It probably owes its origin to an idea of destroying contagion in persons dying of pestilence. It was resorted to also, sometimes, to protect the remains of the dead from insult (as in 1 Samuel, xxxi. 12). The custom fell into disuse in Europe in the fourth century—for two reasons; perhaps from its being repugnant to feeling, and from its not existing in patriarchal times—at least none of the bodies of the patriarchs, according to scripture, were thus disposed of. The dying Cyrus furnishes an example, which we heartily wish were followed by other Orientals. He directs his body not to be enshrined in gold or silver, but to be committed to mother-earth.

Το δ' ἐμὸν σῶμα, ὦ παῖδες, ὅταν τελευτήσω, μῆτε ἐν χρυσοῦ θῆτε, μῆτε ἐν ἀργύρῳ, μῆτε ἐν ἀλλῷ μηδὲν, ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ ὡς ταχίστα ἀποδοτε. Τί γὰρ τούτου μακαριωτέρον, τοῦ γῇ μὴ θῆναι, ἢ πάντα μὲν τὰ καλά, πάντα δὲ τ' ἀγαθὰ φνεῖ τε καὶ τρεφεῖ;

Κυρὸν παιδεῖα.

than the English of his day, attributed much of the prevalent sickness (and there was more sickness in London in those days than may be generally imagined) to defective ventilation. The windows were so fixed, as to render them, in most houses, incapable of being opened. It was only about the same time that chimneys were first introduced, which to some extent alleviated the evil, by forming the vent of a current of air. The absence of a middle class in Scotland kept the people still more barbarous than in England. At a divertisement got up by Sir David Lindsey of the Mount, 'Lord-lion,-king-at-arms,* a part of the counsel administered to the fair foreigner, the Queen, by the heraldic poet, was, 'to obey her husband, and keep her body clean.' That the latter part of the advice should be addressed to one of her rank is sufficiently significant. It was in sooth, as in India, before and after the same date, an age of coarseness and untidiness, as well as of distrust and danger. In the seventeenth century even, Scotland was still a country of huts and hovels, as is the case in several of the Hebrides, and parts of Ireland still. Superstition was also rife in stories of ghosts and fiends, while alchemy and the philosopher's stone were believed in like gospel truths. In justice to India, it is necessary to bear in mind the halting or rude civilization of Europe, in contemporary times. We may be permitted therefore to refer to a preceding page, where it was observed that the Arabians had an uncivilized civilization of their own. In like manner it may be said, that the natives of India have an unclean cleanliness of their own. The Hindu, who would throw away his food, if a European happened accidentally to touch his cooking pot, will scour his brass vessels with the mud and sŭrkí of the road, or street, contaminated by all sorts of obvious taints. The nations of antiquity had public baths, that were unknown in the earlier stages of their history. In Imperial Rome they formed the chief luxury of the people. It is rather curious, that with a people to whom daily bathing is a sort of sacrament, and to whom accidental contact with females, exterior to their own household and class, is a kind of discourtesy (not to say outrage)† no effort has ever been made, to render that ritual more seemly and commodious for the aged and the weakly, or to separate the sexes. It may be said that the bathing must be in a running stream; but what has that objection do with a

* Marmion.

† 'To have touched the wife of another with the hem of the garment was a violation of her person.'—*Note to Mrichchukati*. This is the very climax of indelicate delicacy!

separate roofed ghát? The gháts, the natives now have, are, we presume, of the same kind as they had in Bengal, in the days of Bullal Sen. In Greece and Rome, as every Hindu College lad knows, there were separate bathing places for the sexes. Surely 'Young Bengal' at least, must be aware that the promiscuous bathing (and other *et ceteras*) at the river side, or the nullah, or tank side, as it may be, can be regarded in no other light than as a sign of low civilization. Has 'Young Bengal' yet endeavoured to give a jog to national delicacy in this matter? It may be considered perhaps as shewing the anxiety of people of caste to crowd together; or are all men equal in the water? Be this as it may, the lustration leaves them after all but dirtily clean, at least in the opinion of Mlechas, who have a saying that, next to godliness is cleanliness. The slowness of the natives of India to improve may be daily noticed in a variety of ways. At the commencement of British connection with India, every native who could afford it, built his house as much as possible on the principle of a fortress. We find that in Calcutta this is yet pretty much the fashion; so inveterate is custom. Narrow staircases, abrupt dark terminations at an angle, or a meaningless landing place, passages that lead 'to nothing,' ups and downs over dwarf terraces, small low rooms, admitting little light through dirty windows—diversify, or constitute, the interior. In the jealous necessities of a system that closely secludes women, ventilation and architectural beauty and consistency are alike set at defiance. Then the exterior approaches are in keeping with the Bridewell-like character of the whole edifice; while some covert sally-port in the side, or rear, leads to a tank, or a ditch, or a field, fringed with a luxuriant crop of weeds. From the seen, we may partly infer the unseen, portions of the mansion, and form our conclusion as to the amount of elegance, tidiness, and comfort they may boast. During the hundred years that the English have been in Calcutta, no native has attempted to improve upon the country conveyances, if we except the *kranchí*. In a word, the natives now are, we suppose, in regard to the estimate of household and equipage commodiousness, much in the position that the English were three or four hundred years ago. The slovenliness of the houses of people of condition, then, rendered frequent removals necessary, even in the Elizabethan epoch. We may guess therefore, what the state of things was, in the mud and clay (rush covered) floors of the Plantagenets. Even during the residence of families, fire-pans, in which coarse perfumes were burnt, were utensils always in sight. In a month or so—the house, (brave days of conservancy!) to use the phrase of the times, became unsavoury

in the summer season: and, if the owner was wealthy, he removed. If otherwise, he remained where he was, daily adding to the magazine of malaria, and predisposing himself and household to the invasion of some deadly malady. It were surely high time that such of the leading natives of Bengal, as have received the advantage of an English education, should endeavour to rouse the minds of their fellow-citizens to the expediency of making such minor reforms, as are in their power, and interfere not with conscientious scruples. They may surely be instrumental in improving their own quarters of the town, and discontinuing sundry things, that are in exceedingly questionable taste.* It may be said of the natives of India in general, but especially of the Bengalis, that their besetting failing is one common to all Asiatics—inertness. Dr. Robinson takes notice of it,† as affecting the Arabs and Egyptians, whose indolence and procrastinating habits almost every traveller takes note of. “They seem, indeed, to have a different version of the good Old English maxim, and act as if it were to be rendered exactly the reverse, *viz.* never to do to-day what can be put off till to-morrow.” This is consonant to the character given of the Egyptians of old, that ‘their strength is to sit still.’‡ For this foible, however, there is much of extenuation to be allowed in the nature of the climate; which affects even the European constitution, and is likely, in its aggravation by descent, to offer a most serious, if not insuperable, bar to English colonization in India. This of itself, however, would not account for the deficiency of manliness, and military virtue, in the Bengali. What manifestation have the people of Bengal ever evinced, of the genuine spirit of freedom and patriotism? A stupid unmeaning attachment to locality is not patriotism. What appreciation have they ever exhibited of the civilization, that is based on boldly as-

* Nothing strikes the eye more offensively in a civilization of any pretension, than want of congruity and keeping. This in former times was sufficiently noticeable in England, but much more so in Scotland. In Calcutta it is no uncommon thing of an evening to see on the Strand, or the Course, fat Baboos sitting almost in a state of nudity in English carriages, drawn by spanking horses. This unquestionably is not decent. Coleridge and Southey, in their racy verses, have told us, that the devil’s darling vice, is ‘pride that apes humility.’ And there is ground to suppose, that, with these frowsy go-naked fellows, their darling vice is dirt that apes gentility. If they will go in this fashion, they should confine themselves to their own quarter of the town. There is a matter too that one would prefer passing over in silence—but that it is a growing evil. In one respect, the lower classes of natives in Calcutta evince the most wanton disregard to common decency. Washing in the aqueducts was bad enough; but the nuisance, we allude to, is of hourly and daily occurrence in the public streets, and even in sight of our wives and daughters, as they pass by in their carriages. In England, it is an affair of police; it ought to be so here; and the sooner some check is put to it, the better.

† Biblical Researches, &c., Vol. I.

‡ Isaiah, XXX.

serted rights—tenacious as they are of extending an inch of concession or grace into an ell of privilege, and adroit as they are in constituting sufferance into precedent? From the invasion of Muhammed of Ghizní, and the commencement of true Muhammedan sway in the person of Kuttub-ud-Dín, and the capture of Bengal by his General Buktiyar, to the battle of Plassey, the Hindus of Bengal continued to bear patiently the Muhammedan yoke, and did not make a single effort to be free.* We do not say this in the way of reproach—far from it. We mention these things for the benefit of our fellow subjects in the latitude we are placed in, in the hope that a word, said in season, may prove useful to those who are capable of being leaders, at least in the department of mental reflection. The finest people may deteriorate: and the inhabitants of Bengal, we believe, claim (some time or other) to have been a people of high and manly civilization. The causes that have depressed them for a time, have depressed a more warlike people. When the Romans became corrupted, they lost their military virtue, and the haughty Goths of the south country gave the nick-name of Greeks to men who had ceased to deserve being called Romans: just as the descendants of the Portuguese in India are so terribly unlike their ancestors, for the very reason assigned by the Historian—‘the climate of Asia has indeed been found less congenial, than that of Europe, to military spirit: these populous nations were enervated by luxury, despotism, and superstition.’†

There is an absence of poetry in the Bengali mind. The sordid love of gain appears to have neutralised the nobler mental powers. The Bengali wants imagination. He is too literal and puerile, but lacks childlike simplicity. Every thing he takes in a literal, and not in the fine, sense, in which fancy gilds objects to the mens divinior. He has no notion of the higher poetry, in which the enlightened critic looks for a reflection of ‘the wisdom of the heart, and the grandeur of the imagination.’‡ Wherever these exist, simplicity accompanies them. In the native of Bengal, generally speaking, we recognise only the simplicity of external appliances; and not that whose handmaid is candour. While on the subject of the Bengali character, we are involuntarily reminded of what was said of the Athenians, by one who understood them well—that they were

Contentionis avidiores quam veritatis. §

The Bengali is generally admitted to be given to litigation—

* See Marshman's History of Bengal. + Gibbon's Decline and Fall. Ch. XLII.

‡ Wordsworth.

§ Cicero de Oratore. .

and, in exacting payment, he is terribly punctual to the uttermost farthing, and minute, of credit; but in paying, he resembles the Roman General—

Qui cunctando restituit rem.

A word or two here, in passing, to 'Young Bengal.' Young Bengal is apt to fancy himself in capacity a Pericles—a Cephalogeretes, or head compeller. Accordingly he is a great politician and philosopher and, if his endeavours and performances were in consonance with his words, would really be, what he aspires to be considered. Conjoined with this is a proneness to take offence, where there is no legitimate cause for it, and to lose sight of things of grave importance, while energy is wreaked on something trivial or inconsequential.* Yet with all his political and speculative aspirations, he is reproached with having no known or conclusive opinions upon subjects that others hold most sacred. He empties himself of his own religion, and substitutes nothing for it, but his own will and pleasure; reminding us thus of a sect we read of many years ago.† In an account of a colony of priests at Mount Athos, one class was described, who were called *ιδιότροποι*, seeing that they acknowledged no religion, save what suited their own rhyme and reason. Though 'Young Bengal' is exceedingly slow, in conforming to the metaphysical and spiritual ideas of his Western teachers, he evinces no slowness, but the very contrary, in *imbibing* lessons of chemistry (shall we call it), over which that mystic being Archeus presides.‡

* How much excitability, for instance, has been shewn in respect to what has been called 'the shoe question.' Taking off the shoe, or slipper, was no custom introduced by the English. It was, and has been, the established custom of India for ages. If the natives of India claim a conformity to our customs, let them have it by all means on equal terms. Let them leave their pugris or turbans in the ante-chamber. A native of whatever degree is perfectly well aware, that he cannot call upon a native of high rank, without submitting to his country's etiquette; and he will conform to it without a demur, though he grudges to do so to an European of equal rank. The Bengalis are the only natives, (and only a small section of them) who object to it. *Why* they do so object, we never could comprehend. The Greeks, a far more independent, polished, and intellectual people, always left their slippers in the lobby.

† 'Christian Researches in the Mediterranean,' by the Rev. W. Jowett, M. A.

‡ Young Bengal might once claim (but can no longer we fear) to be classed as 'Hydroparastatæ'—even though no Christians. The class of Christians alluded to were followers of Tatian, who denied the reality of the body of Christ, and, among other Orientalisms (in which he has been imitated in our own day, in a way sufficiently fantastic, all things considered) strictly prohibited wine in the Eucharist. The same watery species of heresy has recently become somewhat rampant. We have heard something of the sort held up in Bombay; where it was the fashion with the leaders to shew, that the wine of the scripture was no wine at all.

The prejudices of the Brahmins, like those of the Clergy in Europe during the dark ages, or rather during their dawn into a brighter day, were an obstacle to the dissemination of learning, of no little obstructive power. They were, nevertheless, conservative of such learning as existed, or had been placed on record. In both countries, sacerdotal prejudices proved inimical to the progress of physical science, when supposed in any way to clash with received dogmas of Theology. The same prejudices, that had nearly proved fatal to Aristarchus and Galileo, were also obstructive in India to the advancement of truth. 'The same system of priestcraft, which has exercised so pernicious an influence on the Hindus in other respects, has cast a veil over their science. Astronomy having been made subservient to the extravagant chronology of the religionists, all the epochs, which it ought to determine, have been thrown into confusion, and uncertainty.* It behoves all, who believe in the truth of the Bible, to beware of falling into a similar mistake, and not to attempt blinking physical or chronological discoveries, because, in their short-sightedness, they may deem them to be inconsistent, or at variance, with the sacred records. Truth of every kind, is such a vast polygon, that it takes ages to view its different sides, and to accurately compare the phenomena of reflection and refraction.

Mr. Colebrooke is of opinion, that it is not impossible that the Hindus took their solar Zodiac from the Greeks,† and that they were aware of the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, which was discussed by the Brahmins in the fifth century. Mr. Elphinstone, like almost every one else, who has carefully examined the subject, has been struck by the identity of the topics discussed by the Hindu philosophers, with those which engaged the attention of the same class in ancient Greece. On the whole, he inclines to think, that, in astronomy, the Hindus have derived their knowledge from a foreign source.‡ Then again he balances the argument, and contends for Hindu originality, on the ground, that all other nations were in still greater ignorance than they were. This is the very point to be proved—for (and we say it with the greatest deference) the Historian has not proved it.

* Elphinstone's History, Vol. I.

† Or the Egyptians? 'Que la Grece ait ete peuplée par des nations de l'Orient et de l'Egypte, ce n'est aujourd'hui d'une vérité contestée.'

Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Vol. I.

‡ Elphinstone's History, Vol. I.

Mr. Colebrooke palpably leans to the idea that the Hindus did borrow : ' There *does* appear ground for more than a conjecture, that the Hindus had obtained a knowledge of Grecian Astronomy, before the Arabs began to cultivate the science.*

Opinions may differ in regard to which system has been most conducive to promote the civilization of India—the Brahminical, or the Buddhist. Partly by the light of the past, and of still existing (though corrupted) Buddhism elsewhere, we should be inclined to declare for the latter. The struggle between the two systems threw back civilization. Buddhism in its veneration for the human intellect, as a wonderful manifestation of supernatural power, had a natural tendency to tolerate whatever tended to intellectual advancement ; while the other system was altogether adverse to the educational enfranchisement of the people at large. The perturbation, consequent on the collision of the two systems, proved fatal to the preponderance of the one in India, and led to the greater corruption of the other. Vedantism at length became almost lost in Puranism. If Sankhya Acharya be consid-

* As. Researches, Vol. IX.

There are men who by induction arrive at a conclusion ; others do so by some mental process, like inspiration. The discovery of the planet Neptune illustrates this. The discovery of the diurnal revolution of the earth round its axis had been suggested by Heraclitus ; but was laid aside by the Greeks. The Brahmins, it appears, took it up many years after ; but made no demonstration. They appear therefore to have followed in the wake of Heraclitus. There is however a still greater discovery, of which, it would seem, the older ancients had a more accurate notion, than we, in our pride of place, have admitted. In a very curious and learned paper by the late Granville Penn, Esq., F. S. A. on the Egyptian original of the word ΠΥΡ, he shews that *pyr* did in fact signify the sun, at a very early period. The first evidence he adduces is that of Diodorus. Πυρ and ἥλιος (*pyr* and *helios*) are ancient Greek denominations of the sun—the second succeeding the other in general use. Some vestige of this is to be found in the opening of the Orphic hymn to Pan. The invocation is to the universe (the aggregate of the world, the heaven, and the sea,) the ruling earth, and ΠΥΡ *athanaton*. We are indebted to Aristotle, proceeds Mr. Penn, for our knowledge of a most important and interesting fact—though he was himself quite unaware of the value or nature of the communication. In his second book *de celo*, concerning the place of the earth, and whether it be moveable, or fixed, he says, that all do not hold the same opinion ; for most persons—that is to say, all who maintain that the heavens move round—are of the belief that it is placed in the centre. He then proceeds to shew that the Italians, or Pythagoreans, on the contrary, affirm that *πυρ* is the centre, and that the earth, being itself one of the stars, and revolving round that centre, produces night and day—*εναντιως οι περι την Ιταλιαν, καλουμενοι δε Πυθαγορειοι, λεγουσιν. επι μεν γαρ του μεσου ΠΥΡ ειναι φασι, την δε γην, εν των ασρων ουσαν, κυκλω φερομενον περι το μεσον, νυκτα τε και ημεραν ποιειν*

This ancient doctrine of the Italian school—the most distinct summary of the system long afterwards illustrated by Copernicus and Newton—the learned commentator shews, was thus unmechanically transmitted by a philosopher, who understood nothing of its meaning. It is also mentioned by Plutarch, who comprehended it better than Aristotle, and explained that by *πυρ* was meant the sun. The concurrent judgment of the learned, in ancient and modern times, agrees in opinion, that the doctrine was brought by Pythagoras into Italy from Egypt. Surely all this sufficiently testifies, that this great truth existed, as an object of partial human knowledge, from time immemorial, and may be traced for nearly two thousand five hundred years.

ered a Reformer, he was certainly none of Vedantism ; but, on the contrary, the patron of superstition and idolatry foreign to its genuine spirit, albeit that he be Pantheistic. We need feel no surprise however ; for, observes an acute and accomplished writer, ' there is, and always has been, in the human mind, or at all events in a certain class of human minds, a principle of idolatry, which has given form to the faith of millions of millions, through thousands of years, and which requires that, for the calling forth or exercise of faith, some tangible object should be presented to their corporeal senses,—whether in the form of a relic, of a holy spot with which an act may be associated, or a graven image, which will represent what the mind is too lazy to conceive : and it matters little whether it be true or not : it answers the purpose.*' The cause of this is referred by Robert Hall to the descent of the human mind from the spirit to the letter, from what is vital and intellectual to what is ritual and external in religion. This has caused idolatry in all its multifarious forms, and has not only corrupted natural religion, or the religion of nature, but dimmed the lustre of Christianity itself.

The discussions of the Vedantic school had, at any rate, an elevating capability, which cannot be claimed for Puranic Brahminism. They had reference to highly abstract questions, well calculated to call into subtle exercise all the powers of the intellect. They turned on free will, divine grace, the efficacy of works, and even of faith without works. Under the old system too, though women were more retired than with Europeans, the complete seclusion of them was an entirely foreign idea, that came in with the Muhammedans.

The Buddhist sentiment of itself could scarcely have failed to be productive of palpable social modifications, one of the most obvious of which would be a great admixture of classes. The Puranic and Muhammedan influences, without any alteration in the letter of the written law, silently have produced great changes, not merely of popular movement, but probably of unexpressed opinion. No change produced by time is more palpable, than that of the deism of the Vedas, passing into gross Puranic polytheism and idolatry. The Vedantists now are reduced to a mere insignificant sect, as compared with the vast body of the people, with whom great is the Diana of their Ephesus—their Durgah, or Kali, or Bhawani. In considering the ancient civilization, as well as the Asiatic, we in vain look for

* Ancient Topography of Jerusalem, by Jas. Fergusson, Esq., F. R. A. S., &c.

a civilization of progress, especially as respects the first; for, after all, the civilization, that exists in Asia, has arisen out of the old; though so many older political and religious fabrics are utterly scattered before the four winds of heaven. Perhaps we may not be in a position to pronounce decisively on a point, much of the history of which is so obscure. There can be no civilization of progress, unless it spring out of, and be in constant sympathy and action with, a religion of progress. Ancient religion, whether in its pre-existent or present derivative form, was mostly a matter of ritual observance. The grand intention of the Christian system, is to throw the government of every man on himself, whether he is within priestly influence or not. It is thus, it may be truly said, the cheapest, since the suspected in all others are delivered over to watchers. Christianity too, has its watchers, since every man, by a powerful check on conscience, is constituted his own watcher. As far as the historical torch serves, it has been sufficiently shewn, that neither the religion, nor the civilization of Egypt, was that of progress. It fared little better with the imitators of the Egyptians, the Greeks, and with the imitators of the imitators—the Romans. Disallow, as we may, the claim of Hindu civilization to be that of progress, yet cannot we deny that it is one of venerable claims. On the threshold of the subject, however, comes a question, how is it that, for eight hundred years, both the religion, and the civilization, have halted or retrograded? In respect to the Vedantic element, the religion *has* halted. The civilization of a people also halts or retrogrades, when their arts, and their assertion of liberty, have fallen into a state of decay. The state of Muhammedanism has been less pretending, and gives a consistent answer to the question, as respects that religion and polity. Muhammedanism never pretended to love art; it therefore can scarcely be a reproach to Muhammedanism, that it was not conservative of art, which it despised, though literature owes it something: and yet—what havoc has it not done to literature!

All drawbacks nevertheless, and notwithstanding, there is much in Hinduism, deteriorated soever as the system may be, to furnish ground for profound reflection in enquiries after truth, as it is to be fairly and impartially sifted and garnered from the traditions of the past. Amidst all its divisions, corruptions, and idolatrous forms, there is perceptible a primary idea, which has survived as an article of popular faith; that of an absolute unseen being, 'whom it is the highest glory and reward of the holiest man to behold, and in whom he is to be lost.' Alas for the last dogma, which so dims the splendour of the rest, and which yet appears to have sprung from the very humility

And docility of the oriental mind. We have a most earnest desire to treat the subject of the natives and their religion with the gravity which the nature of the subject requires. There is much in the system to be regretted ; but in what human polity is not that the case ? We are bound to state, plainly, and honestly, our own impression, that unless there had been a root of truth and good feeling in the original Hinduism, it could not have lasted to our day as a living system. The Great Ruler has seen it proper that these millions should not be left wholly without light. If in certain points they had, in the estimation of Christians, no law, who shall dare to say, that they were not a law to themselves ? Whence is it that contemporary empires are gone, and the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Assyrians are no more—while the Hindus remain as a great and civilized people ? If there were not something in the system, that was in harmony with that civilization, which is based in conscience, no matter how weak its hold comparatively, would it exist so long ? History has shewn that all idolatry is, more or less, stained with the suspicion of, or the demonstration of, dire cruelty. Nationally considered, there is reason to believe, that Hinduism has been more exempt from this stain, than other religious systems, that have ceased from off the face of the earth. Anciently, they were clear from the abomination of human sacrifices ; though it may be justly charged against Hinduism, as a modern and sectarian offence.*

It is impossible not to be struck with the different fate, if we may so phrase it, of the Hindus as a nation—and of the nations of South and Central America. The former remain ; the latter no longer exist as a nation, and have dwindled down to a wretched remnant, professing Christianity—but adding no credit, by their life-tenor, to their profession. Not only did the old central American nations publicly sacrifice human victims to idols, but they feasted on them afterwards. Murder and cannibalism were consequently *national* institutions. These are facts, proved alike by historical records, and monuments that still exist. We subjoin an extract, having reference to the subject, from a work already quoted.† Notwithstanding many grave deductions, with reference to preceding remarks, yet, as far

* The farther back we can look into the history of all idolatrous systems, the more clear traces we find of one pure primeval religion ; but perhaps no mechanism, devised by man, has done so much social mischief, or so thoroughly degraded and debased the masses, as modern Purānic Hinduism.—ED.

† “The most important remaining of these ruins (at Quiché) is that which appears in the engraving, and which is called El Sacrificatorio, or the place of sacrifice. It is a quadrangular stone structure, sixty-six feet on each side at the base, and rising in a pyramidal form to the height, in its present condition, of thirty-three feet. On three places there is a range of steps in the middle, each step seventeen inches high, and

as impartial testimony may be depended upon, the Hindus, generally speaking, in regard to moral conduct—apart from doctrinal considerations altogether—have shewn themselves a highly estimable people. As fathers, husbands, masters, and even as neighbours, we may indeed challenge comparison between them, and the mass of those, who have had the advantage of European civilization. We find, in short, in the Hindus, that harmonious coherence of domestic relationship, which we usually connect with religious obligation. There is that which demonstrates a root of good, amidst much that is faulty and false; and convictions of singular potency, binding in a complete yet harmoniously working polity, millions of people for thousands of years. The Hindus always appear to have had a theoretical respect for humanity and justice, unequally consistent with their practice, which is not recognizable in the history of the Muhammedans, and which might read a lesson of rebuke even to existing European nations, and their descendants.* At the time of the Muhammedan invasion of Ghuzni, the Hindus were capable of carrying on war on a systematic and organized plan; while their opponents trusted rather to indomitable force, than to a scientific system of tactics. Civil justice too was well

but eight inches on the upper surface, which makes the range so steep, that in descending some caution is necessary.

The top of the Sacrificatorio is broken and ruined; but there is no doubt that it once supported an altar for those sacrifices of human victims, which struck even the Spaniards with horror. It was barely large enough for the altar and officiating priests, and the idol to whom the sacrifice was offered. The whole was in full view of the people at the foot.

The barbarous ministers carried up the victim entirely naked, pointed out the idol, to which the sacrifice was made, that the people might pay their adoration, and then extended him on the altar. This had a carved surface, and the body of the victim lay arched, with the trunk elevated, and the head and feet depressed. Four priests held the legs and arms, and another kept his head firm, with a wooden instrument, made in the form of a coiled serpent, so that he was prevented from making the least movement. The head priest then approached, and, with a knife made of flint, cut an aperture in the breast, and tore out the heart, which, yet palpitating, he offered to the idol. If the idol was gigantic and hollow, it was usual to introduce the heart of the victim into its mouth with a golden spoon. If the victim was a prisoner of war, as soon as he was sacrificed, they cut off the head to preserve the skull, and threw the body down the steps, when it was taken up by the officer, or soldier, to whom the prisoner had belonged, and carried to his house, to be dressed up as an entertainment for his friends. If he was not a prisoner of war, but a slave purchased for the sacrifice, the proprietor carried off the body for the same purpose. In recurring to the barbarous scenes, of which the spot had been the theatre, it seemed a righteous award, that the bloody altar was hurled down, and the race of its ministers destroyed.—*Incidents of Travel, in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan, by John L. Stephens, &c.*

* This is a historical fact, amply illustrated in the history of Spain and Ireland. Even to this day, civil war is carried on in Spain, with a degree of murderous blood-thirstiness, that is horrible to think of. It is the same with the wars of the South American descendants of the Spaniards. Mr. Stephens bears witness (*Incidents of Travel*), that, in the intestine wars of Central America, quarter was neither given nor taken. If it be objected that we refer to civil war, let it be remembered that most Indian wars have been of the same character.

understood in Hindu States, and much better administered in olden time than now.

When the prophet of old beheld various beasts arising out of the sea, one, which was terrible and strong exceedingly, was diverse from them all.* So it may be said of Muhammedanism, that it was different from all other schemes of religion that have sprung up out of the general apostacy from revealed religion, in having a basis of truth. It was also terrible from the use it made of its indomitable strength. It differed from other forms of belief, in having a centre point of dread power, which was a witness for God; and in that consisted the might and elasticity of the bow, that the astute Arabian drew at a great venture, and with such marvellous success. In that character of a witness, the followers of Muhammed revered him. He proclaimed anew an eternal truth, at a time when it appeared almost forgotten—even by effete Judaism, or corrupt Christianity. This had a favourable effect upon practical morality for a time: and in his conquests, cemented with blood as they were, there was observable a power working for good, during a cycle of gross and enormous idolatry and corruption.† This doctrine too was addressed to all, and not to a class. The truth was not measured out differently, by the gauge of caste and race. What was sin to one, was sin to all, without exception. There was no differing degree of iniquity for the Moulvî, and another for the Hamul, or the Fellah. The Muhammedan, in short, believed in an unseen God, as seen, and in a hearing God, as if heard, with a living and energetic faith; and so became irresistible, trampling on all superstitions, and smashing all manufactured gods, wherever found. To flourish, Muhammedanism must not rest, or slumber, else it withers. It can only thrive, while aiming at conquest; and, that mission fulfilled, it falls into a state of torpor, and all branches of its polity stagnate. There is no revivifying power in it, to declare not merely that God is, but what he is; or to raise his creatures to the proper dignity of their position, and redeem man from the degradation of grossly sensual influences. The strong belief of the Muhammedan has undergone great modification: it is scarcely longer that of an acting will, but rather that of a sheer necessity, to which he bows, with the sullen resignation of the curbed horse.

In examining the two systems of Hinduism and Muhammedanism, we shall find a deeper and wider gulf between the Brahmin, and the proletary class of the population, than between the Mussulman coolî, and the Moulvî. The high and the low

* Daniel, ch. vii.

† See Maurice's Boyle Lectures.

Mussulman have an entire concurrence of belief. It is not so in Hinduism. The Chevalier Bunsen has said of the Romans :* 'They understood the character of no people, but in its defects; they loved no other people, and were loved by none, because they neither approached them in a humane spirit, nor expected to be received in the same; and did good to others, merely because they found it to their own advantage. From a well digested-principle of self-interest, they were capable of rendering even essential services to whole nations, but from no benevolent motive.' Is it judging too harshly of Muhammedanism to say, *Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur*? As respects civilization, it appears to us, that the palm must be given to the Hindu; though to the Muhammedan may justly be awarded graces of external manners, in which the Hindus are deficient, and which, with many, pass for civilization, but cannot be permitted to pass for such unquestioned, when associated with rapacity, intolerance, and cruelty. To trace up the different cycles of Muhammedan connection with India, would extend our remarks to a length that at once precludes our entering on so extensive a field. Suffice it, that from the invasion of Timour to the accession of Baber, we have, in its various phases, the rough working of the Muhammedan element, imposed by a half barbarous people upon a people much more civilized than themselves. As in England, synchronously, there was an agitated sense of conscious insecurity, and the obstruction caused by a government at once unsettled and oppressive; so there was in India the perturbation of the social body, caused by the continual dread of change, in tracts, which were often the theatre of war, predatory or dynastic, and where a series of tyrants rose to power, by a succession of military revolutions, recurring at short intervals. On the theory of a writer of the last century, the Mogul government ought to be considered a good one. 'It is a most excellent circumstance in a government, when the most powerful man in the State has something to fear from the most feeble.'† This may be granted with allowance, that is to say, provided the most powerful unlawfully assails the feeble—otherwise, such a scheme of government would be one of terrorism. This the Mogul government, for the most part, was. It is true that the privilege of direct application to the throne, *viva voce*, or by petition, handed to the sovereign, as he passed, gave the appearance of a check on oppressors in high places; but, for the most part, it was a mere shadow of privilege, that could be successfully evad-

* 'Egypt's Place in Universal History.'

† Dr. Moore's Continental Travels.

ed, and was successfully evaded, in the majority of instances. Between the early Muhammedans and the Normans, who wrenched England from the Saxons, we see little difference, in regard to civilization. These times were full of struggle and violence. They were also marked by a quaint bluntness of sincerity in bigotry, that we find numerous traits of in the work under review. There was a Homeric sternness, not unfamiliar to Western ideas. It is in the spirit of this heartiness of inexorableness, that the crook-backed Gloster is described by our great national dramatist, as sending the weakest and most unfortunate of kings to his doom.

See how my sword weeps for the poor king's death !
 O may such purple tears be always shed
 From those who wish the downfall of our house.
 If any spark of life be yet remaining,
 Down, down to hell ; and say, I sent thee thither,
 I, that have neither pity, love, nor fear.

It was the characteristic of those awful times to have neither pity, love, nor fear. When Timour took the city of Mirat by storm, he had no mercy for his brave enemy Safi Gabr (or Guebre) ; but, in the words of the historian, 'dispatched him to hell, and ordered his son to be burned in the fire, which he worshipped.*

From Baber's reign, we find a more genial state of the historic atmosphere ; though the political elements were in a state of perturbation, reminding one of our own period of the wars of the Roses. To compare Akbar's long and prosperous reign, with that of the best of the Tudors, will be doing it bare justice. What a contrast between his house, and the cold avaricious Henry VII., or his violent, unscrupulous, cruel successor. No—to institute a comparison between them, and the noble, gracious, unselfish, and most clement Akbar, would be a kind of libel. Notwithstanding cruel wars that intervened (and ever will intervene, as a consequence of disputed succession springing from polygamy)—from the commencement of Akbar's reign, to the dethronement of Shah Jehan, may be termed the golden age of Mogul Rule. Feared at home (generally speaking), and respected on the frontiers, the situation of the empire under his sceptre, save in its vast extent, and its begetting weakness, resembled the prosperous state of England under Elizabeth. Civilization then had made its greatest advancement, but began to decline from the accession of Aurungzebe. The troubles of a disputed succession, that followed his death, left the empire open to ruthless invaders—paving the way at length for the

rise of a new power, and the commencement of the European cycle.

In comparing the civilization of India with that of our own country, we shall have no very great reason to exult at the contrast, considering the advantage of our insular position, our more bracing climate, and other circumstances. But, two or three hundred years ago, we had neither the polish nor the elegance of the Orientals; but we had great leaders in the ranks of knowledge; and our growing freedom, so sturdily asserted, and sometimes so dearly purchased (if true liberty be dear at any price), extended the boundaries of all knowledge and science, with an effect, that has nothing corresponding to it in the East. Even to this hour however, so difficult is it to illumine with the rays of education all the dark places of a nation, that there is a startling amount of deplorable ignorance to be found in parts of Great Britain.* What then must be the case in India? It may be said indeed of all Europe, that the irregularity of education, and intelligence, among the masses is undoubtedly the great obstacle to complete civilization in our time. This, combined with pressure on the means of subsistence, excites ideas dangerous to the well being of society; competition, on every hand, is necessarily so unrelaxing, as to leave not a pause for repose. Its incessant energy agitates every man, and, to a certain extent, hardens his feelings. There is a yearning for an equality, that is utterly unattainable on earth; while the evils of society are invidiously pointed to, as furnishing just grounds for demolishing established institutions; it being forgotten, that these evils—'are to be referred to the nature of man, and not to the civilization of society. The same course of argument might object to agriculture, because weeds thrive quickest in the richest soil.† A man destined, himself, to become a tribune of the people, though admitting it to be the master, wrote some fifteen years ago, what now looks like a prophecy. 'The people is the master power,

* By a Parliamentary return (called for on the motion of Sir R. H. Inglis, in the House of Commons, and ordered in May 1843) of the number of marriages celebrated yearly in England, from the 1st July 1838, to 30th June 1842; it appears that in England, in three years, 367,894 marriages took place; consequently no fewer than 735,788 individuals entered into wedlock, and of these 364,836 could not sign their names. By a Parliamentary paper recently issued, on the statistics of crime in England and Wales, for 1848, it would appear, that there has been a great increase of crime for the three years ending with 1848, and of the very worst offences against person and property. Of these, there were unable to read or write, 7,530 males, and 2,161 females; able to read and write imperfectly, 3,950 males, 2,161 females; able to read and write well, 2,634 males, 350 females. Of the whole, 76 males and 5 females are set down, as having received superior instruction.

† 'Records of the Creation,' by the Bishop of Chester.

but incapable of being so, because it is expert in destroying, but erects nothing in its stead, either lofty, durable, or majestic.*

Throughout the world there is a discord between nations and classes, of which it is difficult to foresee the end. Much of old was accorded to the mystic power of numbers. It may be said, without any mystery at all, that civilization itself must depend upon moral harmony, grounded upon the accordance of numbers. How remarkable, in the field of physical science, has been the discovery of the atomic theory, and its accurate bearing on combinations. The rule of the proportion of parts, and the absolute necessity of these proportions to expected results, is one of the glories of modern science. May there not be similar proportions of coherence, disintegration, and assimilation, in the moral and social world? The Greeks attributed much to the knowledge and love of the arts. How great was the attention that they gave to music, and of how much importance was its study considered, by some of their foremost men, and master minds! A very interesting recent discovery is an application of *Æsthetics*, which explains—what hitherto has been an enigma—the perfection of Greek art, and how it is to be accounted for. An accomplished writer asserts, that it was attained simply by adherence to Geometric rule, and that these effects were produced, because the proportions of the Grecian master-pieces were those recognized as the standard of perfection in Geometry, and were those, which invariably have a pleasing response in the mind. 'The laws of proportion, in relation to the arts of design, constitute the harmony of Geometry, as definitely as those, that are applicable to poetry and music, produce the harmony of acoustics; consequently the former ought to hold the same relative position in those arts, which are addressed to the eye, that is accorded to the latter, in those that are addressed to the ear.† There is an inherent sense of beauty, independent of association; and the writer quoted illustrates it by reference to Greek art, the origin of which he conceives to have been based on the angles of Plato.

In poetry, the Hindus of old have in the *Mahabharat* proved, that they were capable of great things. In general acquirements, however, they were as inferior to the Muhammedans, as the Mussulman of the present day is to the chivalric Saracen or Moor of old. Their literary works, on the other hand, have a

* *Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*, by Alphonse De Lamartine.

† Hay, 'On the science of those proportions, by which the Human Head and Countenance is represented in Greek Art.'

certain stiffness or quaintness. The absence of good models may well account for this. Their style of eloquence, therefore, continued inflated and redundant. There is one branch of literature, of which we meet with a sad want, or almost a blank, among both Hindus and Muhammedans—the epistolary. Even in Europe, the progress of this accomplishment was slow until the Elizabethan age, when its style was neither natural nor graceful. Mr. Hallam, referring to one of the earliest specimens of female penmanship in England, from the lady of Sir John Pelham, concludes it to be genuine from the badness of the grammar! Of correspondence, beyond the most meagre outline, the natives of India appear to have had scarcely a notion. The state of civilization in general sufficiently accounts for this. Writing, among the Orientals, appears to have been considered as intended to serve the same purpose, that Talleyrand has had the credit of attributing to speech—to veil thought. The deficiency of epistolary literature, may partly be accounted for, by want of confidence in the means of transmission. Letters were usually sent by special messengers, an expensive, but tolerably sure mode. Now-a-days the transmission continues expensive without being sure. Correspondence too chiefly regarded business—a hearty interchange of sentiments being alien to the feelings and habits of the people. The Muhammedans had one advantage in their rule of faith, wanting to the Hindus. In the Koran, they have some sprinklings of the grand, the ideal, and the true, derived from the Hebrew fountains, which the Hindu is forbidden even to look into. In Muhammedan works of imagination, there is a manly greatness, and a catholic loveliness of fancy, as well as a general glow of natural feeling, which we miss in Hindu literature, with the exception of some touches in their drama. Now, however, among the natives poetry is not; we never hear of the native mind invoking in poetry,

—The wisdom and spirit of the universe,
The soul that is the eternity of thought,
And gives to forms and images a birth
And everlasting motion.

Whatever the cause may be, the Hindus (especially in Bengal) appear to consider Muhammedanism with less repugnance, than they do Christianity. Perhaps their greater familiarity with the former system may have something to do with the feeling. They do not appear to hold the Koran in the same dread as the Bible. This is significant enough. Has it ever struck them, that a more intimate acquaintance with that book might improve their literary powers? Its pages might tend to draw the passions that

build up the human soul, into paths of sublime contemplation, and engage the thoughts and spirit with—

High objects, with enduring things,
With life and nature, purifying thus
The elements of feeling and of thought,
And sanctifying with such discipline
Both pain and fear—until we recognise
A grandeur in the breathings of the heart.

Mr. Elliot's work fulfils a great desideratum, so that, as respects a clear view of the Historians of India from first to last, it may be pronounced unique. The occasion that called it forth, as he explains in the preface, turned upon the subject of a proposed lithographic uniform edition, of the Native Historians of India. The outlay for carrying out such an undertaking, as is found to be too often the case in this country, in questions of improvement, proved a stumbling block. At the same time, it was intimated from the Governor of the N. W. Provinces, that as few people were acquainted with the particular works, which should be selected for such a series, it was desirable that an Index of them should be drawn up, in order that the Manuscripts might be sought for, and deposited in one of our college libraries, to be printed or lithographed hereafter, should circumstances render it expedient. Happily for the interests of literature, our author willingly undertook a task that might have staggered a man of less nerve and intellectual affluence. The volume before us is the first of a series, of which four more are to follow. Though we have no right to expect it, yet are we not without strong hope, which is begotten of a wish to that end, that the author may in some measure (the longer the better) be able to fulfil an idea he appears to have entertained, of adding to the Index an account of the independent Muhammedan monarchies, such as of Gujrat, Bengal, Cashmere, and so forth; as well as an intended notice of the various collections of private letters, relating to the history of India, and the matters, which chiefly interested the generation of the writers. These, we presume, would give us a considerable insight into the private life and genuine motives of those they may concern. There is a great charm for instance, in the *Seir Mutakerin*, in respect to the glimpses it gives us, as it were beyond the purdah, touching on circumstances and persons, that more stately or stilted history might be inclined to pass by, with an affectation of dignity. In regard to our author's plan:—

“The historians of the Delhi Emperors have been noticed down to the reign of Sháh Alam, when new actors appear upon the stage; when a more

stirring and eventful period of India's History commences; and when the full light of European truth and discernment begins to shed its beams upon the obscurity of the past, and to relieve us from the necessity of appealing to the Native Chroniclers of the time, who are, for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant, and superficial."

Besides the want of standard books of reference in India, for such a task as he was called to, our author alludes to great difficulties that beset the literary enquirer, arising chiefly from the vanity of native litterateurs, which induces them to quote works they have never seen, of which he furnishes one or two amusing illustrations. In regard to the sad indifference of the public taste, respecting a greater degree of familiarity with the true sources of the Muhammedan history of India—does not the want of standard works of reference sufficiently account, at least to a great extent, for an amount of indifference much to be regretted? Pursuits of this kind require stimulation. This is known to every school-boy, and all who have considered school-boy life. It should also be borne in mind that not youth alone, but young manhood too, requires to be encouraged to generous intellectual exertion. There was a day in India, not yet forgotten by some old men, when young aspirants, military as well as civil, took a pride in distinguishing themselves in the arena of oriental studies. Prizes were then available for excellence in that field of competition worth contending for, and which realized gold Mohurs as well as fame. What is the so called college of Fort William now but the shadow of a shade? Now, the pinched student, under the goad of mere regulation, looks to a speedy escape from such studies as his best reward. What is the college of Haileybury but a huge and expensive mistake? It ought to be abolished, or transferred at once to the banks of the Hoogly. Let our young judges, political and revenue administrators, be educated wholly at the great national schools, and not come to India till their twenty-second or twenty-fourth year, instead of being confined as it were to an Institution, where they form mere caste opinions, and never come into collision with the large class ones, that can only be acquired by mixing with the people. The author of the work before us is an illustrious reason in himself, for the change in the course of civilian education, we contend for—since we believe, that we are correct in saying, that he never studied at the Haileybury college; yet in solid learning, and all the qualifications that give value to the accomplishments and labours of a public servant, where is the Haileybury man that has ever excelled him? Then again, as respects the military student, we hear a

good deal, now and then, in the speeches of 'the Chairs' at Addiscombe gatherings, of the brilliant rewards for merit lying in store for the industrious student in oriental lore. The study of the vernaculars, the gaping youths are then informed, will gild their crowns with untold advantages. Compare the word of promise held to the ear of the Cadet, with its breach to the hope of the disappointed Lieutenant or Captain. In how many cases, may we ask, does the knowledge of the languages get on an unfriended Subaltern? For years, the exceedingly convenient official reply to his applications for some humble good thing (such as a Subaltern may venture to aspire to, without committing high treason against red tape majesty) is, 'glad to have served him, had he passed in the languages—but,—' &c. The poor Sub on this, getting deeper and deeper still into the books of some provincial bank, exerts himself in the hope of getting out of the slough of despond, and does pass. A vacancy that would suit, occurs; but the official patron's reply is again expressive of sorrow; "So many candidates with prior claims, &c;" and finally some distant relation of Sir Somebody or other is put in, who has not even perhaps studied the languages, much less even dreamed of the bore of trying to pass. It is just as absurd to make students, destined to pass their lives in India, learn its languages in a corner of Hertfordshire, as it would be to send a youth to Palermo, to acquire the correct idiom and accent of German. If there must be a college *per se* for the purpose, let it be in this country; as the world is now pretty well satisfied, that the sooner the Haileybury absurdity is abolished altogether, the better.

But it is not the want of standard works, and 'the intense desire for parade and ostentation' of the Natives, in quoting works they knew nothing of, or works even that do not exist at all, that we have to contend with solely. We besides 'have to lament the entire absence of literary history and biography, which in India is directed only to saints and poets. Where fairy tales and fictions are included under the general name of History, we cannot expect to learn much respecting the character, pursuits, motives and actions of historians, unless they are pleased to reveal them to us themselves, and to entrust us with their familiar correspondence.* The same absence of literary history, and fondness for fictions and legends, with an absorbing love for theological subtleties, prevailed even long after what are called the dark ages of Europe, when the songs of Troubadours, monstrous stories or tales, and 'mystery' dramas

* Preface, xii.

formed the chief staple of literature. The following are the names of the works noticed in the Volume before us :—

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| I.—Jámiu-t-Tawárikh Ras-hidí. | XXXIV.—Mjuml Mufassal. |
| II.—Tárikh-i-Binákítí. | XXXV.—Lubbu-t-Tawárikhi-hind. |
| III.—Tárikh-i-Guzida. | XXXVI.—Tárikh-i-Mufazzilí. |
| IV.—Tárikh-i-Háfiz Abrú. | XXXVII.—Mirát-i-Alam. |
| V.—Zainu-l-Akhbár. | XXXVIII.—Mirát-i-Jebán-numá. |
| VI.—Tárikh-i-Hind. | XXXIX.—Haft Gulshan. |
| VII.—Rauzatu-s-Safá. | XL.—Khulásatu-t-Tawárikh. |
| VIII.—Khulásatu-l-Akhbár. | XLI.—Miftáhu-t-Tawárikh. |
| IX.—Dastúru-l-Vuzrá. | *XLII.—Shahnáma. |
| X.—Habibu-s-Siyar. | XLIII.—Tárikh-i-Kipchákhkání |
| XI.—Tarkh-i-Ibráhimí. | XLIV.—Tárikh-i-Nádiru-z-Za-mání. |
| XII.—Lubbu-t-Tawárikh. | XLV.—Tárikh-i-Munawwar Khán. |
| XIII.—Tárikh-i-Pádsháhán-i-Hind. | XI.VI.—Hadíkatu-s-Safá. |
| XIV.—Tárikh-i-Pádsháhán-i-Humaiyún. | XLVII.—Sa'dat-i-Jáved. |
| XV.—Nusakh-i-Jehán-Ará. | XLVIII.—Tárikh-i-Rustam Alí. |
| XVI.—Tárikh-al-Jannábi. | XLIX.—Tárikh-i-Hindí. |
| XVII.—Akhbáru-d-Dawal. | L.—Chahar Gulshan. |
| XVIII.—Tárikh-i-Hájí Muham-med Candahárá. | LI.—Majma'u-l-Mulúk. |
| XIX.—Tárikh-i-Alfí. | LII.—Siyaru-l-Mutákhharín, 1st Vol. |
| XX.—Futúhu-s-Salátín. | LIII.—Majmúau-l-Akhbár. |
| XXI.—Khazáinu-l-Futúh. | LIV.—Chahar Gulzár Shuja'í. |
| XXII.—Tárikh-i-Akberi. | LV.—Lubbu-s-Siyar. |
| XXIII.—Tárikh-i-Badáuíní. | LVI.—Sahíhu-l-Akhbár. |
| XXIV.—Tárikh-i-Hakkí. | LVII.—Tárikh-i-Muzaffarí. |
| XXV.—Zubdatu-t-Tawárikh. | LVIII.—Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh, by Sadásuk. |
| XXVI.—Rauzatu-t-Táhirín. | LIX.—Jámiu-t-Tawárikh. |
| XXVII.—Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh. | IX.—Bostán-i-Khaiál. |
| XXVIII.—Tárikh-i-Ferishta. | LXI.—Mukhtasiru-t-Tawárikh. |
| XXIX.—Tárikh-i-Hákimán-i-Hind. | LXII.—Zubdatu-l-Akhbár. |
| XXX.—Másir-i-Rahímí. | LXIII.—Jinánu-l-Firdús. |
| XXXI.—Ansául-Akhbár. | LXIV.—Zubdatu-l-Gharáib. |
| XXXII.—Tárikh-i-Haider Rází. | LXV.—Ashrafu-t-Tawárikh. |
| XXXIII.—Subh-i-Sadik. | LXVI.—Tárikh-i-Henry. |
| | LXVII.—Jám-i-Jam. |

The second volume will introduce us to particular histories, comprehending the conquest of Scind by the Arabs—the Ghaznevide dynasty—the Ghorian and Slave dynasties—the Khilji and Tughlak dynasties—the irruption of Timur—the Sayid, or Khizr Khani dynasty—and the Afghan dynasty. Volume third will give general histories of the house of Timur from Baber to Shah Alum; and the fourth volume will be devoted to Original Extracts.

We now proceed to give such minute notices of a few of the authors referred to in the Index, and their works, as our limited space can admit of. The *Jamiu-i-Tawarikh Rashidi*,

was completed A. D. 1810. The author *Fazlullah Rashid* was born A. D. 1247, in the city of Hamadán. His practice of the medical art brought him into notice, at the court of the Mongol Sultáns of Persia. In 1297, he was appointed to the post of Vizírs. A deadly blow at length was aimed at him. 'It was charged against him that he had recommended a purgative medicine to be administered to the deceased chief (*Olyaitú Khán*, father of the reigning sovereign *Abú Saíd*), in opposition to the advice of another physician, and that under its effects the king had expired. *Rashidu-d-Dín* was condemned to death, and his family were, after the usual Asiatic fashion, involved in his destruction. His son Ibrahim, the chief butler, who was only sixteen years old, and by whose hands the potion was said to have been given to the chief, was put to death before the eyes of his parent, who was immediately afterwards cloven in twain by the executioner.' He was 73 years old, when put to death. He was a man of very superior attainments, and a fine linguist; and had a talent for writing with extreme facility. 'In enquiries after this work (*Jamiu-t-Tawarikh Rashidi*) care must be taken not to confound it with the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, which is common in Hindustán, and derives its name of *Rashid*, chiefly (though other reasons are assigned) from being dedicated to the reigning Khan of Moguls, *Abdu-r-Rashid Khan*, by its author. There is an interesting account given by Mr. Elliot of the discovery, within the last ten years, under very peculiar circumstances, of the largest portion of the *Jamiu-t-Tawarikh*, which was supposed to have been lost, and for which we must refer to the "Index" itself. The table of contents is very extensive, and the work evidently is one of great value. The seventh part of the work, which is contained in the volume in the Asiatic Society's Library, treats of—'Hind and Sind and Shakmuni,' and is divided as follows:—

"Chapter 1st. On eras and revolutions.—The measurement of the earth.—On the four jugas.—The hills and waters of Hind.—On its countries, cities, and towns.—On the islands.—The Sultáns of Delhi.—The birth of Bāsdeo, and the kings of India proceedings Mahmúd.—On Cashmír, its hills, waters, and cities.—An account of the kings of the Trítá jóg. The kings of the Dwápar jóg.—The kings of the Kali jóg."

"Chapter 2nd. An account of the prophets of the Hindús, of whom there are six of the highest class, Shákmúní being the sixth.—On the birth of Shákmúní.—On the properties and signs of a perfect man.—On the character, conduct, and sayings of Shákmúní.—On the austerities of Shákmúní, and his incorporation with the divine essence.—Further proceedings of Shákmúní.—On his appearance in various forms.—On the knowledge of certain prayers addressed to God.—On the different degrees of metempsychosis, and the number of hells.—How a man can become a god.—How a man can escape from the form of a beast.—How a man can escape from the form of another man.—On the difference between men and

angels.—On the questions put to Shákmúní by the angels.—On the information given by Shákmúní respecting another prophet.—On the rewards of paradise, and the punishments of hell, and the injunctions and prohibitions of Shákmúní.—On the establishment of his religion in Hind and Cashmir.—On the death of Shákmúní, and the events which followed. From pp. 524 to 572.

The following description of the Sultán Jalalu-d-Din's swimming across the Jhelum (a feat which Runjít Singh afterwards achieved) is highly interesting—especially as we may now consider it a British stream. The brave Sultán was obliged to retire before the victorious Changez Khan (the Zingis of Dow), partly in consequence of the desertion of one of his Sirdars, with his corps d'armee, to the enemy—towards Lahore, where the Emperor Altumsh held sway: so that the brave Sultán was literally placed between two fires:—

“The alienation of Saifu-d-Dín Ighrák materially affected the power of the Sultán, and diminished his chance of success. He immediately made towards Ghazní, with the object of crossing the Indus, and for that purpose ordered boats to be kept in readiness. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of Changez Khán, the latter hastened in pursuit of the Sultán, and surrounded him. At daybreak, the Sultán, finding himself placed in a position between water and fire, with the Indus on the one side, and the fiery enemy on the other, was prepared to give battle. Changez Khán fell upon the right wing, commanded by Amín Malik, like a fierce lion upon a lame leopard, and drove it back with great slaughter. Amín Malik, being thus defeated, fled towards Pesháwar; but, as the Moghul army was in possession of the road, he was slain, in the endeavour to effect his escape. Changez Khán compelled the left wing also to give way, but the Sultán firmly maintained his ground in the centre with seven hundred men, and opposed the enemy from the morning to mid-day, moving now to right now to left, sustaining every attack, and on each occasion slaying a number of the enemy. Meantime, the army of Changez Khán came, pressing forward, and surrounding the position occupied by the Sultán. At last Ajásh Malik, son of the king's maternal uncle, seeing the dangerous position of his Majesty, seized the bridle of his charger, and persuaded him to leave the field. The Sultán bade adieu to his sons and female relatives, with a heavy heart and burning tears, and, ordering his favourite horse to be prepared, he sprung on it, and rushed again into the torrent of conflict, like a crocodile into a river, and charged the enemy with irresistible force. Having succeeded in driving them back, he turned his horse's head, threw off on the way his coat of mail and shield, and, urging his horse, plunged into the river, though the bank was upwards of thirty feet above the stream. He then swam* across like a noble lion, and reached

* The original distinctly says “swam across the Jihún”—whether intentionally, or by error of the copyist, is doubtful. Eastern authors for a long time considered, either that the source of the Mehráu (Indus) was the river Jihún (Oxus), or that the sources of the two rivers were in the same mountain. (Uylenbroek, *Iracæ Persicæ Descriptio*, p. 54; Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 170, 205; Ouseley, *Oriental Geography*, p. 155; Masaúdí, *Meadows of Gold*, p. 38). A similar perverse use of the Sihún (Jaxartes) also occurs in the *Taríkhí Yemíní*, where it is used to signify the Indus, and can be applicable to no other river; and again in Abu-l-fedá (*Annal. Muslem*: Vol. III. p. 113) where Reiske observes, “In Arabico legitur *Sihumum*, quod aperte mendosum est.” *

the opposite bank in safety. Changez Khán witnessed the gallant exploit, and, hastening to the bank, prohibited the Moguls from attempting to follow. The very heavens exclaimed in surprise "They never saw in the world any man equal to him, nor did they ever hear of one like him, among the celebrated heroes of antiquity!"* Changez Khán and all the Mogul nobles were astonished to find that the Sultán crossed the river in safety, and sat watching him, as he wiped the water off his scabbard.† Changez Khán, turning round to the Sultán's sons, ‡ addressed them in words expressive of his admiration."

The Geographical account of Hind and Sind is valuable and interesting, and evinces a great turn for enquiry and observation. It is taken, almost entirely, from the work of Abu Rihan-al-Biruni, composed in the early part of the eleventh century, and therefore represents the knowledge of India, attained by the Muhammedan invaders, three hundred years before the author wrote. Among other curious particulars, we learn from the Muhammedan author, that the people of Zardadan (of which Marco Polo speaks under the wrong name of Cardanden) are so called, because they have gold in their teeth. (What does this mean? Was the Dentist's art known to them?) 'They puncture their hands, and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards, so that they have not a single sign of hair on their faces. Thence you arrive at the borders of Tibet, where they eat raw meat, and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives.' (They went unveiled, we suppose, and met their male friends without *pardah nushin* restraint). 'The air is so impure, that, if they ate their dinner after noon, they would all die. They boil tea, and eat winnowed barley.'

We can only glance at our author's quotations from the famous Masudi who visited India, Ceylon, and the Coast of China, and who died A. D. 956. His travels extended over nearly all the countries subject to Muhammedan sway; but we can only afford the following extract:

"India is a vast country, having many seas and mountains, and borders on the empire of ez-Zánij, which is the kingdom of the Maharáj, the King of the islands, whose dominions form the frontier between India and China, and are considered as part of India.

* Four years, before, Shamsu-d-Din, the king of Delhi, had done the same thing, when in pursuit of Nasiru-d-Din Kabacha; and, though he succeeded in reaching the opposite bank with a few followers, many were drowned in the attempt. Maharaja Ranjit Singh has gained fame by his accomplishment of the same feat.

† The Rauzatu-s-Safá and Ferishta represent Jalálu-d-Dín as having carried his canopy with him, and seating himself under it, when he had attained the opposite bank. The former also mentions that Changez Khán killed all the males in the Sultán's camp, and ordered his servants to search for the jewels, which the Sultán had thrown into the Indus before his escape.

‡ The Habibu-s-Siyar differs from other authorities in saying, he turned round, and addressed his own sons.

The Hindu nation extends from the mountains of Khorasán and of es-Sind, as far as et-Tubbet. But there prevails a great difference of feelings, language, and religion, in these empires; and they are frequently at war with each other. The most of them believe on the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul. The Hindus are distinct from other black nations, as the Zanj-ed-Deinâdem and others, in point of intellect, government, philosophy, colour, appearance, good constitution, talent, and intelligence.

* * * *

No king can succeed to the throne, according to Hindu laws, before he is forty years of age; nor appears their sovereign ever before the public, except at certain times, which are fixed at long intervals, and then it is only for the inspection of state affairs; for, in their opinion, the kings lose their respect, and give away their privileges, if the public gazes at them. The measures of government must be carried by mildness in India, and by degradation from a higher rank.

* * * *

The royalty is limited upon the descendants of one family, and never goes to another. The same is the case with the families of the Vizir, Kadhi, and other high officers. They are all (hereditary, and) never changed, nor altered.

The Hindús abstain from (spirituous) liquors, not in obedience to some religious precept, but because they do not choose to take a thing which overwhelms their reason, and makes cease the dominion, which this faculty is to exercise over men. If it can be proved of one of their kings, that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits the crown; for he is (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire), if he is given to such habits.

* * * *

El-Jáhit supposes that the river Mihrán, in es-Sind, is the Nile, alleging as a proof that crocodiles live in it. I cannot understand how this proof can be conclusive. This he states in his book "On the leading cities and the wonders of the countries." It is an excellent work; but, as he has never made a voyage, and few journies and travels through kingdoms and cities, he did not know that the Mihrán of es-Sind comes from the well known sources of the highland of es-Sind, from the country belonging to Kinnanj, in the kingdom of Búdah, and of Káshunír, el-Kandahár, and et-Takín; the tributaries, which rise in these countries run to el-Múltán, and from thence the united river receives the name Mihrán. El-Múltán means meadows of gold. The king of el-Múltán is a Koráishite, and of the children of Osámah Ben Lawí Ben Ghalib. His dominion extends as far as the frontier of Khorasán.

Some of our military readers will not be sorry to peruse an extract relative to a place, that they may not have imagined to have been of any importance, upwards of eight centuries ago. It is taken from the Ashkalu-l-Bilad:

"Multan is about half the size of Mansúra, and is called "the boundary" of the house of gold." There is an idol in the place, held in great veneration by the Hindus; and people from distant parts undertake a yearly

* The Ashkalu-l-Bilád says "burj," or bastion, which at first would seem a more probable reading; but the reasons assigned for reading the word "farj" are so strong, as set forth by M. Hamaker, in his note to the *Descriptio Iracæ Persicæ* (p. 67), that we are not entitled to consider "burj" as the correct reading.

pilgrimage to its temple, and there expend vast sums of money. Many take up their residence at the shrine to lead there a life of devotion.

Múltán derives its name from this idol. The temple is situated on an elevation in a populous part of the city, in the midst of a bazar, near which mechanics and the dealers in ivory pursue their trade. The idol is placed immediately in the centre of the temple, around which the priests and the pilgrims take up their residence; and no other man in Múltán, either of Hind or Sind, is allowed to remain in the temple, except the ministrants above mentioned.

The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture, on a pedestal made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin, like Morocco leather, but its eyes are open. Some say that the body of the idol is made of wood; some deny this; but it is not possible to ascertain this point with certainty, by reason of the skin, which covers the body. The hands rest upon the knees, with the fingers closed,* so that only four can be counted. The eyes of the idol are of some precious gem, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. The sums collected from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine are taken by the Amir of Múltán, and distributed amongst the servants of the temple. As often as the Indians make war upon them, and endeavour to seize the idol, they bring it out, pretending that they will break it, and burn it. Upon which the assailants return, otherwise they would destroy Múltán.

There is a strong fort in Múltán. Prices are low, but Mansúra is more fertile and populous. The reason why Múltán is designated "the house of gold" is, that the Muhammedans, though poor at the time they conquered the place, enriched themselves by the gold which they found in it."

From the *Tarikh-i-Guzida*, we take a short anecdote relative to Mahmúd of Ghuzni. To those, who speculate upon the supposed influence of physical defects on character, as in the instances of Pope and Byron, it will have a moral interest:

"He was a friend to learned men and poets, on whom he bestowed munificent presents, inasmuch that every year he expended upon them more than 400,000 Dinars. His features were very ugly. One day regarding his own face in a mirror, he became thoughtful and depressed. His Wazir inquired as to the cause of his sorrow; to which he replied, "It is generally understood that the sight of kings adds vigour to the eye; but the form, with which I am endowed, is calculated to strike the beholder blind." The Wazir replied, "Scarcely one man in a million looks on your face; but the qualities of your mind shed their influence on every one. Study, therefore, to maintain an unimpeachable character, that you may be loved by all your subjects." Yemíuu-d-daulah Mahmúd was pleased with this admonition: and since, that period, he paid so much attention to the cultivation of his mental endowments, that he surpassed all other kings in that respect."†

* Ibn Haukal says, "with expanded fingers;" Zakariyá Cazviní, following Istakhri, says "closed hands." The *Ashkalu-l-Bifád* concurs with Istakhri, as quoted by M. Kosegarten, *De Mohammede Ibn Baluta*, p. 27. Edrisi speaks of four hands, instead of four fingers, and a very slight change in the original would authorize that reading. (*Geographie*, par M. Jaubert. Tom. I, p. 167.)

† This anecdote is given in the *Gemáldesaal d. Lebensb.*: but Ferishta merely says, Mahmúd was marked with the small pox.

In the reign of Mas'úd, that Historian ascribes a statement to the *Guzida*, which is at variance with the MSS. I have consulted. He says that, according to the *Guzida*, Mas'úd reigned nine years and nine months, whereas the *Guzida* distinctly says that

Regarding Abú Rihan-al-Birúni, we learn, that he was born A.D. 970-1, and died A.D. 1038-9. He seems to have been an indefatigable student, which is borne out by his efforts, as an Astro-nomer, Geometrician, Historian, and Scholar. He travelled into different countries, at a time when Englishmen never quitted their own—and, in the course of his peregrinations, visited Ghuzni and Lahore. He wrote many works, and is said to have executed several translations from the Greek. His works are said to have exceeded a camel-load. For his famous *Cánún-i-Mas'údí*, a Geographical work, frequently cited by Abu-l-feda, he received from the emperor Mas'úd an elephant-load of silver, which, however, he returned to the Royal Treasury—'a proceeding contrary to human nature,'—according to the naive testimony of Shahrazuri. To the cultivator of Indian History his most valuable work is the '*Tarikhu-l-Hind*,' an Arabic manuscript in the Royal Library, Paris. It treats of the literature and science of the Indians, at the commencement of the eleventh century. It informs us that he accompanied Mahmúd of Ghuzni; that he resided many years in India, in all probability chiefly in the Punjab; that he studied the Sanscrit language; translated into it some works from the Arabic, and translated from it two treatises into Arabic. The two chapters of his work, edited by M. Reinaud (in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits, relatifs à l'Inde, &c.*) relate to the eras and geography of India. Like the Chinese travels of Fa-hian, they establish another fixed epoch, to which we can refer, for the determination of several points relating to the chronology of this country. We learn from them that the *Harivansa Purána*, which the most distinguished orientalists have hitherto ascribed to a period not anterior to the eleventh century, was already quoted in Biruni's time as a standard authority, and that the epoch of the composition of the five *Siddhantas* no longer admits of question; and thus the theories of Anquetil du Perron and Bentley are abolished for ever.*

Mr. Elliot gives an extract from the *Tarikhu-l-Hind* of great historical importance, from which it would appear that we are able to trace Brahman kings of Cabul to the beginning of the tenth century, about A. D. 920, and thus clear up the mist which enveloped a whole century of the Indian annals, previous to Mahmúd's invasion.

monarch reigned thirteen years. It may be as well to mention here, that Briggs, in his translation of *Perishta*, has, by some oversight, entered the History of Hamdulla Mustauf, and the *Tárikh-i-Guzida*, as two different works.

* Elliot, note B. This decision of a grave and interesting scientific question is fully more summary, than convincing.—ED.

We find an irresistible attraction towards those portions of Mr. Elliot's work, that bear upon Akbar's splendid reign, as recorded in the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, the *Tarikh-i-Badauni*, and the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*. There is a raciness about the writings of Abdu-l-kadir Badauni, which we regret our inability to illustrate by extracts of sufficient length. The notice of him is very valuable, not merely as giving insight into the life and sentiments of a distinguished Muhammedan scholar and gentleman of that age, but as giving us a glimpse at the character of a class. From his abilities and acquirements, he was deemed worthy by the sovereign, to be employed on the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, a historic compilation, drawn up by various learned men under Court patronage. Our Encyclopedist appears to have been a man of shrewd intellect, and, for his age, of large acquirements, but an exceedingly strict Mussulman of the Sunni persuasion. He held in abhorrence all who came between the wind and his own orthodoxy. One of his chief collaborators on the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, and holding, from circumstances no less than ability, a higher place *then*, in public estimation than Abdu-l Kadir himself, was a learned Persian, called Mullána Ahmed—the author of *Khulasatu l-Haiat*, 'the essence of life.' Of this man he speaks contemptuously, as, "a bigot, who had the impertinence to call himself a physician." His being a bigot would not have mattered much, had he been one on the right side; but Mullána Ahmed was a Shia, which, in our orthodox Encyclopedist's opinion, was much the same as if he had declared himself a visible agent of Eblis. Whatever Mullána Ahmed might be, his literary fellow labourer was a Sunni to the back bone, and, as we are apt to say now-a-days—'something more.' This Muhammedan Puritan could not abide the latitudinarianism on one part, and the heterodoxy or infidelity on the other, which he deemed the crying sin of the court. He always refers to it sarcastically, or bitterly; and, whether in his answer to those damnable new-fangled notions, as he honestly considered them, or whether as respected Akbar himself, Abu-l-Fazl, his brother Faizi, Múllah Ahmed, or whomsoever, or whatever bore hard on the Sunni side of the question, Abdu-l-Kadir shews himself as good a hater, as Dr. Johnson could desire to meet in a summer's day, or on any other day, equinoctial or antarctic. So much being premised, the following retort of our sturdy Sunni, upon the coaxing Shia, at the time assuredly his superior in position and general opinion, will be readily comprehended.

"He had as yet had no interview with Shaikh Faízi, and had not yet assumed that air of confidence, with which his intimacy with that minister inspired him, when I saw him one day in the Bázár, where some Irákís

took the opportunity of mentioning my name to him in terms of praise. Upon this, he addressed me, and said, "I see the mark of a Shí'a stamped on your forehead." "Just as much," I replied, "as I see Sunnī stamped upon your's." The bystanders laughed, and were much gratified at the retort. I shall, please God! notice the close of his life in the proper place."

There is a smack of anticipating relish in the closing sentence, having reference to Ahmed's tragical fate; and Abdu-l-Kadir, as the editor justly observes—"fulfils that promise in the following passage, which affords as an amusing instance of *odium theologicum*, as is to be met with in any country."

"During this month (Safar, 996 A. H.), Mírzá Faulád Birlas persuaded the heretic Múllá Ahmed, who was always openly reviling the first Khalifs, to leave his own house at midnight under some pretence, and then assassinated him. The chronograms of which event are, "Bravo! Faulad's stiletto!" and "Hellish hog!" and indeed, when I saw that dog in the agonies of death, I observed his countenance to be exactly like that of a hog: others also observed the same. May God protect me from such a dreadful fate!*

Mirza Faulád was bound alive to the leg of an elephant in the city of Lahore, and thus attained martyrdom.

When Hakím Abú-l-Fateh sent some one to enquire of him, whether sectarian prejudices had induced him to kill Múllá Ahmed, he replied that had that been the reason, he would have selected a more noble victim than the Múllá. The Hakim reported this speech to the king, who remarked that Mírzá Faulád was an implacable villain, and ought to suffer death. He therefore ordered him to be drawn, while yet living, by an elephant, although he was very nearly obtaining a pardon through the intercession of the ladies of the royal household. The Múllá expired three or four days after the Mírzá."

A similar spirit breathes through his account of Sheik Faízí; for he not only describes him as dying the death of a reprobate, but kills even his poetry with a withering criticism, not unworthy of the trenchant style of the 19th century.

"He is commonly called the "chief of Poets," but he was in fact a mere Poetaster. He excelled in the minor arts of versification, enigmatic lines, and rhyming. In history, in philology, in medicine, in letter-writing, and in composition, he was without a rival. His earlier compositions in verse bear his titular name of Fáízí, which he subsequently dignified into Faíází, in order that it might correspond with the grammatical amplification of Allámí, by which his younger brother, Abú-l-fazl, was known; but the change was ill-omened, for he survived to enjoy his last title only one or two months, and then met his death with great alarm and inquietude.

* A Shí'a, who marked the rubrics on the margin of the copy I have used, takes a most summary revenge, by heading this passage thus, "The assassination of blessed Mulla Ahmed by the ruthless dagger of an accursed son of a pig."

† The Masiru-l-Umra says "by the nobles of the state." The determination to carry the sentence into effect shows the stern justice of the Emperor. The Birlas family had served his for eight generations, and Mirza Faulád had himself been selected by Akbar, to accompany an embassy to Abdulla Khan Uzbek, in the 22nd year of his reign.

He was an idle and vain talker, a hypocrite, and a haughty, malicious, dishonest, envious, perfidious, and ambitious man. He reviled the three first Khalifas and their disciples, the ancestors and descendants of the Prophet, the wise and the excellent, the pious and the saintly, and, in short, all Musulmáns in general, and ridiculed the principles of their faith, privately and publicly, by night and by day. His conduct was so abominable, that even Jews, Christians, Hindús, Sabians and Guebres are considered a thousand times less odious. He acted entirely against the tenets of the Muhammedan religion. What was forbidden in that, was lawful to him, and vice versâ.

He composed a Commentary upon the Korán, consisting entirely of letters without diacritical points, in order to obliterate the spots of his infamy; but the waters of a hundred oceans will never cleanse the stain he has contracted, until the day of judgement. He composed it in the very height of his perfidy and drunkenness, and dogs were allowed to tread on every letter of it. In the same spirit of pride, stubbornness, and infidelity, he met his final doom, and in a manner, which I trust, no one may again see, or hear of; for when the king paid him a visit on his death-bed, he barked at his face like a dog, as the king himself acknowledged in public; his whole face was swollen, and his lips appeared black, as if soiled with dentifrice; insomuch that the king observed to Abú-l-fazl, "surely the Sheikh has been rubbing dentifrice on his teeth, according to the Indian fashion." "No," replied Abú-l-fazl, "it is the stain of the clotted blood, which he has been spitting."* In truth, even this scene was but a small retribution for the blasphemies, of which he had been guilty, and for the contumelies, which he had uttered against the Prophet, the last of the apostles (the peace of God be upon him, and all his family!). Several abusive chronograms were written on the occasion, of which the following are only a few.

He had composed poetry for forty years, correct enough in point of versification and language, but utterly destitute of beauty, either in sentiment or religion.† He has joined the dry bones together pretty well, but the skeleton has no brains. The condiments of verse are sufficiently abundant, but quite tasteless, * * * as is proved by no one remembering his lines, although the very vilest poets meet with some quoters and admirers. Nevertheless, he wrote, what with Díwáns and Masnavís, more than twenty thousand lines; and, notwithstanding that he expended the rich revenues of his Jághír upon their transcription, and in sending copies to his friends, far and near, not one of them ever read his poems twice. The following verses of his own selection were given by him to Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed as a memento. * * *

* * * * * Pray, tell me what beauty is there in them!"

The Tarikh-i-Badauni of this author is a general history of India, from the time of the Ghaznavides to the fortieth year of Akbar; and, as respects the reign of the latter, Mr. Elliot considers it very useful, as correcting, by its prevalent tone of censure and disparagement, the fulsome eulogium of the Akbar-nama.

* At the close of the historical narrative, the author tells us, that Faiz had been spitting blood for six months before his death, and that his barking like a dog was the consequence of his making those animals his constant companions, night and day, to insult the Musulmáns, to whom they are an abomination.

† This is by no means the general estimate of his poetry, which is greatly admired in India, even to this day.

Despite this tone, it had already been observed by Mr. Elphinstone in his history, that it conveys a more favourable impression of Akbar than the rhetorical flourishes of the Court Journalist (Abú-l-fazl). This is one of the few works, which, the Editor of the Index deems, would well repay the labour of translation. Of Sheikh Abú-l-fazl, Abdu-l-kadir observes in his caustic way, that—‘he ingratiated himself with His Majesty by his unremitting devotion to the king’s service, by his temporising disposition, which could reconcile him even to the commission of falsehood to serve his own interests, by the study of the king’s temper and sentiments, and by his boundless flattery.’

Mr. Elliot’s judgment on the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, is that—‘it is by common consent, and not undeservedly, considered superior to all the other general histories of India.’ The author of it was born at Astrabad, on the borders of the Caspian, about A. D. 1570. The date of his death is conjectured to have been about 1612. The value of the work, Mr. Elliot is of opinion, commences from the Muhammedan period; the history of which he has compiled from the best sources available. The introduction gives but a very imperfect view of Indian history, previous to the invasion of Islám, and is of about equal authority and value with the first ten books of Livy. In regard to Colonel Dow’s translation of the first and second books, giving an account of the Mogul Emperors down to Akbar, Mr. Elliot truly observes ‘that Dow has so interwoven his own remarks with that of the author, that it is sometimes difficult to separate them, and in such a manner too, as sometimes to convey an entirely different meaning, from that which Ferishta intended.’ Mr. Elliot considers, that the translation of the entire work by General Briggs (in 4 vols. 8vo., 1829) has thrown others into the shade, and is by far the most valuable storehouse of facts connected with the Muhammedan Dynasties of India, which is accessible to the English reader. The Editor notices the somewhat uncandid review of the work by J. Von Hammer, who takes little notice of its merits, and confines himself principally to hypercritical censures on its orthography; ‘Such petty cavillings are unworthy of one of the most distinguished Orientalists of the continent: but they are not confined to the translator of Ferishta; the profoundest scholars of the world have not escaped his critical reprehensions, which he sometimes lavishes with a most unsparing hand, and very often on the most trifling lapses of spelling, version, or punctuation.’

Mr. Elliot has a very interesting note on fire-worship in India. It refers to the march of the Sultan Ibrahim to Dera, which he inclines to suppose may indicate the Dehra of the Dhún.

"All the authors, however, who mention the circumstance, whether they give the name or not, notice that the inhabitants were banished by Afrásiáb; and this concurrent tradition respecting their expulsion from Khorásán seems to indicate the existence of a colony of Fire-worshippers in these hills, who preserved their peculiar rites and customs, notwithstanding the time which had elapsed since their departure from their native country.

Putting aside the probability, which has frequently been speculated upon, of an original connection between the Hindú religion and the worship of fire, and the derivation of the name of Magadha from the Magi, there is much in the practical worship of the Hindús, such as the *hom*, the *gaiatri*, the address to the sun* at the time of ablution, the prohibition against insulting that luminary by indecent gestures,†—all which would lead an inattentive observer to conclude the two religions to bear a very close resemblance to one another. It is this consideration, which should make us very careful in receiving the statements of the early Muhammedan writers on this subject; and the use of the word *Gabr*, to signify not only, especially, a Fire-worshipper, but, generally, an Infidel of any denomination, adds to the probability of confusion and inaccuracy.

European scholars have not been sufficiently attentive to this double use of the word; and all those, who have relied upon M. Petit de la Croix's translation of Sherifu-d-dín, have considered that, at the period of Timúr's invasion, fire-worship prevailed most extensively in Upper India, because *Gabr* is used throughout by the historians of that invasion, to represent the holders of a creed opposed to his own, and against which his rancour and cruelty were unsparingly directed.

But though the word is used indiscriminately, there are certain passages in which it is impossible to consider that any other class but Fire-worshippers is meant. Thus, it is distinctly said that the people of Tughlak-púr‡ believed in the two principles of good and evil in the universe, and acknowledged *Ahrimán* and *Yezdan* (*Ormuzd*). The captives, massacred at Loní§, are said to have been *Magians, as well as Hindús*; and, in the passage quoted in the article *HABIBU-S-SIYAR*, it is stated that the son of Safi Gabr threw himself into the fire, *which he worshipped*.

We cannot refuse our assent to this distinct evidence of the existence of Fire-worshippers in Upper India, as late as the invasion of Timúr, A. D. 1398-9. There is, therefore, no improbability that the independent tribe, which had been expelled by Afrásiáb, and practised their own peculiar rites, and whom Ibráhím, the Ghaznevide, attacked in A. D. 1079, were a colony of Fire-worshippers from Irán, who, if the date assigned be true, must have left their native country, before the reforms effected in the national creed by Zoroaster.

Indeed, when we consider the constant intercourse which had prevailed from oldest time between Persia and India,|| it is surprising that we do not

* See Lucian's description of the circular dance peculiar to Indian priests, in which they worship the sun, standing with their faces towards the east.—*De Saltatione*. See also Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I. pp. 137, 146. Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*. Art. *Indien*, pp. 166, 172.

† Hesiod enables us to disguise it in a learned language.

Μηδ' ἀντ' ηελιοιο τετραμμένος ὀρθὸς ὀμχευ.

Op et Di. v. 672

See also Menu, iv. 52. *Ramayana* II. 59. Bohlen, *d. alt Ind*. Vol. I. p. 139.

‡ Cheriffeddin, *Hist. de Timur*, Tom. III. p. 81.

§ Price's *Chronological Retrusp. of Mah. Hist.* Vol. III. p. 254.

|| Troyer, *Raja Tarangini*, Vol. II. p. 441.

find more unquestionable instances of the persecuted Fire-worshippers seeking an asylum in Northern India, as well as Guzerát.

The instances, in which they are alluded to before this invasion of Timúr, are very rare, and almost always so obscurely mentioned, as to leave some doubt in the mind, whether foreign ignorance of native customs and religious rites may not have given a colour to the narrative.

The evidence of the Chinese traveller, Hwen thsang, to the existence of sun-worship at Multán in 640 A. D. is very decisive. He found there a "temple of the sun, and an idol erected to represent that grand luminary," with dwellings for the priests, and reservoirs for ablution;* yet, he says, the city was inhabited chiefly by men of the Brahminical religion.

A few centuries before, if Philostratus is to be believed, Apollonius, after crossing the Indus, visited the temple of the sun at Taxila; and Phraotes, the chief of the country, describes the Indians, as, in a moment of joy, "snatching torches from the altar of the sun," and mentions that he himself never drank wine, except "when sacrificing to the sun." After crossing the Hyphasis, Apollonius goes to a place, which would seem to represent Jwála Mukhí, where they "worship fire," and "sing hymns in honour of the sun.†"

When the Arabs arrived in the valley of the Indus, they found the same temple, the same idol, the same dwellings, the same reservoirs, as had struck the Chinese: but their description of the idol would lead us to suppose that it was a representation of Budh. Bírúní, however, whose testimony is more valuable than that of all other Muhammedans, as he was fully acquainted with the religious system of the Hindús, plainly tells us,‡ that the idol of Múltán was called *Aditya*,§ because it was consecrated to the sun, and that Muhammed bin Kassam, the first invader, suspended a piece of cow's flesh from its neck, in order to show his contempt of the superstition of the Indians, and to disgust them with this double insult to the dearest objects of their veneration.||

Shortly before Bírúní wrote, we have another instance of this tendency to combine the two worships. In the message which Jaipál sent to Násir-ud-din, in order to dissuade him from driving the Indians to desperation, he is represented to say, (according to the *Tárikh-i-Alfi*), "The Indians are accustomed to pile their property, wealth, and precious jewels in one heap, and to kindle it with the fire, *which they worship*. They then kill their women and children, and, with nothing left in the world, they rush to their last on-slaught, and die in the field of battle; so that for their victorious enemies the only spoil is dust and ashes. The declaration is a curious one in the mouth of a Hindú, but may perhaps be considered to indicate the existence of a modified form of pyrolatry in the beginning of the eleventh century.

* *Journal Asiatique*. Tom. VIII. p. 298. and *Foe Kone Ki*. p. 303.

† Philostrati *Vita Apollonii*. Lib. II. Cap. 24, 32. Lib. III. Cap. 14.

‡ M. Reinaud. *Frægmens Arabes et Persans*. p. 141.

§ See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 761. *Anthologia Sanscritica*. p. 172. *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 203. Vans Kennedy, *Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, p. 349.

|| There is nothing in the various origins ascribed to the name of Múltán, which gives any colour to the supposition, that the city was devoted to the worship of the sun. See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*. Vol. I. p. 99. *Zeitschrift f. d. k. d. Morg.* Vol. III. p. 196.

The practice alluded to is nothing more than the *Johar*, which is so frequently practised by Hindús in despair."

We regret to be compelled by want of space to omit the remainder of this learned and valuable note. For the same reason we must forego any notice of one, not less valuable, learned, and interesting '*on the early use of gun-powder in India*,' and must content ourselves with our final one, which, though severe, is fraught with much truth. Young Bengal should con it well. Referring to the imperfections of the authors whom he had to consult, the Editor of this admirable work observes:

"From them, nevertheless, we can gather, that the common people must have been plunged into the lowest depth of wretchedness and despondency. The few glimpses we have—even among the short extracts in this single volume—of Hindús slain for disputing with Muhammedans,* of general prohibitions against processions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures † of idols mutilated, ‡ of temples razed, § of forcible conversions and marriages, || of proscriptions and confiscations, ¶ of murders and massacres,** and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants, who enjoined them—†† show us, that this picture is not overcharged; and it is much to be regretted that we are left to draw it for ourselves from out the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers, who seem to sympathize with no virtues, and to abhor no vices. Whenever, therefore, in the course of this Index a work is characterized as excellent, admirable, or valuable, it must be remembered, that these terms are used relatively to the narrative only; and it is but reasonable to expect, that the force of these epithets will be qualified by constant advertence to the deficiencies just commented on.

These deficiencies are more to be lamented, where, as sometimes happens, a Hindú is the author. From one of that nation we might have expected to learn what were the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears, and yearnings of his subject race; but unfortunately he rarely writes, unless according to order or dictation; and every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammedan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except perhaps a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which shows how ill the foreign garb befits him.

With him, a Hindú is "an infidel," and a Muhammedan "one of the true faith;" and of the holy Saints of the Calendar he writes with all

* See pp. 254, 291, 336.

+ See pp. 197, 235, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 257, 292.

† See pp. 236, 286, 333, 344.

§ See pp. 228, 229, 292.

|| See pp. 196, 237, 335.

¶ See pp. 289, 330, 332, 333.

** See pp. 127, 158, 160, 286, 289, 338, 334, 335.

†† See pp. 112, 284, 285, 288, 290, 331, 300.

the fervour of a bigot. With him, when Hindús are killed, "their souls are despatched to hell;" and when a Muhammedan suffers the same fate, "he drinks the cup of martyrdom." He is so far wedded to the set phrases and inflated language of his conquerors, that he speaks "of the light of Islám shedding its refulgence on the world," "of the blessed Muharram," and "of the illustrious Book." He usually opens with a "Bismillah," and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of the Godhead, followed by laudations of the holy prophet, his disciples, and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammedans. One of the Hindú authors, here noticed, speaks of standing in his old age "at the head of his bier, on the brink of his grave;" though he must have been fully aware that, before long, his remains would be burnt, and his ashes cast into the Ganges. Even at a later period, when no longer "Tiberii ac Neronis res ob metum falsæ,"* there is not one of this slavish crew, who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions, and raptures, which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the heart, without constraint, and without adulation.

But, though the intrinsic value of these works may be small, they will still yield much that is worth observation to any one, who will attentively examine them. They will serve to dispel the mists of ignorance, by which the knowledge of India is too much obscured, and to show that the history of the Muhammedan period remains yet to be written. They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instruction were sought for from *them*, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammedan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters, now renowned only for the splendour of their achievements and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery, and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the execration of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic Babús, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position. If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein, it would take these young Brutuses and Phocians a very short time to learn, that, in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of molten lead or empalement. From *them* too these idle vapourers would learn, that the sacred spark of patriotism is exotic here, and can never fall on a mine that will explode; for history will show them, that certain peculiarities of physical, as well as moral organization, neither to be strengthened by diet, nor improved by education, have hitherto prevented their even attempting a national independence,—which will continue to exist to them but as a name, and as an offscouring of college declamations.† We should be compelled to listen

* Tacitus. *Annal* I. 1.

† Mr. Elliot is over severe in this remark. A nation, bowed down for ages under the degrading yoke of Hinduism, does not start up into strength, and maturity at once. In mental organization, the Bengali is second to none; and, if we are to judge from recent events, the capacity for self government, and even the morality, of more highly favoured nations do not rise much above those of Young Bengal. True science and true religion may yet show what is in them.—ED.

no more to the clamours against resumption of rent-free tenures, when almost every page will show, that there was no tenure, whatever its designation, which was not open to resumption in the theory of the law, and which was not repeatedly resumed in practice. Should any ambitious functionary entertain the desire of emulating the "exceeding magnificent" structures of his Mogul predecessors,* it will check his aspirations to learn, that, beyond palaces and porticos, temples and tombs, there is little worthy of emulation. He will find that, if we omit only three names in the long line of Delhi Emperors, the comfort and happiness of the people were never contemplated by them; and, with the exception of a few seráís† and bridges—and these only on roads traversed by the imperial camps,—he will see nothing, in which purely selfish considerations did not prevail.‡ The extreme beauty and elegance of many of their structures it is not attempted to deny; but personal vanity was the main cause of their erection; and, with the small exception noted above, there is not one which subserves any purpose of general utility."

* This was the grandiloquent declaration of a late Governor General, at a farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors. But when his head became turned by the laurels, which the victories of others placed upon his brow, these professions were forgotten; and the only monument remaining of his peaceful aspirations is a tank under the palace walls of Delhi, which, as it remains empty one part of the year, and exhales noxious vapours during the other, has been voted a nuisance by the inhabitants of the imperial city, who have actually petitioned that it may be filled up again.

† The present dilapidation of these buildings is sometimes adduced as a proof of our indifference to the comforts of the people. It is not considered, that where they do exist in good repair, they are but little used, and that the present system of Government no longer renders it necessary that travellers should seek protection within fortified enclosures. If they are to be considered proofs of the solicitude of former monarchs for their subject's welfare, they are also standing memorials of the weakness and inefficiency of their administration. Add to which, that many of the extant seráís were the offspring, not of imperial, but of private, liberality.

‡ See p. 242.

- ART. IV.—1. *Directions for Settlement Officers, promulgated under the authority of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces. Agra. 1844.*
2. *Translation of a Proceeding regarding the settlement of a village, according to the system pursued in the North Western Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal: compiled and published under the orders of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor, North Western Provinces. Agra. 1847.*
3. *Settlement Reports of several Districts, printed and published at various times by order of Government, North Western Provinces.*
4. *Memoir on the Statistics of the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, compiled from official documents, under orders of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor, by A. Shakespear, Esq., Assistant Secretary to the Government. Calcutta. 1848.*

WHEN Ram Mohun Roy made his first appearance in the streets of London, he was greeted with the cry of "Tippoo;" the mob apparently thinking that all who wore "the shadowed livery of the burnished sun" were equally entitled to that name. We have often observed a somewhat similar tendency to generalization with regard to Indian matters, even among Englishmen of intelligence and education. They acquire notions, perhaps imperfect ones, regarding some branch of administration in a particular part of the country; and upon these they argue, when the occasion arises, as if they must apply to all our widely extended provinces alike. If the Editor of the *Spectator* wishes to prove that it is the pressure of the Government revenue, which prevents the supply of cotton to the English market, he draws his conclusions from assertions of Bombay merchants, which, whether true or not, as regards that Presidency, are certainly quite inapplicable to Bengal. Even Professor Jones, with his peculiar means of information, has erred in a similar way. When discussing the nature of ryot rents in India, and lamenting that Sir Thomas Munro's advice to reduce those rents in certain parts of the Madras Territory was not complied with, he seems to have been totally unaware that, in the larger and richer portion of our Eastern Empire, the Government is no longer the sole landlord; that the agricultural management now rests with other proprietors, whose interest in the soil has been created by the limitation of the public demand; and that the amount of rent paid by the actual cultivators, where not limited by special circumstances, is

regulated by natural causes, with which the revenue paid to the State has no connection.

We think, therefore, that it may help to correct existing misconceptions, if we attempt to describe the great work of the revision of the settlement in the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, which has been brought to gradual completion during the last twenty years. In the execution of this attempt, we shall be led to speak of the general mode of revenue administration now pursued; to point out the evils, which the settlement was intended to remedy; and to consider how far this end has been attained. The topic, thus set before us, is one of the highest interest. We have to deal with operations vitally affecting the welfare of many millions of our Indian fellow-subjects; not to reckon the millions more, to whom the same system may be hereafter extended. In eliminating the plan, upon which these measures were to be conducted, and in superintending their progress, men of the first intellect in the country found ample scope for all their faculties and energies; while, for the execution of the work itself, the best subordinate talent, which the service afforded, was for many years placed in requisition, and taxed to the utmost. The revision of the settlement has made us better acquainted with the people, whom we have been called upon to govern, than we might otherwise have been in centuries. It has given us an insight into their condition, feelings, desires, and wants. It has thrown a flood of light on all the relations of the people with the State. It has furnished the Government with means, never before possessed, for encouraging industry and protecting private rights; while it has accustomed our subjects themselves to familiar intercourse with their rulers, and has inspired them with confidence in our moderation, and reliance on our justice. It has done more to prevent affrays, and to lead to the peaceable adjustment of disputes regarding real property, than all the terrors of the penal law could ever have effected. While in progress, the settlement afforded the best school for fitting men to fill other offices of every description; and, even now, the necessity of maintaining its arrangements, and acting up to its provisions, supplies a training of nearly equal efficacy. Those who, after such a training, are called to preside in a civil court, are enabled by the settlement arrangements and records to decide confidently, where they must before have groped hopelessly in the dark. A measure, which has been followed by such results, besides its more immediate object of equalizing taxation, must deserve the attention of all, who take any interest in the welfare of India.

The treatise, which we have placed at the head of this article,

entitled 'Directions to Settlement Officers,' is the last which has been issued on the subject, and the only one which has aimed at embracing it in all its parts. It possesses further this great advantage over the detached instructions, issued at various former times for the guidance of the officers employed, that it has been drawn up, after the plan originally laid down has been tested by experience, in the progress of which mistakes have been corrected, and the course of procedure matured. In the clearness of its arrangement, and the comprehensiveness of its views, this manual leaves nothing to be desired: and to it we must refer our readers for the details of that system, of which we are about to place the more prominent points before them. The specimen Settlement Misl has been prepared under the sanction of the same high and competent authority, as the Directions. It only represents a supposed case, and is intended to show how the plan prescribed in the manual, may, under particular circumstances, be carried out into practice. The printed Settlement Reports, on the other hand, detail the course which has actually been pursued by many able officers. We would recommend a careful study of these reports to any one, who is really desirous of mastering the subject. They show the information which has to be sought for, the various difficulties which have been met with in different localities, and the mode in which they have been overcome. The Statistical Memoir relates principally to questions, which are foreign to our present purpose; and we cannot now pay it the attention it deserves: but we have quoted it here, as containing many of the general results of the Settlement. In it will be found the extent of land, cultivated or otherwise, in each pergunnah of every district, together with the amount of the Government assessment, and the rate at which this falls on the area. The corrected population returns, given in this Memoir, are founded on enquiries, made since the settlement was concluded; but that operation paved the way for a clearer knowledge upon this head, as well as upon all others, connected with the rural economy of the country.

The North West Provinces contain, by the last and most accurate returns, 71,985 square statute miles, with a population of 23,199,668 souls. The land revenue, demanded from them in 1846-7, amounted to rupees 4,05,29,921; in addition to which they paid in the same year a nett sum of rupees 16,60,901 (including collections due for former years), on account of Abkari, and of rupees 12,33,903 for Stamps. The Customs duties, levied on the frontier during the same period, (by far the greater part of which must be considered a tax upon

these provinces) amounted to about rupees 62,00,000; thus making up, with other minor sources of income, a total revenue of more than five crores of rupees. The whole territory is divided into thirty-two districts, which are classed in six* divisions. The whole of these have come under survey; but there has of course been no general revision of the revenue in those parts of the Benares division, of which the Government demand was permanently fixed in the year 1795. The revenue has there remained unaltered, except in cases where an estate had always been farmed, and the demand had therefore never been determined in perpetuity; or where the permanent demand had broken down, and required reduction. The main object of extending the operations into that part of the country was to decide many long outstanding questions, in which the claims of the Government, or of individuals, were concerned, and to give the people the option of placing on record the same detailed statement of private rights, and of the mode of internal administration, which had been introduced elsewhere.

In extent of territory, therefore, the provinces which, with the above partial exceptions, have come under settlement, are about equal to England and Scotland, without Wales. In point of population, they about equal Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia: while the gross revenue, realized from them, exceeds by one half that of the Kingdom of Belgium. Following the line of the Ganges and Jumna, the extreme distance, from Goruckpore on the south-east to Hissar on the north-west, is nearly 700 miles. In this wide expanse of country much diversity of race, language, and character, is naturally met with among the occupants of the soil. The Rajpút of Azimghur, the Brahmin of Cawnpore, the Ahír of the ravines of the Jumna, the Gujur of Meerut, and the Jât of Delhi, have all peculiarities, which distinguish them, not only from other tribes, but also from men of the same tribe in other places. To the essential differences of caste, with its influence on their occupations, lawful and unlawful, are added others, arising from social position, or local circumstances; the last being aggravated by the want of communication between distant parts of the country. Among the Muhammedans, again, the Patan of Rohilcund and the Syud of the Upper Duáb have little in common with other land-holders of the same faith, but of inferior descent; while the whole race were originally as distinct from the Hindus, among whom they settled, as the Normans were from the Saxons at the period of the conquest.

* Delhi, Rohilcund, Meerut, Agra, Allahabad, Benares.

In a body of agriculturists thus constituted, there will be a considerable variety of customs, prejudices, and institutions, to which due attention was requisite, when carrying out an extensive measure, like that of the late settlement. Indeed it was one of the chief objects of the settlement to discover and record such peculiarities, whether they related to the extent of existing rights, or to the manner in which those rights were to be exercised and maintained. Nevertheless, while care was needful, not to pre-suppose the existence of complete uniformity, especially in minor points, it was easy to trace a general resemblance in the landed tenures of all parts, and among men of all tribes and races. Whoever has once mastered the position, in which the rural inhabitants of any single district stand to each other and to the Government, can find little difficulty in understanding any deviations from the same type, which he may observe elsewhere. Of these apparent anomalies many will be found, on closer consideration, to involve differences only of names, or of methods; the principle remaining the same. Such are the various modes of distributing the Government demand upon the holdings of those who contribute to it; whether by a rate on the measured number of bigahs, or on ploughs, or wells, or fictitious bigahs of large size. Others again are more real, and affect materially the interests of those concerned with them; but these almost always relate to the position of the members of one grade of the agricultural community, as regards each other—not as regards those of any other grade. Of this kind are the customs, met with in Bundelcund, of repartitioning the land on the occurrence of certain contingencies—and, under other circumstances, of the gratuitous liquidation of arrears, due from defaulters, by their solvent brethren. Such too are the peculiar rules, existing in particular tribes or families, regarding legitimacy and inheritance, and the singular distinction occasionally drawn between the possession of the land and that of the proprietary right; whereby a man may dispose of all his land, and yet retain an exchangeable interest in the estate.* It is seldom that local or special custom interferes with the relations usually found to exist between the several grand classes, who are entitled to share in the produce of the soil; as between the ryot and the zemindar, or the zemindar and the Government.† A clear view of these rela-

* See Report on the Settlement of Azimghur.—Par. 65-66.

† As a rare instance of a local rule of this kind, we may quote the custom prevalent in some districts, and especially in Azimghur, whereby cultivators of the higher castes (Ushraff) pay uniformly a lower rent than those of inferior castes (Urzal). See Report on Azimghur.—Par. 92-93.

tions is therefore a requisite qualification, either for making a settlement, or for comprehending one, when made. We shall endeavour to state, in small compass, how they stood under the Native dynasties, and in what way they have been modified under the British rule.

In tracing up the landed tenures, now existing in these provinces, to their earliest source, we find that there were originally but two parties, who possessed any fixed rights in the soil or its produce. These were the Government on the one hand, and those, who first occupied and appropriated the land under the Government, on the other. Of these two parties, the ruling power must be considered to have been the chief proprietor, inasmuch as it was entitled to demand a full rent from all productive land, and to dispose, at its pleasure, of all extensive wastes and forests. These claims on the part of the State were, at various periods, more or less rigidly enforced ; but they were indefeasible, except with its own consent.

The private proprietors, to whom the produce of the land, after paying the Government demand, belonged, were ; in some cases, single individuals, who managed a tract (of greater or less extent) through their own dependants. In these cases, the tenure had generally been obtained by direct grant from the Government itself. The zemindari right, in a region previously uninhabited, or tenanted only by predatory and wandering tribes, was often thus assigned to some man of wealth and influence, with a view to the introduction of order and agricultural improvement. The grantee then settled on the spot, and by degrees brought in cultivators of the industrious classes, to whom he portioned off the land according to their means. In so doing, he would often find it expedient to give the head man of each location a permanent interest in the increase of the produce. This was sometimes done by a written document (as in the case of the Briteas in Goruckpore), by which certain terms were fixed, as those on which the village was in future to be held. But it was more usual merely to acknowledge one of the cultivators, as Mokuddum, or Jeth ryot, and to give him certain privileges, such as a portion of land rent free, or a small percentage on the collections, in return for his service. The office of Mokuddum, thus constituted, usually descended in the same family ; but, unless it rested on some specific and permanent grant, it was not susceptible of division among heirs, or of transfer. The Zemindar, or superior lord, remained sole master in a tract thus peopled, except so far as his authority was limited by his own grants, or by such other rights, as might spring up under him by prescription and the usage of

the country. He made his own bargain with the Government for the sum which he had to pay as revenue ; while his receipts depended mainly on the skill and success, with which he improved his domain.

Far more commonly, however, the private right in the soil was held by a numerous body of sharers, who were all descended from the same stock, and who, for the most part, cultivated, as well as owned, the land. These were the famous village communities, of whom so much has been written ; the "indestructible atoms," to which the rural body politic chiefly owed its strength and permanency ; the rocks, over which the waves of conquest or intestine disturbance so often flowed, without moving them from their fixed position. These communities were as independent in their origin, as many of them have long proved themselves to be in their self-maintained stability. The foundation of their tenures was laid in those ancient times, when tribe after tribe of Rajpúts, or of Jâts, and other races connected with the Rajpúts, left their home in the distant regions of Northern Asia, and migrated to the then thinly populated plains of India. The rise of the Muhammedan power, in Affghanistan and its neighbourhood, barred the route against any further influx from that quarter ; but similar migrations long continued to take place from the countries on this side the Indus, or from Rajpútána, to the Gangetic valley, and from one portion of that valley to another. These changes of location were not always accomplished without a contest with previous occupants ; a memorial of whom may often still be seen in the old shapeless mound, on which their fort, or little capital, once stood. However this may have been, as soon as the new comers found themselves undisputed masters of the soil, they proceeded to divide it according to their families. Each of these at first settled down at some distance from the rest, leaving space around to provide for future expansion. In the next generation, shoots were thrown off from each of these stocks, who fixed themselves in the nearest unoccupied spot to that from which they issued. As time advanced, this process was repeated, till the whole tract, which the tribe had originally grasped, became fully tenanted and cultivated. It had then become divided into a number of separate properties, the limits of which had by degrees been carefully determined, though they were often interlaced in a singular way with each other. This was owing to the mode of partition practised by these communities. Instead of drawing a line through the centre of the tract to be divided, they considered it a fairer plan for each party to select their several portions, field by field, out of the whole

area. Shares in the same property were divided in a similar way. The arrangement is an inconvenient and injurious one ; but it forms a peculiar characteristic of these proprietary bodies.

The individual members of the village communities were the "Raeia," or hereditary cultivators, the protection of whom was considered of so much importance by Akbár and Aurungzebe, and by every other native ruler, who paid any attention to the welfare of his people. As individuals, their rights consisted in the permanency of their tenure as occupants of their ancestral fields, subject to the payment of the dues of the State. As collective bodies, they raised among themselves the whole sum required by the Government from the village, making their own agreements with any cultivators of other castes, or families, whom they might have introduced to assist them in the culture of the land : they collected and appropriated the spontaneous products of the earth or water within their precincts : they realized ground rents from non-agriculturists resident in the village, and cesses from occasional fairs or markets. In the same capacity, they were entitled to manage their internal affairs without foreign interference ; they provided for watch and ward, and for a rude system of detective Police, and decided, by arbitration, or by the authority of their head men, almost all disputes of a civil nature, which arose among the brotherhood. The amount of the Government assessment was usually determined by actual estimate of each crop, while on the ground ; for which duty a special establishment was kept up by the Amil (revenue collector). The demand, thus fixed, was realized, when the crop was cut, by the Mokuddums, or chief men of the village, and conveyed by them to the district treasury ; when they commonly received a turban, and an allowance of two per cent on the sum paid in, as a remuneration for their services. It might occasionally happen, that the Mokuddums, or one of their number, had the means and enterprise to engage with the Amil to pay a fixed sum for a short term of years, so as to avoid the necessity for this constant examination of the crops. In that case, the party, who took the lease, entered into an engagement in his own name, and himself arranged with the other sharers for their quotas of the sum, which he had agreed to pay. But, after the term of the engagement had expired, either the Government, or the people, had the option of reverting to the actual estimate of produce, which was better suited to the uncertainty of seasons, as combined with general improvidence of habits.

The rights and privileges, thus described, were amply sufficient to constitute a heritable and transferable property, notwithstanding the abstract right of the Government to claim, as

revenue, the whole net rent of the land. The share of the gross produce, which both Hindu and Muhammedan Governments professed to take,* would have always left a beneficial interest in the land to the ryot; and, allowing that these professions were seldom adhered to in practice, it was probably impossible to exact a full rent with any degree of certainty or regularity. The value of the tenure was increased by the other sources of profit adverted to above, as well as by the houses, groves and wells, which were gradually built, or planted, or dug, on the land. The property, thus formed, was seldom transferred by sale; a strong prejudice existing against such a procedure. But it descended to heirs, was conveyed by gift, and was frequently mortgaged and redeemed.

Nothing but the greatest calamity, or the greatest injustice, could, by sudden violence, dislodge or break up the proprietary communities thus established. The nature of their tenure, as above described, was indicated by the designations assigned to them. They were called "Biswadars," or "Bhúmias," or by other titles, expressive of their indissoluble connection with the soil. Their rights were considered as sacred as those of the sovereign himself, and were never infringed without the stigma of tyranny being attached to the aggressor. This public feeling in their favour, together with their own intense attachment to their patrimony, and the power of combination, which they possessed for mutual defence and support, enabled them to weather many a storm, and to re-appear, though perhaps with diminished numbers and resources, when the danger had passed away. The slow effects of time had, however, produced great changes among them, long before they came under our sway. A long series of years, extending often to several centuries from the first settlement of the tribe, and the succession of accidents in unsettled times, had tended to shake even the firm hold which they had upon the land. The Rajpúts, in particular, had gradually succumbed before the advance of other races of less ancient descent, but of greater industry. Where a "Chourassi" of Rajput communities once existed, they had dwindled to a much smaller number; the places of the others being occupied by Kayths, Kachis, or Kuromis, or by some single owner.† Still no change occurred in the relations of the

* It is stated in the *Ayeeen Akbarry* that the Hindu monarchs of Hindustan exacted the sixth part of the produce. The Muhammedan princes in different kingdoms of Asia exacted various proportions, as the fifth, the sixth, and the tenth; but levied at the same time a general poll tax, and other imposts. Akbar abolished all arbitrary taxes, and fixed the Government demand at one-third of the produce. It will be seen that this nearly corresponds with the theoretical share taken under our own system.

† See the maps intended to illustrate this change of proprietorship between Akbar's time and our own, in Sir Henry Elliot's Supplemental Glossary.

occupants of the soil with the State. The new proprietors merely took the places of those, whom they had supplanted, just as these had perhaps taken the place of others, many ages before.

Such were the tenures, which sprung up, under the original constitution of the country, according as the land was first occupied by a single individual of comparative wealth and power, or by a body of industrious cultivators. These parties respectively were, as we have said, in the first instance the sole private holders of any fixed interest in the soil. In the large zemindaris, other rights might by degrees arise by gift, contract, or prescription : but this could hardly occur in tracts tenanted by the village communities. Their connection with the land was too close to allow of any claims springing up under them ; and, though they frequently admitted other ryots to share their labours, these last had no settled position, and were for the most part merely tenants at will. The simple system, thus established, was, however, often complicated from causes, of which some mention must here be made.

It has been seen that the native governments usually collected their revenue from the village landholders by means of temporary officers, corresponding in that respect with our Tuhsildars. But it often happened that, from motives of policy or favour, they delegated their rights in this respect in one or more villages to some person, previously unconnected with the spot, and permitted him to realize, on his own account, the share of the produce, otherwise due to the State. If this grantee was allowed to appropriate the revenue to his own use, or for special services, he was termed a Múafidar, or Jaghirdar. When he engaged to pay a yearly sum to the Government in return for his tenure, he was called a Talúkadar, or Zemindar. The only difference between these two last terms appears to have been, that the latter denoted a more permanent tenure than the former ; a Talúkadar being simply a farmer upon a large scale.* Besides the grants of this nature, which were really made or confirmed by the sovereign power, there were vast numbers, which could boast no such legitimate origin. Many were conferred by the Amils, or usurped with their connivance. A large talúka sometimes sprung up by degrees from an originally small nucleus, the owner of which took advantage of periods of temporary distress to bring more and more of the surrounding estates under his influence. This was the more readily accomplished, as the people themselves were often not disinclined to

* The Zemindar was also entitled to some deduction from the jumma, at which the tract made over to him had previously been rated ; whereas the Talúkadar merely made the best terms he could in settling the amount of his contract.

the arrangement. They thought that, in transferring their payments from the Amil to the Talúkadar, they were only securing a powerful friend, who could help them in time of need.

It was indeed evident, that the inherent and universally acknowledged rights of the original tenants and occupants of the soil were, neither in equity, nor by the intention of the ruling power, at all affected by this interposition of another party between them and the State. The characteristic and distinguishing feature of their tenure was, that it should remain unaltered under every possible change of the government, or of its delegates. The Government could only assign its own claims to the Múafidar or Talúkadar; which claims were, as we have seen, perfectly compatible with, and clearly distinguished from, the rights of the communities. The assignee was entitled to receive the government share of the produce; but here his authority properly ceased. The village landholders had made no transfer of their rights, nor was it in the power of any party in the state to deprive them of those rights against their will.* Instead of settling with the Amils for the revenue due from them, they had henceforth to deal with one who claimed, or hoped, to hold a more permanent office; but in all other respects their position remained unchanged. The new superior might often be induced by his wants, and enabled by his local knowledge, to lay a heavier burden on the land, than would otherwise have been levied; but he was well aware, that if he carried this to the extent of oppressing, or, a fortiori, of breaking up the communities, he was exceeding his known powers, and violating the tacit conditions, under which his own tenure had been constituted.

Our readers will now be able, in some measure, to judge of the problem, which lay before the government, when, in the years 1801-3, such vast strides were made, by the cessions from the Nuwab Vizir, and the conquest from Scindiah and the Peishwah, towards the completion of our Indian empire. The difficulty of solving that problem consisted, partly in our ignorance of its conditions, and in the want of experienced revenue officers; and partly in the hurried way in which the first arrangements had to be formed. The most pressing object was to secure the revenue; and it was thought that this could be most easily done, by fixing the responsibility of it upon the fewest and wealthiest

* See Elphinstone's India, Vol. 1, Page 140, on this subject.—“It has been mentioned, that the king can alienate his share in a village. In like manner he often alienates large portions of territory, including numerous villages, as well as tracts of unappropriated waste. But, in all these cases, it is only his own rights that he makes over; those of the village landholders and permanent tenants (where such exist) remaining unaffected by the transfer,” &c. &c.

of those willing to engage. Besides this, there was still at that time a general prepossession in favor of the zemindari system, under which the permanent settlement in Bengal, and more partially in Benares, had previously been concluded. The proper type of the rural system was thought to consist of one or more Zemindars for each estate, or collection of estates, in immediate connection with government, and of a body of ryots, some of whom had a right of occupancy, and others not. The idea of a community of cultivators, all of whom were also proprietors (though convenience required that their affairs should be conducted through a few of their number, as representatives of the rest), appears to have been scarcely realized. This tendency was observable in our laws, as well as in our practice. Many enactments were passed, in the earlier times of our rule in these provinces, for regulating the dealings of the Zemindars with their Ryots; but none, for many years, which had reference to the mutual relations of the agricultural co-sharers, or which distinctly recognized the proprietary right of those not under personal engagements with the State. The legislature, indeed, appears to have been fully aware, that the early revenue proceedings were likely to be very erroneous, and reserved to itself, by a special provision, the power of making any future enactments, which might be necessary for the protection and "welfare of ' the puttdars, under renters, ryots, and other cultivators of ' the soil;" but it was long before this intention was fulfilled.*

In the meantime we proceeded, immediately on assuming charge of our new territories, to take some most important steps with regard to landed tenures in general. We relinquished the principle, which had been acted upon by the native Governments, that the revenue of the state had no limit within the amount of the entire rent; as well as the arbitrary practice, pursued by those Governments, of interfering at their pleasure with the exercise of established rights. We abjured this system as one, which, though it had not extinguished the possession by subjects of property in land, had rendered it "precarious and of little value." We "confirmed and established" this proprietary right in all persons before possessing it; we acknowledged the claims of such parties to engage for the revenue, and we even gave them a conditional promise, that the amount of their revenue should soon be fixed in perpetuity.† The rule, according

* See Regulation XXV. of 1803, Sec. 35, C. I., and Regulation IX. of 1805, Sec. 26, C. I.

† See Regulation XXV. of 1803, Sections 34 and 36, and Regulation IX. of 1805, Sections 24 and 26. The promise of a permanent settlement was repeated on several occasions afterwards, but was happily never fulfilled; otherwise we should have perpetuated a most unequal assessment, and stereotyped all our errors of other kinds, just as has been done in Bengal.

to which the Government demand was to be calculated, was not at that time clearly or finally laid down; but a pledge was evidently given to relinquish a portion of the net rent of the land. Upon no other principle could a contract be entered into for a lengthened term of years, or could any benefit be derived from such a contract, by those who were not cultivators themselves. A distinction thus arose between rent and revenue, which did not before exist. Before, the revenue might have been nothing more than the net rent, after defraying the expenses of management. Now, the revenue became that part of the rent, which remained, after deducting both the expenses of management, and the proprietary profits.*

The early settlements were made for periods, varying from three to five years. They were effected in a very easy and cursory way. The Collector sat in his office at the Sudder Station, attended by his right hand men, the Kanúngos; by whom he was almost entirely guided. As each estate came up in succession, the brief record of former settlements was read, and the Dehsunní Book, or Fiscal Register, for ten years immediately preceeding the cession or conquest, was inspected. The Kanúngos were then asked, who was the Zemindar of the village. The reply to this question pointed sometimes to the actual bonà-fide owner of one, or of many estates; sometimes to the head man of the village community; sometimes to a non-resident Syud, or Kayth, whose sole possession consisted in the levying a yearly sum from the real cultivating proprietors; and sometimes to the large Zemindar, or Talúkadar, who held only a limited interest in the greater portion of his domain. Occasionally a man was said to be Zemindar, who had lost all connection for many years with the estate under consideration, though his name might have remained in the Kanúngo's books. As the dicta of those officers were generally followed with little further enquiry, it may be imagined that great injustice was thus perpetrated. Then followed the determination of the amount of revenue. On this point also reliance was chiefly placed upon the doul, or estimate, of the Kanúngos, checked by the accounts of past collections, and by any other offers of mere farming speculators, which might happen to be put forward at the time.† Mistakes of course occurred, and it

* The allowance to the Zemindars was reckoned vaguely at 10 per cent. on the revenue, besides the expenses of management, till the promulgation of Regulation VII. of 1822, when it was fixed at 20 per cent. in cases where an increase of revenue was demanded. The fact was, however, that in the early settlements the produce of the estate was unknown, and the supposed percentage was therefore merely nominal.

† In this account of the early settlements we have described the usual course pursued. Occasionally the zeal and talents of the officer employed led him to devote more

was often necessary to readjust the demand, even during the currency of the short leases then granted ; but, on the whole, this part of the system succeeded better than might have been expected. The earlier settlements were in general moderate enough, and the revenue was only raised gradually, as the capabilities of each part of the country became better known.

Great discontent was naturally excited, by these blind and summary proceedings, among those whose interests had been neglected, or overridden, in them. The increased value given to landed rights in general under our administration added to the dissatisfaction thus occasioned. Many a man, who, under a native government, would have been content with permission to cultivate his plot of ground and live, began to see that he was unjustly deprived of the proprietary profit, in which all owners of land were now entitled to share. Numerous complaints were preferred on this ground at times of settlement, or otherwise : but the petitioners were referred for redress, either to the Civil Courts, or to some future period, when the revenue officers would have leisure and authority to enter into such questions. The first of these expedients; and the only one available at the time—viz. that of resort to the Civil Courts, was worse than useless. In the absence of any detailed record of rights, or of the general nature of existing tenures, in the Revenue department, the Courts could do nothing to remedy the errors, which had been committed. They could only make confusion worse confounded. Situated as they were then, and indeed as they are still, the judicial tribunals of this country are in the worst possible position for building up any system of rights, to which they are not guided by the letter of positive enactments. Bound to one spot, tied down by rigid laws of procedure, and debarred (as in these provinces at least they are taught to think themselves) from admitting any evidence but that spontaneously laid before them by the parties, they must necessarily often be misled by packed witnesses, or partial documents. An honest and intelligent bar, the first requisite for diminishing the evil of strict legal forms among an ignorant population, is still wanting in this country. At the best, each new case comes before the Courts in an isolated form, detached from any general principles, or extended experience, and is therefore liable to every species of misconception. They are scattered over the face of the country, without any mutual communication, and with no provision for securing uniformity of

pains to the work, and enabled him to arrive at more satisfactory results. Such, for instance, appears to have been the character of Mr. Ross's settlements in the Agra District, in the year 1216 Fy.—See printed Report on Agra Settlements. Par. 45.

sentiment, except the precedent furnished by the Sudder Court.* These come few and far between, as regards any particular point on which opinions are likely to be divided; while of those which are applicable, some are likely to be erroneous, from causes of which the system, rather than the judges, should bear the blame. If a poor and uneducated man is perplexed by the forms, harassed by the delays, and crushed by the expense, of the inferior courts, how is it to be expected that he can carry up his case, through all the intermediate stages, so as to lay it fully and efficiently before the tribunal of last resort? The principle involved may therefore suffer from the helplessness of the rightful litigant, in the very cases which are to guide future decisions. The consequence of all this was, in the former times of which we are speaking, that not only were the errors of the Revenue Department too often repeated and confirmed in the courts, but decrees were constantly passed, so irreconcilable with truth and justice, that it was absolutely impossible to execute them.

The evils, arising from the haste and ignorance of our early settlement proceedings, were further aggravated by the measures pursued for the realization of the revenue. No record having been made of any sharers, besides the Lumburdars, or actual engagers with Government, much less of the quota of revenue which each sharer was bound to pay, no attempt could be made, when arrears occurred, to discover the real defaulter.† The main expedient, on which the Collectors relied, was to prevent default by keeping watchmen over the crops till the revenue was secured. When this failed, the Lumburdars were imprisoned, and their personal property distrained. The next step was to put up the whole estate to sale to the highest bidder. Many of these sales were got up by the native officers of Government, or by their friends, who themselves became the purchasers at a merely nominal price. The rights of hundreds were thus often annihilated for the default of a few, when the smallest enquiry or consideration would have sufficed to prevent the catastrophe. Many a populous community was thus wrongfully deprived, not only of their privilege of contracting for the

* The constructions, which used to be issued by the Sudder Courts, have been discontinued of late years, owing to (what appears to us) a groundless objection to extrajudicial interpretations of the law. On the other hand, the printed English Decisions of the zillah Judges now afford those officers the means of learning what the others are doing, and are likely to be of use in this respect.

† When the Tuhsildar happened to be an honest and capable man, he might sometimes ascertain this by questioning the people and the Putwari. The defaulter's share was then transferred by a sort of forced mortgage to some solvent sharer, who paid up the arrear; thus irregularly effecting what has since become the legal and authorized procedure.

revenue, which is the just and proper penalty for real default, but also of their position as hereditary cultivators of their paternal fields. They were handed over, as tenants at will, to the tender mercies of a perhaps fraudulent purchaser, without any provision for the peaceable adjustment of the lands which they were to hold under him, or the rents which they were to pay. What wonder then was it, if the high-spirited Rajpoots often took their own measures to right themselves? if they refused to submit to this summary deprivation of all that they had enjoyed for centuries, and settled their disputes with the new intruder by open violence, or by midnight assassination?

The confusion, occasioned in the state of landed property by these combined causes, became at last so notorious that it could no longer be overlooked. The intensity of the evil, which called for correction, is best denoted by the extraordinary nature of the remedy applied to it. By Regulation I. of 1821, a Commission was appointed, and invested with powers amounting almost to a Judicial Dictatorship. Every public or private transfer of land, which had taken place within the first seven or eight years of our rule,* was declared open to enquiry before this Commission, and, if equity should require it, to annulment. Every act of the revenue officers performed in the same period, with all the immediate results of such acts, were similarly thrown open to revision. The previous judgment of a regular Court of Judicature was to be no bar to the exercise of these powers in any instance. We cannot pause now to describe the effect of the expedient thus adopted. On the whole it failed to produce the advantages expected from it. Little was done till 1829, when the Revenue Commissioners became also special Commissioners. They were overwhelmed with the number of suits brought before them in the latter capacity, in addition to their other duties. Difference of opinion also arose between them and the Sudder Commission, to which their acts were appealable—as might have been expected where so much was left to discretion. Their proceedings were thus hampered; the increasing lapse of time made it more and more difficult to restore parties, who had been so long dispossessed: and, at last, it became the great object to clear the files, with as little disturbance of the existing state of things as possible. Many gross cases of hardship and fraud were undoubtedly rectified,†

* From the cession, or conquest, till 13th September, 1810. The preamble to the Regulation is a full and fair confession of the mistakes, which had been committed in all Departments.

† In the Cawnpore district, of 405 public sales for arrears of revenue, 185 were annulled by the Special Commission.

but even in these the remedy was imperfect. The inability of stationary tribunals to meet the wants, and thoroughly to understand the position of numerous bodies of men, unskilled themselves in legal matters, was felt even by these courts. Dissensions were often sown in the progress of the litigation among those, who by its issue recovered their rights. Not unfrequently those rights themselves were mortgaged by anticipation, in order to defray the expense of the contest.

We hasten on to the brighter day, which now began to dawn, when it was acknowledged, that the Revenue Officers alone were in a position to correct, as far as circumstances allowed, the errors which had been committed, and to obtain and store up such information as would prevent the occurrence of others of a like nature. Holt Mackenzie, as is well known, was the man to whom this discovery, or its reduction to practice, was due. Of retired and studious habits, and gifted with a keen and comprehensive intellect, his official position had given him abundant opportunities for observing the defects of the past system. He saw that the only way to obtain an accurate knowledge of a practical but complicated subject, hitherto little understood, was to go familiarly among the people whom it concerned ; to talk to them in office and out of office ;* to permit every one, who had any representations to offer, to bring them forward freely, and without expense ; and, above all, to consider each debatable point, not only as it appeared in one particular case, but with the cross lights thrown on it by many other analogous cases, brought under discussion at the same time. He saw that an Officer, who had such means of forming a correct judgment at his command, was best able to hear and decide in the first instance all claims connected with the possession of land, and thus to lay down the general principles to be observed in questions of that nature. Unlike his more dignified brother on the bench, such an Officer could carry on his enquiries on the spot ; could examine witnesses in the presence of their neighbours (the only real check upon false testimony in this country) ; and could procure other evidence, from sources unconnected with either party, till he had fully satisfied himself as to the matter in dispute. He perceived also that the functions, thus described, could be best exercised at the time, when the revision of the assessment was in progress. The

* Holt Mackenzie was a great advocate for relaxing the stiffness of official intercourse with those from whom information was to be gained, or to whom it was to be imparted. His advice to the Collectors was, "*Take your gun in your hand, and go among the people ;*" to the Commissioners, "*Get your Collectors together over a good bottle of Claret, and then talk to them about the settlement.*" We fear that one part of his counsel was often followed without the other.

only sure basis, upon which this revision could rest, was a detailed measurement, field by field, of the whole area under settlement, with a careful classification of the several soils, according to their varied productiveness. Great facilities were evidently offered, during the course of such a measurement, for ascertaining all facts connected with the ownership and occupancy of the land. The opportunity was therefore especially favourable, not only for adjusting actual disputes, but also for placing on record all possible information regarding the agricultural classes; their tenures, usages, numbers, wealth, and whatever else might be considered of interest in connection with them.

These views were fully adopted by the Government, and were embodied in the famous Regulation on the subject, (VII. of 1822), and in the Circular Instructions issued at the same time. Their general wisdom and justice have been amply proved, by the continued growth of revenue knowledge since their promulgation, and by the entire change, thus produced, in the opinions and modes of procedure before prevalent. Nevertheless there were vital defects in the new system, arising chiefly from its author's want of personal experience in the duties of a subordinate Revenue Officer. He was not sufficiently aware of the extent and difficulty of the task, which he imposed upon others. Too much detail was required on all points. In determining the revenue, especially, broad principles were liable to be lost sight of, in the intricacies of a laborious calculation. Arbitrary rates were applied to innumerable arbitrary gradations of soil. No positive objection could be made to any step of the process, but no faith could be placed in its result. The invariable tendency of estimates, thus formed, is to excess in the aggregate. In judicial matters, again, too wide a door was opened to complaints and claims of every description. A Court, which professed to redress every grievance in a land, where might had long made right, was sure to be overwhelmed with work. The minute, and sometimes needless, enquiry, made from each family into the ramifications of their genealogical tree, was likely to excite disputes, which might not otherwise have arisen. The interests of the great mass of the shareholders had before been wholly neglected, but the new measures ran in some hands into the opposite extreme. A spirit of insubordination was thus aroused, quite incompatible with the structure or welfare of the community. Every man wished to be independent of the rest, however much the expense and difficulty of management might thus be increased, both to the Government, and to the people themselves. We have heard of an instance, in which this wish was gratified by the appointment of no few-

er than eighty Lumburdars in a single village.* The same error of attempting too much ran through the whole of the proceedings. A host of men were examined on miscellaneous points; some of which were of importance, but others not worth the trouble of recording. The mere accumulation of paper was in itself a great evil, which would have been felt more, as the revision advanced.

Many of the faults, thus described, were doubtless attributable to misconception on the part of the Collectors, which might have been obviated under more efficient superintendence. There was then but one Board of Revenue, and that was at Calcutta; too distant from the scene of operations to be of any use as a directing authority. All depended on the Commissioners: but of these only one was found with the knowledge and energy, which the position demanded. He will soon come again under our review in a higher capacity. In all the other divisions, each separate Collector was left to act upon his own unaided judgment, and without the necessary relief from his other labours. Some of these district officers were possessed of considerable talent, and had great knowledge of men and things within the sphere of their duties; but the mainspring of the work was wanting. The revision crept slowly on, not by per-gunnahs, but by detached villages; ten or twenty of which were thought to provide occupation enough for a whole year. When ten years had elapsed, since the promulgation of Regulation VII. of 1822, it was calculated that sixty more years would be required in many districts to complete the settlement at the current rate of progress. The system, in short, however admirable in theory, had broken down in common practice, and the only question was, in what way it could best be amended.

This question was determined at a conclave held at Allahabad, under the auspices of Lord William Bentinck, which ended in the enactment of Regulation IX. of 1833. The effect of that law, and of the corresponding instructions afterwards issued in the Revenue Department, may be thus summed up. In the first place, it was no longer to be considered necessary that disputes and claims, of all kinds, and of any standing, should be adjudicated at the time of settlement. The proceedings in this respect were ordinarily to be restricted to cases, in which the cause of action had arisen within a year previous to the date of the complaint. This rule was a good deal modi-

* Soon after these men were installed, one of the old Lumburdars happened to get a new turban and pair of shoes, with which to make his appearance in the Tuhsildar's Kacherri. Every man of the eighty immediately followed his example; charging the cost probably to the general expenses of the village.

fied, by the provision, that it was not to apply to suits already admitted on the file, nor to cases in which an order had before been passed that the claim should be decided at the settlement. As it had for years been the custom of the Collectors to engross such an order on the petitions presented to them, most of the disputes, which really required adjustment, were thus still left cognizable by the settlement officers. Means were however provided for submitting these disputes, when it might be found advisable, to arbitration ; and the general intention and effect of the new rules was to shorten and facilitate the judicial part of the duty. The tedious estimates of the quantity and value of actual produce, hitherto thought necessary, were dispensed with ; and a more reasonable and effective mode of fixing the assessment introduced. The important addition of a field map was made to the other measurement papers, and, together with these, formed the basis of a plan for registering private rights, which, though very minute and complete, was as simple as the object in view permitted. The putwari's annual papers, on which the future maintenance of this registration essentially depended, were put on a new and wholly different footing ; and their punctual preparation was enforced by Sections XIV. and XV. of the Act, which rendered them absolutely necessary for the assertion of any claim possessed by a land-owner against his cultivators.

In the year immediately preceding this change in the system, the Western Board of Revenue had been constituted at Allaha-bad, and had become the principal authority in all matters connected with their functions. The senior Member of this Board was a mild, intelligent, gentleman-like man, with much revenue experience and knowledge, but thrown in the shade, as many an estimable public man has been before him, by a superior colleague. The junior Member bore the now well-known name of Robert Mertins Bird ; and on him for many years the task of directing all revenue operations, and especially those of the new settlement, eventually devolved. He indeed was a man of no common order. The first twenty years of his Indian life were passed entirely in judicial duties ; yet such was the activity of his mind, that he became, during that period, the best practical revenue officer in the country. This became evident, as has been already observed, on his nomination in 1829 to be Revenue Commissioner in the Goruckpúr division. His views were so clear, and the superintendence which he exercised was so effective, that, if all had been like him, any change in the law might have been unnecessary. In the more elevated sphere which he afterwards occupied, his talents were further developed, and took a

wider range. A mind, capable of dealing equally with minute details and general principles; stores of information collected by unusual powers of memory and observation; cheerful spirits and unfailing health; together with a robust energy, the "*vigor animi, ingentibus negotiis par*;" these were his qualifications for the great work which then lay before him. On that work he impressed his own stamp, and gave it all its form and feature. From the time that he took the reins in the Revenue Department, in which he long remained quite supreme, the whole conduct of the revision of settlements assumed a new character. Discordant ideas and conflicting theories soon disappeared before the influence of one controlling intellect, though free scope was still left on all needful points for the exercise of individual judgment. Allowed to select his own instruments, he usually chose young men, as being less encumbered and more manageable than their seniors, and less likely to be imbued with prejudices derived from the dark ages of our earlier administration. With these young officers he kept up constant private intercourse, and thus instilled into them his own views, and animated them by his own hearty temperament. Where he reposed his confidence, he did so without reserve. He received the opinions of those employed under him with respect; looked after their interests, defended their proceedings, and fought their battles, as if they had been his own. No better mode could have been devised of cheering those who bore the burden and heat of the day, and of exciting them to unwearied exertion. The result was that in eight years after the enactment of Regulation IX. of 1833, he was able to report to the Government, that he had redeemed his pledge; that the settlement, with some immaterial exceptions, was completed; and that he was at liberty to relinquish his arduous post, and to return to that native land, from which he had been thirty-three years separated. Doubtless there were some shades to the portrait, which we have here attempted to delineate. Such is human nature in this world. The spirit, which is strung and nerved for great enterprises, finds it difficult to deal always patiently with dullness or opposition. The man, who firmly grasps and vigorously defends a contested truth, is apt to bear it, in the ardour of the strife, beyond its proper limits, and to leave it in a position, where it cannot be permanently supported. On points like these we have no wish to enlarge. With all the failings ever imputed to him, of whom we have been speaking, as an agreeable companion, a zealous and most able public officer, a warm friend, and a sincere and liberal Christian, it will be long before we meet his like again

We pass, however, from the character of the man, to that of the measures, which will long be associated with his name. We have already seen the general nature of the landed tenures, which the settlement officers had to define and protect. Let us now take a glance at the main features and capabilities of the country, the assessment of which they had to examine and revise.

The North West Provinces are situated almost entirely in the vallies of the Ganges and Jumna; the principal part of them lying between those rivers. There is little variety in the flat alluvial soil to attract the admiration of a passing traveller, accustomed to the interchange of hill and dale in other countries. Nevertheless, if he leaves the high road, and penetrates into the more secluded parts of the country, he will acknowledge that, even here, the hand, "which makes all nature beauty to his eye," has not been wanting. If he visits the districts to the East of the Ganges, which border on the Sub-Himalayan hills, he will find much of the luxuriance of tropical vegetation, together with a brisk air and healthy climate in the winter months, such as few tropical regions can boast. There he will see the groves, of which Virgil had heard,

"Quos gerit India lucos;
 "————— ubi aëra vincere sumum
 "Arboris haud ullæ jactu potuere sagittæ."

The tiger and the elephant still dwell in the remains of the primæval forests; and magnificent mango topes cover large tracts, not yet required for the plough. There the fields are rich with abundant harvests, produced with slight labour, and subject to few uncertainties. The little hamlets, with their low thatched roofs, stand closely together, but do not yet contain a population adequate to the full occupation of the land. Patches of bush and grass jungle are thus interspersed with the cultivation, and relieve its uniformity; nor have the palm and bamboo, the banian and the peepul, yet been proscribed as intruders. Streams and pools abound on every side, and assist in varying the landscape.

If the traveller now crosses into the Duáb, he will perceive a considerable change. There is no longer the same moisture in the soil or climate, nor the same spontaneous fertility. The industry of man has succeeded to the profusion of nature. He now meets with more towns of note from their size or antiquity. The villages are larger, and stand farther apart; while their flat roofs, and the height, to which, in the course of ages, they have risen above the plain, give them an imposing appearance from a distance. The walls, with which they are often enclosed; the mud fort

perhaps, at the foot of which they are built; the distance, which the people have to go to their daily labour; all point to those former troubled times, when a defenceless cottage in the open fields was a most insecure habitation. Yet the face of the country is by no means bare or unpleasing, so long as the crops are on the ground. These are raised with greater toil than in the more humid districts, but are generally plentiful, except in seasons of peculiar drought. Wheat, sugar, and rice, are less extensively raised; but cotton, as a valuable article of produce, in some degree, supplies their place. The trees, which love the water side, have disappeared, but many remain; and some of these as the mhowa, the tamarind, and the jamun still attain a noble size. It is not, till the visitor reaches the arid plains to the west of the Jumna, from Etawah to Hissar, on the extreme verge of the British territory, that vegetation really languishes. There the red sand stone hills rise through the hitherto level surface. Except in those favoured spots where wells can be formed, or down the line of the Delhi Canal, the husbandman trusts almost entirely to seasonable rains. The hardy babúl and ferash alone break the line of the horizon; and every thing betokens the nearer approach to the deserts of Marwar and Bikanir.

In common with most parts of Southern and Central Asia, the fertility of the soil in this part of India depends mainly upon artificial irrigation. When the means for this are available, not only will a sandy soil yield a good crop, but the nature of the soil itself is often gradually improved. Vegetable matter accumulates in the course of years from the remains of former harvests, and from the manure, which it is worth the while of the cultivator to expend upon the land. If, on the other hand, water be wanting, the produce is always uncertain; the cultivation is less cared for; and the usually light soil drifts about with the fierce winds of May and June, till pure silex alone is left in it, or till the barren understratum of kunkur, or of red indurated clay, appears. The lands, nearest the villages, are naturally those which receive most attention, and are worked up to the greatest productiveness. These lands often bear two crops in the year, and pay rents of ten rupees, or more, the acre. Their extent varies according to the populousness and prosperity of the village, and to the classes who inhabit it, but seldom exceeds 6 or 8 per cent. of the total area of the estate. Next to these come the second-rate lands, varying up to 12 per cent. of the whole; while the great bulk of the area is thrown into the third or lowest class. This three-fold division, with the additional distinction of irrigated and non-irrigated, is pre-

valent under different names in most parts of the country. Other local peculiarities are of course every where to be found. In the vicinity of the rivers it is necessary to distinguish between the low *khadir* land on the borders of the stream, and the *baugur* land on the level of the high bank. In other places, the gentle undulations of the surface cause a succession of clayey hollows and sandy ridges, each of which has its peculiar products and capabilities. Even in level tracts, there is often much difference in the stiffness and strength of the soil, according as the sand, which forms its principal basis, is mixed with more productive ingredients. Some local soils are noted for their suitability to peculiar articles, as a certain wet clay in the eastern parts of Goruckpur for sugar, and the black soil of Bundelcund for the Al root. The quantity of saline matter in the earth and water is another point, deeply affecting the value of the land. Where the water is brackish, the agriculturist is much restricted in his choice of crops; many refusing to grow at all under such circumstances, and others requiring an abundant supply of rain water to counteract the quality of that drawn from the wells. Where much soda is present in the soil, large plains are found entirely destitute of vegetation from this cause, nor has any remedy yet been discovered for the sterility thus produced.

Without therefore entering into that minute classification of soils, once thought necessary, but which only bewilders and misleads, there is abundant scope for discrimination in the measurement, which is to constitute the basis of a settlement. The existing division of the land, into estates of a reasonable size, and of these into fields, affords every facility for the purpose. Indeed it is upon this distribution of the whole territory into convenient portions (each of which, while it is small enough to be uniform in its nature and relations, is of sufficient size to be separately considered and classed) that the whole system now under discussion must be held to rest. We must refer to the directions (Sections II. and III.) for an account, of the manner in which the survey and measurement proceed, as well as of the important preliminary work of determining boundaries. None can appreciate the value of this last named operation in diminishing the causes of animosity and strife, save those who remember the state of things before it took place. On this part of the subject we would only remark, that it seems to us an error to commit the preparation of any portion of the *khusra*, or native field measurement, to the superintendence of the surveyor. Something may at first be gained in expedition and economy by this course; but it is not to be supposed that the

surveyor will take the same interest in the correct performance of this duty, as the officer, who has to depend on its accuracy for the whole of his future proceedings. It is necessary (see Par. 39 and 40) that the khusra should be tested and completed by the settlement officer; and it is therefore better that he should have the whole preparation of it. It is also a mistaken economy to confine the khusra measurement to the cultivated and culturable land. The barren waste, the site of villages, in short, the whole estate, should be included in it. The total area, thus found, may then be tested by comparison with that given by the professional survey, on which full dependance can be placed. The correctness of the details of the khusra measurement must be provided for by separate examination, which, with the establishment always organized for the purpose, is readily and satisfactorily effected.

We will now suppose a settlement officer to have collected his materials, and to be commencing the assessment of a pergunnah; and we will follow him sufficiently to give an idea of his mode of operation. He has before him a professional map of each village, on the scale of four inches to a mile, at the head of which is entered the total area, as shown by the survey, and such other statistical information, regarding the number of houses, ploughs, wells, &c., as the surveyor had been able to collect.* He has also a pergunnah map of one mile to the inch, showing the boundaries of the several villages, and a third map of the whole district, which gives the limits of the pergunnahs, but not of the separate estates. These two last are of use in enabling him to lay out his work, and to obtain a general view of the relative position of the several localities. The first, after it has served its main purpose of testing the khusra, is again of value when the assessment is under consideration, as it gives a clear notion of the shape and chief natural peculiarities of each estate, and affords a good guide for personal observation upon the nature of the soil and crops. It is, however, on the native measurement papers that the work mainly rests. These consist, first of a pen and ink plan of the estate, showing the position and form of every field, as well as the disposition of the uncultivated land; and, secondly, of a khusra, or measure-

* It used to be the custom for the surveyor to give the extent of cultivated and culturable land also, for which purpose he kept up a special establishment. This was expensive and unsatisfactory, as from the nature of the operation only proximate results could be attained. Nor can the statistical entries be relied upon, till they have been re-examined by the other means at the settlement officer's disposal. They might therefore be left to that officer altogether. The duty of the surveyor is to give the total area, together with a map, showing the main geographical features of the country; such as village sites, roads, rivers, &c. All else is extraneous to his proper work.

ment register, in which are detailed the dimensions and extent of each field, the name of the cultivator, the nature of the soil the fact of its being irrigated or otherwise, and the crop grown on it in the current year. The entries in the khusra are numbered in consecutive order, corresponding numbers being inscribed in the plan, or field map, upon each plot separately measured; so that reference can easily be made from the one paper to the other. At the foot of the khusra, the whole area of the estate is summed up under its several heads; and the aggregate of these entries for all the villages gives the total land of each denomination in the pergunnah.

The first step in the operation is then to take an extended view of all circumstances relating to the entire tract under settlement. The collector's records will show the demands, collections, and balances, on account of the Government revenue of the whole pergunnah, for the last 20 or more years, and will furnish further information, regarding the degree of ease, or of difficulty, with which the collections have been made. The measurement papers afford the means of comparing the rate, at which the assessment falls on the land, with that of neighbouring pergunnahs in the same or other districts. The general facts of improvement or deterioration in the means of the proprietors; of the spread or decrease of cultivation under the present demand; in short, the signs of a light, or of a severe, assessment, are matters readily ascertainable, and not to be mistaken or concealed. The extent, to which property has compulsorily changed hands, whether for arrears of revenue, or by decrees of the Civil Courts; the proportion which the culturable land bears to that under crop; and the opinions of respectable natives acquainted with the spot, will easily lead to safe conclusions upon these heads. The information, thus obtained, will point out, within narrow limits, what the future demand from the pergunnah should be. Another mode of building up this estimate is, by going over every estate seriatim, having previously arranged them all in a form,* which brings prominently forward the apparent inequalities of the present assessment, and by roughly calculating the probable alteration in the jumma† of each. The aggregate of the separate jummas, thus found, will give the probable new pergunnah jumma. A third mode is by enquiring into the prevalent rates of rent, or into the rate, at which the revenue falls on the particular villages known to be fairly assessed. These rates, when applied to the pergun-

* See Par. 54, and Appendix No. VIII. of Directions for Settlement Officers.

† The "jumma" is the technical term for the amount of revenue payable to Government, as distinguished from the rental received by the private proprietors.

nah area, will give a proximate rental, or jumma, for the whole. Recourse may be had to all three methods, as a check upon each other; but we conceive that the first is the one upon which most reliance is commonly to be placed. The second is necessary, when some parts of the pergunnah are in a much worse state than others;* as a review of the history and condition of the whole tract may in that case lead to no certain results; but it involves the disadvantage of a double operation, as regards the determination of the jumma of each village; and there is danger, lest the first rough enquiry upon this point should too much influence the subsequent more deliberate consideration of it.

A proximate rental, or jumma, or both, being thus found for the whole pergunnah, the next process is to ascertain how this would fall upon the several component villages; taking the measurement papers as the guide. For this purpose average rent and revenue rates have to be obtained. The rent rates are supposed to have been already ascertained, as mentioned above, by preliminary enquiries; being those on which the assumed rental of the whole pergunnah was calculated. The revenue rates are deduced from these rent rates, in the proportion in which the total assumed jumma for the pergunnah differs from the total assumed rental. This proportion will vary, inasmuch as the probable jumma is computed not merely from the roughly assumed rental, but on other considerations also. Thus, if the proposed jumma is 35 per cent. less than the assumed rental, the deduced revenue rates will be 35 per cent. less than the assumed rent rates, for each denomination of soil.† The application of the rates, thus found, to the land of each village will show precisely how much that land should pay; supposing that the pergunnah estimate is correct, that full reliance can be placed on the measurement, and that nothing else intervenes to modify the conclusion thus arrived at. It is now, however, that the judgment and penetration of the officer, who conducts the proceedings, come into play. He has, on the one hand, to avoid too rigid an adherence to what is only intended as a standard of comparison, and, on the other, to equalize the public burdens, as far as is safe and practicable. The degree,

* Where the productiveness of some parts of a pergunnah differs (from natural and permanent causes) from that of others, the villages should be classed in chucks, or circles, and the process for each of these should be the same, as is here described for the whole. For an instance, where this plan has been followed with much care and labour, see the Agra Settlement Report, by Mr. C. G. Mansel.

† The object of making the calculation in this manner is to secure a proper proportion between the revenue rates for different classes of soil. This can only be attained by making them bear the same ratio to each other, that the rent rates do; it being supposed that the last are those actually paid to the zemindars by their cultivators.

in which he may be able to follow the easy and rapid plan of assessing each village according to the estimate by average rates, will depend much on the moderation of his entire demand on the *pergunnah*. Where this is light, the rates deduced from it are of course light also; and there is less danger of future failure in following them as his principal guide. Still, however low he may fix his standard, some of the worst estates may suffer from too close an adherence to it; while a larger amount of revenue might doubtless have been safely obtained from all the better estates, under a more deliberate course of procedure. A careful officer will therefore test the results of his average rates by every possible means at his disposal. He knows what every village has paid in former years, and how it has paid it; whether with apparent ease, or by constant compulsion. He knows the condition of the village, and the circumstances of the proprietors. He can form a pretty good idea, by riding over the land, whether it is of more or less than the usual fertility. He has the estimates of the *tahsildar*, *kanún gos*, and others, as to the real capabilities of the estate. Above all, he can often obtain satisfactory information regarding the actual rents paid by the cultivators to the proprietors, or, at least, of the rate at which those rents are calculated.

This last expedient is, where practicable, the most satisfactory of all. When it is known how much a property has actually yielded, for a series of years past, to its owners, the Government share of the proceeds may be determined with a confidence not otherwise attainable. We believe that the fact in question can be generally ascertained with sufficient exactness, wherever money rents prevail, and the land is occupied chiefly by rent-paying cultivators.* Even then, however, it is useful to know how far the actual rental, exceeds, or falls short of, what the estate would pay on the average of the *pergunnah*. Where this difference is great, it either arises from the skill and industry of the people being more or less than is usually to be found, or from particular circumstances favourable, or the contrary, to the full development of the powers of the soil. If the former of these be the cause, justice, as well as policy, will require, that the indefatigable *Jât* shall not be reduced by disproportionate taxation to the level of the dissolute *Gujur*; if the latter, it will be right to remember that circumstances may change during the thirty years' term of settlement, and that both extremes, of a too heavy, or too light, assessment, should conse-

* The Muzaffernuggur settlement report shows, that this information can be satisfactorily obtained, even in the much more difficult case, where rents have been almost entirely paid in kind.

quently be avoided. It is true that a rich and well cultivated village must always pay more to Government than a poor and unproductive one, though the extent and original quality of the soil may be the same. Complete equality of taxation cannot be attempted; but the estimate by average rates, when properly used, will prevent any needless or extravagant deviation from it.

The sum, which each estate should be called upon to pay, having been thus estimated with all the care of which the operation is susceptible, it remains only to obtain the consent of the people to the terms proposed. The importance of this step in the process must not be overlooked. The work of assessment is not a purely arbitrary one on the part of the Government officer; all his labour will have been in vain, if the result should prove to be excessive, or unreasonable. Every proprietor has the option of declining to engage on the conditions offered him; the only penalty being his exclusion from the management for a period of twelve years, at the close of which he may again claim to be admitted. In such a case, the settlement officer must make other arrangements for the realization of the revenue; either by leasing the estate to a farmer, or by collecting the rents direct from the cultivators. But, whichever of these courses be followed, he will have to provide, in addition to his original demand, for the malikânah allowance, claimable by the excluded proprietor; which by law must not be less than five per cent. on the revenue. It will therefore soon become apparent, whether the owner had good grounds for his refusal; and, if so, there is no remedy but to confess the mistake, and reduce the demand. We have here supposed, what is usually the case, that the instances are comparatively few, in any tract under settlement, in which the proposals of the officer employed do not meet with ready compliance. But it does sometimes occur that very general dissatisfaction is shown by the land-holders. A large proportion of them either decline signing their engagements at all, or they do so under protest, and immediately appeal to the higher revenue authorities against the severity of the terms offered them. Further enquiry and consideration are, under such circumstances, indispensable; and it becomes incumbent on the officer employed, either to revise his proceedings, or to prove indisputably that they are not open to fair objection. It is not of course intended to assert, that the mere acquiescence of the people is, in itself, an unerring test of the settlement officer's moderation; or their apparent discontent, of the contrary. Very loud and general complaints have often arisen from no cause, but a systematic combination. Willing consent has, on the other

hand, been given, in seasons of temporary prosperity,* to terms which could not be fulfilled in ordinary years. Still the power, possessed by the people at large, of forcing a re-consideration of the assessment, and the obligation to pay Malikanah to recusant proprietors, are valuable checks on the proceedings, and place them in the light of a fair bargain between independent parties, rather than in that of a despotic demand on the one side, and of unavoidable compliance on the other.

The method of fixing the assessment, as it has been above described, will vary more or less in different hands, but its chief features will remain the same. Its essential principle is that, while it does not neglect the consideration of details, it sets out with wider and more comprehensive enquiries. From the result of these it obtains a standard, which it applies to all the individual cases, not indeed as an invariable guide, but as pointing out where discrepancy exists, which should either be remedied, or accounted for. In point of accuracy, this system has been proved to be far superior to the more laborious mode pursued under Regulation VII. of 1822. No means of comparison with other extensive data then existed; and, for want of this, the voluminous computations, prepared for each particular estate, led only into frequent error. In point of rapidity, the progress made in a given time under the new plan is probably ten times that effected by most officers under the old. The saving of expense to the Government, and of annoyance to the people, is proportionate.

It is evident that, under the plan thus sketched out, no accurate computation of the proportion, taken for Government from the proceeds of the land, is either made or required. The general rule has however been to leave to the Zemindars from 30 to 33½ per cent. of the gross rent, which is, or might be, levied from their estates, wherever that might be ascertainable. Supposing that this rule has been observed, and that the rent ordinarily represents from two-fifths to half the gross produce, about 30 per cent. of the latter will go into the coffers of the State.† In the more fertile and best irrigated portions of

* Such a season of unusual prosperity prevailed in Bundelcund in the years 1816-18, when Scott Waring made his memorable settlement, and nearly ruined the province. The demand for cotton, and the high price of grain, encouraged the people to enter into engagements, which broke down miserably, as soon as these advantages ceased. The eagerness of the Government officer, however, outran, in this happily unparallelled instance, even the sanguine confidence of the people. He should have taken warning from the fact, that, in 178 instances, he was obliged to lease out estates to farmers, as the proprietors would not accept his terms. See report on Pergunnahs, Mondha, &c., in Hamirpúr. Par. 38, and on Calpi, &c., Par. 20-23.

† We have attempted, but with little success, to arrive at some trustworthy conclusions, with regard to the actual weight of produce in this part of India. Even in

the Duáb this estimate (though probably somewhat too high) may not be far from the truth; but, wherever the cultivators pay in kind, or, from poverty of soil, the crops are uncertain, or waste land is abundant, the proportion of the total produce, absorbed in the payment of either rent or revenue, is respectively much less than above stated. Thus in Muzuffernuggur (see Report) the rent is only $31\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. of the gross produce, and the revenue only $20\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. If the Bareilly officer, mentioned in the note, was correct in reckoning the value of the gross produce in that district at 8 Rs. 6 as. 9 pie per acre,* the revenue, which falls (see Statistical Memoir) at 1 Re. 14 as. 3 pie on the cultivated acre, will be $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the produce. In Goruckpúr it is probably not more than 12 per cent. On the other hand, there may be considerable tracts of country, in which the proportion, enjoined upon the Settlement Officers, has been inadvertently exceeded. This may have occurred, where the land was almost wholly cultivated by the proprietors themselves. It is not always easy to distinguish accurately the profits made by such men in their double capacity, as farmers, and landholders; while their enjoyment of these double profits, and the circumstance of their being generally excellent agriculturists, enable them to bear up against a heavy demand without complaint or difficulty.

Let us now turn our attention to the other main branch of the subject; viz. the mode in which the remaining share of the pro-

England, there is much uncertainty upon this subject; so the want of satisfactory data in this country is the less wonderful. We have now before us a number of estimates, all put forward with some confidence by their authors, but differing widely from each other. We will put their results, as regards the great staples of wheat and barley, in juxtaposition.

	PRODUCE PER STATUTE ACRE IN LBS. AVOIRDUPOIS.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	<i>Irrigated.</i>	<i>Irrigated.</i>	<i>Non irrigated.</i>	<i>Irrigated.</i>			
Wheat....	1815.	1571.	1080.	1231.	1016.	653.	791.
Barley.. .	2004.	1832.	1098.	1186.	1315.	606.	898.
							824.

No. 1, is deduced from several trials, lately made by an intelligent English Zemindar in the Muttra district. No. 2, gives the opinion of Captain Brown, formerly Surveyor in the Northern Duáb. No. 3, is taken from Mr. Mansel's Agra Settlement Report. No. 4, is the result of numerous trials, made about 1830, by a well known revenue officer in the Bareilly district. Nos. 5 and 6, will be found in the Muzuffernuggur Settlement Report by Mr. E. Thornton, the first being extracted from actual village papers for large areas, and extending over fourteen years; the second, the result of immediate experiment upon 11,419 acres of Wheat, and 1,020 of Barley. The 7th is from a Statistical Report upon the Cawnpore district by Mr. R. Montgomery. It will be observed, that the three highest estimates for wheat, and the two highest for barley, relate solely to irrigated land. The Muzuffernugger estimates, on the other hand, on which we should be inclined to place great reliance, are formed chiefly upon dry cultivation. From our own experience, we should say, that 1,200 lbs. is a high average for irrigated land, and 700 lbs. for that, of which a considerable proportion is dry. The first of these does not contrast unfavorably with the more expensive and skilful cultivation of England, the average produce of which (in Wheat) does not probably exceed 1,440 lbs.; but, if only water is procurable, the Indian sun makes up for many deficiencies.

* See Meerut Magazine, No. 13, Article "Agricultural Statistics," p. 26.

duce, after deducting that taken for the State, is divided among those entitled to enjoy it; and the provision made for protecting and recording all private rights connected with the land. In order to explain this, we must again revert to the distribution of the land into the fields, which, as we have said, forms the foundation of our system. As the classification of the separate fields, under different heads, according to their relative productiveness, was the first step towards the determination of the assessment; so the arrangement of the same fields, under the names of those who own and occupy them, must precede any attempt to adjust or record adjusting rights. This is effected by means of the Múntukhúb, or Kuteánee, which is nothing more than a list of the cultivators (whether proprietors or otherwise), disposed according to the subdivisions of the estate in which they hold lands. Under each man's name are entered seriatim his several fields, with the number and area of each, as detailed in the khusra. There are also columns for the rate of rent, and for the total sum payable on each plot of ground. When the cultivator is himself a proprietor, and pays, by a varying rate, or "bách," these columns are of course left blank; when he pays in kind, the proportion of the crop demandable from him is specified. From the Múntukhúb an abstract is prepared, called the Tírij, which shows only the total of each subdivision, and of each cultivator's holding within it—omitting the detail of fields. Whatever may be the size of the entire estate, and however great the number of subordinate divisions and separate tenures contained in it, this abstract shows them all with the utmost clearness, and renders the most complicated arrangements easily intelligible. When corrected, as they should always be, after the conclusion of the settlement, the Múntukhúb and Tírij will show the Lumburdar of each Thok, the several sharers who cultivate in it, the cultivators possessing rights of occupancy, as well as those who are mere tenants at will, the actual lands owned and cultivated by every individual of these classes, and the sum annually payable by each, so far as it admits of specification. The holders of rent-free lands are also entered, with a list of their respective fields. It is easy to see how a record of this kind must elucidate all future claims and disputes, whether arising between landlord and tenant, or on any other point relating to landed property. At the same time it is obvious, that the entries, contained in these papers, would shortly become obsolete and incorrect, if no steps were taken to secure their periodical revision. This is provided for by the Jumma bundí and Tírij annually required from the Putwarí. The arrangement of these returns, and their

principal headings, correspond with those of the settlement Múntukhúb and Tírij; and, by means of them, the information, which it is so important to have always available, is at any time forthcoming in a corrected form.

Many questions will, however, arise, both in Judicial and Revenue proceedings, which a mere record of the above nature would not suffice to decide. In order to anticipate these, as far as possible, before actual disputes arise, and parties become unreasonable, a different expedient has been adopted. This is the mutual agreement, entered into by the body of sharers at time of settlement, which is known by various names; we will term it the administration paper. For an enumeration of the points, which this agreement should embrace, we must refer to par. 167 of the Directions, and for supposed specimens to pp. 178—199, and pp. 230—235, of the English Settlement Misl. It must be observed, that these specimens are more than usually complicated, in order to include many different modes of management.* No fixed form can be prescribed, in which this paper should be drawn up; it will vary in every case according to circumstances. The great danger to be avoided, is the *suggestion* of stipulations and conditions by the Government officer, which he may think desirable, but which the people themselves would not otherwise have adopted. These are often heedlessly agreed to; but great discontent, or absolute confusion, arises when, on after occasions, it is sought to enforce them.† Caution being observed on this head, the more fully and accurately the agreement can be made to represent the real customs and wishes of the community on all questions of probable actual occurrence, the greater of course will be its value. It should, at all events, show the extent of the different existing shares, and the proportion of the revenue payable from each, or the mode in which that proportion is to be annually calculated; as well as the contingencies, if any, under which the present arrangements may hereafter become open to alteration. The practical question of most general importance, among the Hindu village communities of Upper India, is whether, and to what extent, the right of succeeding to landed property, under the national law of inheritance, is in force among them. It is easy to understand how this question has arisen. Under the native governments no proprietary profit, strictly so called, was attached to the

* For actual specimens, see appendix to Agra Settlement Report, and an article on the Settlement in the Meerut Magazine, No. 16.

† As instances, we would refer to such stipulations, as that of re-admitting sharers now out of possession, whenever they may return to the village, or of making a fresh division of all the lands, wherever any of the sharers may require it.

tenures enjoyed by these agricultural bodies. The maintenance, which each man drew from the soil, was the product of his own labour, assisted by his own individual resources. The community held a kind of joint farm, in which the land, assigned to each member, was proportioned to his means, and rose or fell in extent, as those means increased, or were diminished. The brotherhood in general may be held to have been proprietors of the whole area; but no single member could assert his personal claim to any land, except that actually in his occupation. There would have been no advantage at that time in changing this state of things. The collective body was prosperous, or otherwise, according as their united means were more or less equal to the improvement of the entire estate; and the more any individual could contribute to this result, the larger share was willingly allowed him in the joint property. Even common tenants at will were often admitted to hold their lands on the same footing as the members of the brotherhood, in order to secure their assistance in keeping up the cultivation.* But the case was altered, when the country came under British rule; and the ownership of land became more valuable. If a man could not himself cultivate the whole of his ancestral lands, he could now underlet them, and still enjoy the proprietary profit accruing upon them. Moreover, the establishment of courts of judicature, bound to decide, as a general rule, according to the written laws of inheritance, drew attention to those laws, and excited hopes in men, who would benefit by their application to their own claims. Much alteration has thus been gradually effected in common opinion and practice. Among Rajpûts, especially, the authority of the ancestral tree has often been fully recognized by the mutual consent of the sharers; and either the land, or its profits, are distributed according to the scale thence derived. The same has occurred in estates, which have passed through the special commission, or have otherwise been much subjected to litigation. The Jâts, on the contrary, and other essentially agriculturist classes, have usually retained their old customs; the interest of each sharer in the property being measured by the land, which he from time to time cultivates. The administration paper must therefore be particular on this head, whenever any doubt can exist regarding it.

As the annual jumma bundî is intended to keep up the record of the proprietor, cultivator, and rent of each field, so the continued correctness of the specification of shares, as entered in the administration paper, is provided for by another of the

* This custom still prevails in many places, especially in the Delhi Territory. See the Report on Pergunnah Boruh, Par. 24, and Gohana, Par. 33.

annual returns required from the putwaris. This is the register of proprietary mutations, whereby the changes, which may take place in any year, are clearly shown in the papers for that year: and the record is thus constantly altered, so as to correspond with the true state of things. This register is entirely independent of the other one, kept up in the collector's office, which is only intended to show the changes among the lumburdars, or principal managers, of each estate.

The mode of determining the position of the ryots, or cultivators, in relation to the proprietors, remains to be adverted to. This is a subject, which has been at various times much discussed, but often misunderstood. Many have drawn their impressions regarding it from the known consideration shown to the "ryots" under the native governments—forgetting that the rights, recognized under that title, were chiefly those of the cultivating communities, whom we now style zemindars. The peculiarity attaching to these hereditary and proprietary cultivators, as compared with all others, lies in the independent origin of their tenure. They occupied the land, and made it productive, without needing the permission, or requiring the assistance, of any other private party. Hence they retain a special claim to protection, even when they have lost by default the *malguzâri* right, or privilege of contracting for the revenue. It is usual for the Government officer to accord them this protection, by fixing their rents for the whole term of settlement at rates somewhat lighter than are paid by other ryots. All other cultivators differ from these, in having been originally located on the spot at the will, or with the help, of the landlord: and it is only in the rare case of some express agreement with that landlord, that they can claim to hold their lands permanently at a fixed rent. Enquiry, however, has shown that there are two grades of these non-proprietary cultivators. The one consists of those, who are merely tenants at will, and who hold on from year to year at the pleasure of the Zemindar. The other grade have a *primâ facie* right to protection—the '*onus probandi*' resting upon the Zemindar, who may wish to raise their rents; nor can they be dispossessed, so long as they pay the amount legally demandable from them. It is difficult to lay down with precision the grounds of the distinction between these two classes; but it is found in practice, that, if the question is taken up before any dispute has arisen, it may generally be decided to the satisfaction of all parties.* All doubtful cases are best disposed of by arbitration. A tenant may obtain admission into the more pri-

* See the Report on Muzuffernuggur, where much attention was paid to this subject. Par. 34 and 35.

vileged grade by having overcome great natural obstacles in re-claiming the land from waste, by the subsequent expenditure of capital upon it in a permanent form, or by prescription under long-continued occupancy. The tenure, thus acquired, descends to immediate heirs, but cannot be transferred to another without the permission of the landlord.

It is therefore the duty of the settlement officer to determine the position, which each ryot is entitled to hold, and the amount of rent, which he is for the present bound to pay. The result of his enquiries and decisions upon these points will be shown in the first instance in the settlement Múntukhúb, and afterwards, year by year, with such changes as may be necessary, in the putwari's jummaundi. The rents, entered in those papers against each man's name, will remain in force, as regards the dispossessed proprietors first mentioned above, till the Government demand itself is again revised; and, as regards both classes of non-proprietary cultivators, till altered by mutual consent, or by the order of a civil court. As the law stands, a Zemindar cannot oust even a tenant at will, or arbitrarily raise his rents, without first suing in court for that purpose. Should he be driven to that course, he ought at once to obtain a decree, on the bare showing of the settlement record; but, in point of fact, a ryot of this grade will seldom resist the demand made upon him. If, however, the Zemindar should bring a suit for enhancement of rent against a tenant of the other, or privileged, class, the court will require him to show good and sufficient cause for such a claim. He will have to prove, either that the former rates were inadequate as compared with those paid in the neighbourhood; or that the tenure had increased in value in consequence of improvements effected by himself, or by the State; or that some other permanent change had occurred, which entitled him to demand more from the land than he had hitherto received.

The arrangements, thus detailed, provide sufficiently for the various interests of the proprietors and cultivators, whenever the former were found in direct relations with the State. But we have already alluded to the numerous instances, in which a Zemindar, or Talukadar, had been admitted by the former Governments to an intermediate position between themselves and the proprietary occupants of the soil. Wherever this state of things has been found still to exist; that is, wherever a village was still occupied by the descendants of its original owners, who had never lost their rights by any legal means, though a different party had hitherto enjoyed the profits arising from the engagement with Government, the choice lay between

two equally authorized measures. In single villages, or comparatively small properties, the recorded Zemindar has been usually maintained in his position, as Sudder Malguzar, or payer of the Government revenue, and the subordinate proprietors have been protected by a sub-lease, on terms fixed by the settlement officer. But in all the larger tracts thus circumstanced, the Talukadar, or Zemindar, has been set aside, and the village land-holders have been permitted to engage directly with Government. In these cases the superior landlord has been compensated for his exclusion from the management by an allowance variously calculated, but the minimum of which is considered to be 10 per cent. on the amount payable to Government. It is evident that either of these courses involves a diminution in the public receipts; for the usual proportion of the rent cannot be appropriated by the State, when two parties, instead of one, are to be supported from the remainder. On this ground alone, independently of all others, the civil courts, having no jurisdiction over the revenue, could never have taken the initiative in proceedings of this nature. Any person, however, who may be dissatisfied with a judicial order passed by a settlement officer, is at liberty to bring a regular suit in the civil court within a limited period* to set it aside; and this option has been extensively exercised by the former recorded proprietors in the cases under mention. The suits, thus brought, have been tried always, in the first instance, and frequently also in appeal, by the uncovenanted judges; and the result has not been satisfactory. Notwithstanding the clear tenor of the law, and of the corresponding instructions from the Sudder Dewanny Adálat,† the lower courts have shown themselves most reluctant to allow, that two parties may possess heritable and transferable interests of different kinds in the same land. Their strong tendency has been to look only to the records of past settlements, though these were confessedly imperfect or erroneous; and, finding the plaintiff therein mentioned as Zemindar, to consider him as being still the sole and exclusive proprietor. This feeling on the part of the inferior courts, together with the expense and delay of a civil suit, felt of course most by the poorer party, have caused many of the decisions to be adverse to those passed at the settlement; and it has not been always possible to have these proceedings set right in appeal. In what we have here said, we do not mean to deny that errors may have been committed by the revenue officers in the disposal of these difficult questions. The strong and legitimate feeling in favor of the village zemindars, who had been so

* Formerly twelve years; now, under Act XIII. of 1848, reduced to three years.

† See Clauses 1 and 2, Sec. X., Reg. VII. of 1822, and Circular Order of Sudder Dewanny Adálat, N. W. P., dated 31st January, 1845.

long deprived of their full rights, may doubtless have led occasionally to the recognition of ill-founded claims to the same title and privileges. Even when the settlement award was substantially correct, the record of the investigations, on which it was founded, was often meagre and obscure, owing to the mass of work then on hand, and the consequent necessity of curtailing all the proceedings as much as possible. We only regret that the revision of the settlement decisions was not entrusted to men, as well qualified by talent, education, and knowledge of the subject, as those were, who originally passed them; and that it has necessarily been conducted under circumstances less favourable to the ascertainment of the truth.

We cannot do more than cursorily allude to minor objects of the settlement; such as the arrangement of many matters regarding rent free tenures, whether resumed or released; the division of estates, where the owners may wish it, or where it may be otherwise desirable; the assignment of a proper provision for the village police; and the adjustment of all outstanding questions of account between the Zemindars and the Government. Enough, however, has been said on the more important parts of the work to show the great advantages derivable from it. In order to exemplify this, we cannot do better than contrast the proceedings in any judicial case, carried on without the assistance of settlement records, with those which would now be held in a similar case in the N. W. Provinces. Let us select the suit decided by the Calcutta Sudder Court on March 24th 1831, and published at page 102 of the 5th volume of that Court's printed reports. Here Ramnarayun Naga had sued Mussummat Deb Rani and others for enhanced rent on the land held by them as cultivators. If any one will take the pains to examine the report of this case, he will see, that, after fifteen years litigation in all the courts, up to the Sudder, and the deputation of three distinct officers to make enquiries on the spot, the only point decided was, that the defendants were not privileged to hold any lands at fixed rates. The extent of land in their occupancy, the question whether any part of that land was exempt from the payment of rent, and the amount demandable from the portion not so exempt, were all disputed points, and were all left as doubtful, as if no investigation had taken place. The plaintiff, in short, was very little nearer the attainment of his object than he had been at the first; and he was led distinctly to expect another course of law, such as he had already gone through, if he persisted in his claim. Suppose, now, that a similar suit were to be brought forward in the Duáb. Of all the above debateable points, the only one, which the more inspection of the settlement Muntukhub and of the jummaabundi for the past year would not suffice to decide, would be the amount of

the future rent. Supposing the defendants not to be recorded as entitled to hold at fixed rates, this question would be brought immediately to a hearing, without being complicated or delayed by any extraneous doubts or objections, and might probably be settled at once, by referring to the recorded rates, paid by other cultivators on similar lands, in the same, or adjacent villages.

The benefit of the records, which we are considering, would be still more sensibly felt, if the suit were for a share in one of those estates, mentioned above, in which the interests of the numerous proprietors depend upon the the extent of land in each man's occupancy, and not on the laws of inheritance. From ignorance of this distinction, the civil courts used long to grant decrees for fractional shares under the laws in question, when the estates, in which the shares were claimed, had been, from time immemorial, separately portioned out on a totally different principle. No such decree could be enforced without disturbing the possession, and injuring the rights of numbers in no way connected with the suit: and in fact many of them could never be executed at all. The settlement has now afforded an ample safeguard against errors of this description. Wherever the above tenure prevails, the plaintiff is required to state the exact fields, with their numbers, in the Muntukhub, which he claims to transfer from the possession of the defendant to his own.* The suit is thus placed with precision before the Court, and is decided without any annoyance to the rest of the community. In fact it is hardly possible, that any dispute, connected with land, should now be brought forward, on which much light may not be thrown by reference to the Collector's office.

In the Revenue Department itself, the difference between the former and present state of things is obvious. There is no more call for constant interference in the internal concerns of the villages, than there was before; rather the contrary, as it was the previous confusion and uncertainty which used to render such interference necessary. Provided every thing goes on smoothly, years may elapse without a question being asked, or the presence of a Government official on the spot. But whenever default occurs in the payment of the revenue, it is instantly known with whom it originated, and that party is first required to make good the deficiency. If it finally become necessary to call upon the other sharers, under their acknowledged joint responsibility, to pay the arrear, the tenure of the actual defaulter is in return transferred to them, either temporarily, or in perpetuity. The increased ease and certainty, with which private transfers of landed property may now be made, is a distinguishing feature of the new system. Formerly it was

* See the Circular Orders by the Sudder Dewanny Adálut, N. W. P., dated 21st June 1842, and 15th March 1845.

difficult to say, or at least to prove, what the precise interest was, which thus changed hands. Now, whether that interest consists of separate lands, or of a share in the common profits, all needful information regarding it is immediately available. This has both facilitated the investment of capital in land, and increased the value of such property in the market.

So far then as the scheme of the settlement has been fully carried out, it may be considered that the the objects, contemplated in it, have been satisfactorily attained. It must not however, be supposed that this is hitherto universally the case. It could hardly be expected that, on the first introduction of a measure requiring so much judgment, care and diligence, it should be at once completed, with equal accuracy in all its parts, by the many different agents entrusted with its execution. Errors and omissions of one kind or another could not but occur; and it is only by experience that these can be brought to light. The amendment of these defects, as soon as they are discovered, as well as the maintenance of the arrangements, when perfected, must therefore rest with the regular revenue establishments; all of whom are now invested with the needful legal powers* for the former purpose. In the performance of this duty, great assistance will be derived from the Native Deputy Collectors, appointed under Regulation IX. of 1833; whose patience, assiduity, acquaintance with the country, and generally high character, fit them admirably for the work. In this view, too, the advance which has taken place under the late operations in the respectability of the putwaris is of much importance. Not only have the jurisdictions of these village accountants been revised, and their emoluments defined, but the closer intercourse, into which they have been thrown with their European superiors, has tended to increase their intelligence, while the corrupt or incompetent have thus been detected and weeded out. The annual returns now required from these men, are not to be prepared without some degree of ability and carefulness, so that the present higher standard of efficiency is likely to be maintained, or even carried still further.† The advantage of this improvement will be duly estimated by every public officer, whether judge, magistrate, or collector; for all have frequent occasion for the testimony of a sensible and independent witness on matters connected with the internal affairs of a village. It is, however, of special consequence, as it concerns our present

* Under Section XX, Regulation VII, of 1822.

† Several short treatises have been provided by the Government for the instruction of these officers in their duties, and have been introduced into the country schools, in which the putwaris receive their education. A further and still more important result is expected from this measure, which is to lead the zemindars themselves to understand and take an interest in the system. By their help alone can the plans, which have been devised for the protection of private rights, be carried to the perfection of which they are capable.

subject, since it affords the means for counteracting the chief obstacle to the stability of the settlement arrangements. We refer to the frequent change in the shape, size, and number, of the separate fields, on the correct classification of which, it has been seen, that the whole system mainly rests. This difficulty is for the most part confined to light sandy soils, and to lands subject to inundation, in which the action of the wind or water continually effaces the former lines of division, and occasions a new demarcation. It is less felt in stiff soils, especially where artificial irrigation is used: but even there, in the course of time, great alterations may occur. It depends, then, on the putwarí to keep up the connection between the khusrah and field map, with the other papers founded on them, and the varying disposition of the fields themselves. So long as the changes are confined within narrow limits, he can designate the new fields by the numbers of those, of which, either wholly or in part, they occupy the place. But if the alteration should in time become so general as to render the settlement papers totally inapplicable, the putwarí should be able to recast them altogether; for which purpose a new measurement, field map, &c. will be requisite. That this work can be efficiently performed by officers of this description has been found by experience in Bolundshetur, Muttra, and elsewhere; and the measure must be resorted to, whenever the necessity arises.

The total expense incurred in the revision of the settlement from 1834-45 to 1845-46 (which does not however include the earlier operations) is estimated at fifty-four lacks of rupees. Of this rather more than twenty-two lacks were connected with the Professional Survey; and the remainder was expended in the salaries of settlement officers, and in temporary extra establishments. We have been unable to obtain any exact account of the alteration effected by the revision, in the Government rent roll. The following statement will however throw some light on the subject. It shows the average annual collections, in the ceded and conquered provinces, for quinquennial periods from 1807-8 to 1846-47. Unfortunately the Delhi Territory is not included in this return,* which would otherwise be complete. For the first three periods, the totals only can be given:

* As far as we have been able to ascertain from the best information available to us, the account for the Delhi Territory will stand as follows:—

Average collections on account of land revenue for five years previous to commencement of settlement.....		Rs. 27,85,912
Ditto ditto for five years after its conclusion.....		32,70,727
Increase.....		4,84,815

Of this increase, however, about Rs. 3,19,000 are derived from resumed lands and lapsed jaghirs, and the remainder is partly owing to some unfavorable seasons which diminished the collections in the earlier period. The actual demand of Government upon the old assessed lands has here, as in the greater part of the rest of the Provinces, been rather diminished than increased.

<i>Division.</i>	1807-8 to 1811-12.	1812-13 to 1816-17.	1817-18 to 1821-22.	1822-23 to 1826-27.	1827-28 to 1831-32.	1832-33 to 1836-37.	1837-38 to 1841-42.	1842-43 to 1846-47.
Meerut.....	57,58,125	52,28,807	56,54,624	63,81,540	69,05,136
Rohilcund	67,02,481	64,12,554	58,58,664	55,18,641	63,53,941
Agra.....	66,53,934	70,56,480	75,01,686	62,55,285	70,34,606
Allahabad	96,47,608	94,63,217	87,87,969	75,16,670	84,00,698
Benares (Goruck- pur, and Azim- gurh, only).....	17,42,824	17,92,438	24,43,719	29,95,416	34,99,065
Total...	2,44,39,879	2,76,41,105	3,03,45,527	3,05,43,174	2,97,14,818	3,02,46,666	2,86,37,753	3,22,01,328

As the settlement was chiefly effected between 1832-33 and 1841-42, if we take the average collections for ten years immediately preceding that period, and for the five years available which immediately followed it, we shall have a tolerable ground on which to form an opinion of the financial results of the measure. This comparison shows an increase in the annual collections, subsequent to the settlement, amounting to rupees 20,72,332. But closer examination will shew that, of this increase, Rupees 17,31,434, are derived from the districts of Goruckpúr and Azimghur alone, leaving only about three and a half lacks as the additional income from the rest of the Provinces. When the resumed Múafis and lapsed Jaghírs are taken into consideration, (between seven and eight lacks were obtained from the Begum Sumroo's estates in the Duáb alone,) it will be evident that the general pressure of the assessment has been relaxed, as well as equalized. The two districts, of which the Jumma has been so much raised, are known to be still lightly taxed, and pay their revenue with ease and punctuality.

The financial part of any settlement in these provinces must be always more or less at the mercy of the seasons. The utmost, that research and caution can effect, is to fix such a demand, as may be easily realized under ordinary circumstances; the profit left to the proprietors being sufficient to meet any moderate fluctuation in the amount and value of the produce. But no foresight can guard against those heavier calamities to which the husbandman in India is peculiarly liable; when, from failure of rain, the earth becomes iron and the heavens brass, or the ripening crops are beaten into mud by a tropical hail-storm. The late settlement has been severely tried in this respect. The Kurrif crop of 1241 Fussily (1833 A. D.) was generally a very bad one, especially in Bundelcund; and the following ten years were on the whole far from favourable to agricultural operations. One of these years, 1837-38, will long be remembered in the Duáb, as a fearful period of absolute famine. We need not describe the misery then prevalent, which must be still fresh in the recollection of all who witnessed it. The weight of the infliction fell on the five districts of the Agra division, and on Cawnpore;* and the destruction, which it occasioned in the numbers and resources of the people, will be best understood from the following facts. The settlement demand from the six districts named was in

* That it was also severely felt in all the districts of the Allahabad and Rohileund divisions will be evident from the falling off in the collections during the five years, commencing with 1837-38, as shown in the statement above given.

round numbers ninety-five and a half lacks of rupees, which was about one lack less, than it had stood at, before the general revision. Of this sum, forty-two lacks were remitted in the year of famine; while, in the course of the next seven years, a further defalcation occurred of fifty-nine lacks; so that the total loss of revenue to Government on these districts alone amounted during the above period to more than a million sterling. Nor was this all. Such was the extent of land thrown out of tillage, and the reduction of rent in the remainder, owing to the deficiency of cultivators, and such the impoverishment of the people, that it was necessary not only to refrain from the rigid exaction of the Government demand, but also to relinquish absolutely part of its amount. The aggregate revenue of the districts in question has consequently been reduced by three and a half lacks for the remainder of the thirty years' settlement; a much larger intermediate remission being allowed for some years, till the estates, which had suffered most, should have partially recovered themselves. These results cannot be charged as an imperfection upon the settlement. They arose from signal visitations of providence, which were beyond human controul; and the losses sustained, both by the state and by individuals, could not, under the circumstances, have been averted. The country has on the whole recovered itself wonderfully from the state of depression into which it was thus thrown; and it is a further consolation that, if any parts of the assessment were unsound, they can scarcely have escaped the searching ordeal to which they have been subjected.

No provision for artificial irrigation can altogether obviate the evils attendant on long-continued drought; but it may do very much to mitigate them. The plains of the North West Provinces possess great natural advantages for this purpose. The perennial snows of the Himalayas rise immediately above them, and contain an inexhaustible reservoir of the precious element, which it only requires skill and money to convey to any point where it is needed. Two of the principal channels, which conduct the drainage of these mountains to the sea, intersect the provinces throughout their whole extent. One of these, the Jumna, has been long made use of for purposes of irrigation to the utmost of its capacity; but the much larger stream of the Ganges has hitherto been allowed to run heedlessly to waste. This will soon be no longer the case. The great Ganges Canal has been now four years in course of construction; and it is hoped that six more will witness its completion. The magnitude of the undertaking, and the difficulties attending it, may be judged from the fact, that a volume of

water, discharging 6,750 cubic feet per second, has to be conveyed, over the bed of a mountain torrent, by an embankment and aqueduct $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles in length.* This noble work will run along the high central land of the Duáb, throwing off branches along the ridges which separate the smaller streams, and will thus afford water to most of the worst sandy tracts, hitherto entirely destitute of irrigation. From Hurdwar, down to Futteh-púr, it would immensely increase the produce of the country, while it will for evermore relieve the intense anxiety now occasioned by any signs of a failure of rain. Whatever may be the state of the seasons, sufficient food will always be grown for the subsistence of the people and cattle, and sufficient land will remain in cultivation to afford them employment. They will consequently neither suffer, nor be driven away, to any thing approaching the same degree as heretofore. The effect of the canal upon general prices, and upon the fortunes of those estates, which do not come within its influence, is another question, which must be left for experience to solve.

The period, for which the settlement has been confirmed, varies in different districts from twenty to thirty years. Some of the leases will begin to fall in, ten years hence: and it will then become necessary to consider, whether they shall be renewed without alteration for a further term, or whether a new revision shall be entered on. We have no expectation that the present arrangements will be made absolutely permanent; and we should much deprecate such a course. The mere liability of the N. W. Provinces to accidents of season, even allowing for the great change which the new canal will produce, must always render it inexpedient to fix their assessment in perpetuity. A contract of this kind would always be binding on the Government, but could never be uniformly fulfilled by the people. Such a season, as that of 1837-38, would make the permanent assessment a nominal one, over a great part of the country. A sufficient argument against such a measure might indeed be found in its evident unfairness. The rate, at which the demand of Government now falls on the cultivated acre in entire districts, varies from Rs. 1-0-3 in Goruckpúr to Rs. 2-13-8 in Cawnpúr; notwithstanding that it has been nearly trebled in the former district, and much lowered in the latter. There can be no question but that these extremes may be brought much nearer each other at the next

* The masonry aqueduct, under which the Solani river passes, will be 1,010 feet in length. The total length of the canal, including its branches, will be between 300 and 900 miles. For full information, regarding this undertaking, we must refer our readers to an elaborate article on canal irrigation in the N. W. Provinces, which appeared in a late Number of this Review.

revision, and that many other parts of the country will have so improved, before that time arrives, as to be well able to bear a larger portion of the public burdens. But the inequality, to which we refer, exists as much between different villages, as between different districts. We have already observed that complete uniformity of assessment cannot be attained, even in adjoining estates; though any extraordinary deviation from it should be avoided. In the present agricultural condition of the N. W. Provinces, those villages, which are found, at the time of settlement, to be from any cause in a flourishing state, must of necessity be rated higher, than those which are depressed and unproductive. A village held by a cultivating community, who labour with their own hands, will pay more than one tenanted by men of a higher caste, who employ hired plough-men. Another, which possesses several masonry wells, will yield double the revenue of a neighbouring estate, which is without that advantage. The vicinity of a good market, facilities for obtaining manure, the number and caste of the resident ryots, are all matters on which the profitableness of different estates greatly depends. But these may all be modified, or entirely reversed, in a less period than that of the settlement. Cultivators and proprietors may vanish, and be succeeded by others; wells may become unserviceable, and others may be built elsewhere; markets may change; the populous village may dwindle to a few houses, and the hamlet may rise into importance. It is needless to remark on the revolution, in these respects, which the opening of a railway, and still more so perhaps of the new canal, will produce. The most carefully adjusted arrangements will hereafter require re-consideration, when the conditions, on which they must be founded, are thus liable to change.

Our proposed task would be imperfectly performed, if we did not advert to some of the objections, which have been brought against the settlement. We need not dwell long on those, which were more often advanced, in former days than they are now, against the present mode of assessment, as being a system of mere conjecture, or an attempt to enforce an uniform rate, entirely inapplicable to the varying circumstances, with which we have to deal. We have already shown that the average rates are only meant as a standard of comparison; that no means of obtaining really useful information need, or should, be neglected; and that the necessity of keeping up the appearance of extreme accuracy, without the substance, has alone been dispensed with. A more usual accusation, on the part of the "*laudatores temporis acti*," has reference to the pains which have been taken to ascertain and protect all subordinate rights.

This is the remains of the old leaven, which would have made every Zemindar the little despot of the tract, for which he had come under engagements with Government. We recollect "the father of the Civil Service" saying in 1831, with reference to a pending investigation into private claims in the Rajah of Benares's family domains, that it "was of a piece with the Reform agitation, then going on in England; the setting up of 'little men against the great.'" Men of this stamp object to affording the ryots any species of redress against a rack-renting landlord; to the admission of the mass of sharers in a proprietary community to any part in the management, or in the annual profits; and, more than all, to the independent tenures granted to the village landholders in Talúkas. Now the principles, which have been followed in these matters, may be viewed in relation, either to their equity, or their expediency. We do not believe that they have ever been seriously assailed on the former ground, though of course exception may be taken to the justice of their application in particular instances. If so, we are not very careful to answer in the matter: for it would be departing from the maxims of a civilized nation, as well as from the duty of a Christian Government, not to defend the oppressed from him that spoileth him. "*Fais ce que dois, arrive que pourra,*" is the rule for public, as well as private, life. We are not called upon, like Lycurgus or Numa, to make laws for an infant people, by which their future opinions, habits, and institutions, are to be moulded and regulated. That was all settled for us fifty generations ago. We have only to recognize and defend private rights, in whatever hands, by the general sense of the country, they may be lodged.

Even, however, as regards expediency, we are well satisfied that, on the whole, the best course has been followed. The transactions between the zemindars and their ryots, as far as relates to the amount of rent, will be eventually determined, except in a few peculiar cases, on the same principles, which regulate such transactions elsewhere. The only interference, exercised under this head, is to protect the tenant from capricious and unjustifiable acts on the part of the landlord. It never can be injurious to the interests of an agricultural country, that some consideration should be necessary, before the burdens of the actual tillers of the soil are increased; or that cultivators of long standing should be allowed a fixed tenure, subject to the payment of a fairly estimated rent. How fortunate would it be for Ireland, if matters could be there put on the same footing! The other question, as to the recognition of subordinate proprietary rights, touches upon one which has been much discuss-

ed of late ; viz. the advantages, or otherwise, of peasant Proprietorship. If this subject were being considered abstractedly, together with the law of succession to immoveable property, with which it is intimately connected, we should agree with the supporters of primogeniture, rather than with the opposite party. We are convinced that of two nations, otherwise similarly circumstanced, that one will in the long run become the richest and most prosperous, in which consolidated estates descend to a single heir, and are leased out to a distinct class of substantial farmers ; and not the other, in which every property, however small, is subjected at each succession to division and sub-division ; in which the owners of land are thus reduced to the grade of mere cultivating labourers, and sink both in means and intelligence to that condition. The comparative state of England and France at the present day, allowing for all the conflicting accounts, which have been put forth regarding the latter country, is, in our opinion, quite sufficient to establish this conclusion. But, with regard to India, the case is different. In the present state of agricultural science in this country, the produce of the soil depends mainly on the degree of positive labour bestowed on it ; and this will be greater, *cæteris paribus*, when the cultivator is himself the proprietor, than when he is only a tenant. Certainly no villages pay the same amount of revenue with the same ease, as those entirely occupied by Ját or Kuromí sharers, whose separate holdings may average no more than fifteen or twenty acres. The time will doubtless come, when knowledge and capital will assert their superiority in the husbandry of this, as of other countries ; when the success of agricultural enterprise will depend, less on intensity of manual labour, than on the introduction of more valuable products, of improved modes of culture, and of the use of machinery. In the meanwhile, however, a process is going on, which will greatly counteract the effect of the law of equal inheritance, and which the late admission of all sharers to defined and recorded rights will rather assist than retard. These sharers, and the smaller landed proprietors in general, are for the most part poor and improvident. Their custom of expending larger sums, than they can afford, on many domestic occurrences, prevents them from accumulating funds against a day of difficulty ; which, owing to the uncertainty of the seasons, is never long in arriving. The consequence is, that they are constantly in debt, and from their own ignorance of accounts, and of our forms of law, they lie much at the mercy of their creditors. On the other hand, the trading and money-lending classes are steadily amassing wealth under our settled Government ; and much of this wealth is always seek-

ing investment in land. Hence arise incessant forced or voluntary transfers of landed property; more and more of the soil is annually passing into the hands of capitalists; and properties, which had been separated under the existing law of inheritance, are being brought together again under their new possessors.* However much this course of events is on some account to be regretted, it can only be effectually checked by the spread of prudence and intelligence among those who suffer from it. The attempt to promote these qualities by an education, suited to the mass of the people, is not altogether neglected, though more may be, and doubtless will be, done in this respect; but amendments in the character of a nation are ever of slow growth. It is therefore well to look to the benefits, which may hereafter accrue from the change now in progress to the country at large, rather than to the loss of position, thus sustained, by many of its ancient and far descended occupants.

The settlement has however been also attacked from an opposite quarter. It has been said, that, when we proceeded so far as to record the sum payable to Government by every sharer, we should no longer have insisted on that rule of joint responsibility, whereby the whole community is bound, in the last resort and after all other measures have failed, to make good the default of one or more of its members. It has been urged, that this liability is a check to industry, while it encourages extravagance and dishonesty. It might be sufficient to reply to this, that the same national feeling which has been appealed to already as requiring the full recognition of individual rights, is also in favor of the rule thus objected to. It is part of the original constitution of these bodies, from which, so long as the community holds together, they never have been, nor do they seek to be, relieved.† But moreover, the obligation in question is a necessary feature of the arrangement, without which it would entirely change its character. The “village system” of Upper

* The following statement shews the mutations which have taken place in the Cawnpūr district, since the cession.

Still in the hands of the original proprietors.	Transferred voluntarily.		Transferred by operation of Courts of Law.		Transferred by the operation of the Revenue System.	Total No. of Villages
	In whole	In parts	In whole	In parts.	In whole.	
808	465	127	279	174	405	2,258

Of the 453 estates sold for arrears, 185 have been restored by the special Commission, as before stated.

† If the several sharers, or any number of them, wish to separate entirely from the rest, they can always do so under the laws for partition. The rarity of such applications, among cultivating sharers of the same family, or stock, proves how sensible they are of the advantages of their present position.

India, as it at present exists, is perhaps the best, which could have been devised under the circumstances of the country. It diminishes the toil and cost of Government, by enabling the state to deal with the representatives of large bodies of men, instead of with each individual comprised in them. It lessens the expence of management to the people themselves. It tends to minimize the evils, inseparable from a multiplicity of small properties, by collecting their owners into corporations, each member of which has a strong claim on the sympathy and assistance of the rest. It does much to produce a degree of self government among the people, and thus to obviate that utter dependence on the state, and that constant interference on the part of its officers, which are the general characteristics of Eastern despotisms. But, if the tie of joint responsibility were dissolved, the old fable of the bundle of sticks would be realized. It would be a matter of no consequence to the several sharers, whether the arrangements for the year's cultivation in the whole village were complete, or not. They would no longer have any personal interest in the prosperity of their brethren. The Revenue officer of Government would not only have to examine closely whether the distribution of the public demand on the numerous minute holdings was not designedly unequal, so as to throw the loss of the over-assessed portions upon Government, but he would also be obliged to enquire annually into the condition and prospects of perhaps 50,000 petty proprietors. He would be reduced, in short, to all the difficulties and uncertainties of a Collector under the Ryotwarí system; while the people would be subjected to the ceaseless annoyances, exactions, and official intervention, which that system involves.

It is perhaps too soon to point to the actual results upon the welfare of the country and its inhabitants, as a conclusive answer to these and all other objections, which may be brought against the settlement. The affairs of nations, like the tide, oscillate perpetually; and it requires some lengthened observation to perceive whether they are really advancing or retrograding. Still, we think, that we can adduce facts, which may justly be taken as evidence of growing prosperity. The regular collection of the land revenue is the best proof we have, that all is going on well: and this has, of late, become more and more satisfactory. We give a statement below, by which it will be seen, that, during the last 5 years, for which information is available, down to 1847-48, the total real balance, upon a demand of more than four crores of rupees has decreased to less than one half per cent; and that a marked diminution has

at the same time occurred in the coercive processes necessary to enforce payment.* The balances are given, as they appeared at the end of each official year; and at least two fifths of them were considered capable of realization. All the other branches of revenue appear to be in an improving state. The Abkārī, or Excise, which is considered in all countries a good test of the public well-being, is increasing steadily year by year.† The Ferry Tolls, from which deductions may be drawn as to the state of trade and of public enterprise and activity, are similarly advancing.‡ The Customs yield now nearly 24 lacks more than they did eighteen years ago, having been regularly progressing since that time; and, though this is doubtless owing to successive changes in the law, commencing with that which abolished the Inland Customs Houses, and confined the demand to the two lines on the Frontier and at Allahabad, still the ability of the country to pay this additional sum, without any apparent difficulty, is a matter for congratulation.§ The sums, voluntarily expended by pri-

Year.	Per centage of balance on total demand.	Coercive Processes.			
		Sales.	Farms.	Transfers.	Dustucks or summonses to pay.
1843-44	2.25	221	260	423	3,78,597
1844-45	1.88	121	214	414	3,48,790
1845-46	1.20	97	127	347	2,92,682
1846-47 .....	.40	115	129	238	2,58,235
1847-48 .....	.48	52	41	108	2,35,127

† Abkārī Collections for current years only ..	1843-4.	1844-5	1845-6.	1846-7.	1847-8.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	13,12,928	14,93,402	15,69,110	16,60,901	17,09,254

‡ Collection from Ferry Tolls.		Rupees.
Average of 4 years from 1840-41 to 1843-44.....		1,32,391
Ditto of ditto 1844-45 to 1847-48.....		1,86,643

§ Average Customs Collections from		Rupees.
Ditto 1824-25 to 1829-30		33,42,644
Ditto 1830-31 to 1834-35		40,25,730
Ditto 1836-37 to 1842-43		43,79,324
Ditto 1844-45 to 1847-48		67,27,988

Two years have been omitted, in which changes in the law took place

vate individuals on works of public utility, have averaged, during the last five years, Rs. 1,23,321 annually. This may be some index to the very much larger amount, which is undoubtedly laid out, with a view to individual profit or convenience. We now come to the value of land in the market. We have no means of ascertaining accurately the current prices obtained in former years upon any sales, except those effected on account of arrears of revenue; and, as these were all forced sales, generally of deteriorated estates, and as many of them were purchased by Government at nominal prices, they would afford little information worth having. It was however usually calculated, that an estate was worth rather more than a sum equal to the revenue, which it paid each year to Government. It was stated in 1837, by the able writer of the article in the *Meerut Magazine*, which we have before quoted, that the common price was one year's rent, which would be about half as much again as the jumma; and that an examination of sixty-six cases of private sale gave him a result of Rs. 3-1-7 per acre of cultivated land. More attention is now paid to this interesting subject, and we have been able to obtain very extensive data, which show that the price, obtained at private sales, has now risen to three and a half times the annual jumma, and that it averages Rs. 4-2-10 per acre on the total area sold.* It would be higher of course on the cultivation alone. Even compulsory sales for decrees of Court bring a higher price, than private sales did in former days. Putting all these circumstances together, and considering that there is nothing to be stated on the other side, and that no general distress exists

* Result of sales in the temporarily settled parts of the North Western Provinces, for three years from 1845-46 to 1847-48, omitting Goruckpūr and Azimghur.

	Total acres.	Govt. Jumma.	Price obtained.	Price per acre.	Percentage of price to Jumma.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs. As. P.	
Private Sales	7,15,03	8,60,455	20,92,221	4 2 10	347
Sales for Decrees of Court	3,11,791	4,24,623	10,94,832	3 8 2	258

Ditto ditto for Goruckpūr and Azimghur.

Private Sales.....	1,05,880	94,736	9,89,728	9 5 7	1,044
Sales for Decrees	1,01,697	71,272	3,17,723	3 2 0	445

Goruckpūr and Azimghur are shown separately, as, owing to the lightness of the assessment, much better prices are obtained there than elsewhere.

in any extensive class of the population—we think, we are justified in assuming, that the measures of internal policy which have been pursued, have been successful, and that we may look forward to their yet undeveloped results with well-grounded confidence.

We have reserved to the last the question, touched upon at the commencement of this article, because it refers to the Indian Revenue system in general, rather than to any particular measure connected with it. Those, who assert that the cotton and sugar of India are kept out of European markets by the pressure of the land tax, must be entirely ignorant of the nature of that tax, as enforced at least in the N. W. Provinces, and, still more, in Bengal. It is acknowledged on all hands that rent, as generated and regulated in England, produces no effect on the price of agricultural produce. That price is influenced, from time to time, by the demand as compared with the supply, but is determined in the long run by the expense of production on the worst soils; and it is the value of the produce, thus fixed, which enables the better soils to yield rent. It is the same in India; although it is true, as Professor Jones has shown, that the conditions, attaching to the origin and amount of rent, are not precisely the same here, as in England. The only difference between the principles, which regulate the price of raw produce in the two countries, is this: in England, the average price must be such, as to afford the usual wages to the labourer, and the usual profits of stock to the farmer, upon the least productive lands, which the wants of the nation require to be kept in cultivation. In India, the labourer and the farmer are generally the same individual; there is no fixed standard for the rate of wages, or of profits; and the mass of the people, having no resource except agriculture, are more liable to undue exaction than elsewhere. Still the price of produce must, at least, be such, as to enable the cultivator to subsist, and to replace the little capital necessary for his operations. In both countries, there are lands, which are barely fertile enough to fulfil these respective conditions, under which alone the works of the field can be carried on; and such lands can therefore yield little or no rent. Neither can the rent, which the superior fertility of other lands enables them to yield, in any way influence the price of produce—this having been already determined on other grounds.

If then the fact of the payment of rent (it matters not whether to the government, or to a private proprietor) can in no degree affect the price of raw produce, it is still more certain that the demand, by the state, of only *a portion* of the natural rent can exercise no such influence. It has been seen

that the revenue is limited in the North Western Provinces about two-thirds of the gross rent, and that it is often much less. In the permanently settled Provinces of Bengal, it probably falls short of one-half. It follows, that if the public revenue were to be immediately reduced thirty or fifty per cent. the only effect would be that the private proprietors would be richer men. They would probably spend larger sums in equipages, festivals, and perhaps in litigation, as they now do in Bengal. The market price of grain, cotton, or sugar, would remain the same as before. As no distinguishing tax is laid by Government, in either portion of this presidency, upon any particular species of produce, the general diminution of the demand would in no way alter the relative profitability of different crops. No stimulus would therefore be afforded by such a measure to the growth of any staple article; nor would any market be opened to it, from which it is at present excluded.

Notwithstanding the unusual length, to which our observations have run, we fear that imperfect justice has been done to the extensive subject, of which we have been treating. To all, who have been experimentally acquainted with the work of settlement, it is associated with the remembrance of severe exertion, but at the same time of great and varied enjoyment. We look back, as through the vista of many years, and see the white camp rising in the long aisles of the ancient mango-tops. We see the fair-haired Saxon youth opposing his well-trained intellect to the new difficulties that crowd upon him. We see him exerting daily, and with no vain or fruitless result, all his faculties of observation, of research, of penetration, of judgment. It is a strange sight—a wonderful proof of the power of intellectual and moral education—to watch the respect and confidence, evinced by grey-headed men, towards that beardless youth. We see him, in the early morning mist, stretching at an inspiring gallop over the dewy fields. Not unmindful is he of the hare, which scuds away from his horse's feet; of the call of the partridge from the brake; or of the wild fowl on the marsh. The well-earned holiday will arrive, when he will be able to follow these, or perhaps nobler game; but at present he has other work on hand. He is on his way to some distant point, where measurements are to be tested, doubts resolved, or objections investigated. This done, he returns to his solitary breakfast, cheered by the companionship of a book, or perhaps by letters from a far distant land—doubly welcome under such circumstances. The forenoon is spent in receiving reports from the native officers employed under him; in directing their operations; in examining, comparing, analysing, and arranging the various information, which comes in from all

quarters. As the day advances, the wide-spread shade begins to be peopled with living figures. Group after group of villagers arrive in their best and whitest dresses; and a hum of voices succeeds to the stillness, before only broken by the cooing of the dove, and the scream of the parroquet. The carpet is then spread in the open air; the chair is set; litigants and spectators take their seats on the ground in orderly ranks; silence is proclaimed, and the rural court is opened. As case after case is brought forward, the very demeanour of the parties, and of the crowds around, seems to point out on which side justice lies. No need here of ex-parte decisions, or claims lost through default. All are free to come and go, with little trouble, and at no expense. No need of lengthened pleadings. A few simple questions bring out the matter of the suit, and the grounds on which it rests. No need of lists of witnesses. Scores of witnesses are ready on the spot, alike unsummoned and untutored. No need of the Koran, or Ganges water. The love of truth is strong, even in an Indian breast, when preserved from counteracting influences; still more so, then, when the sanction of public opinion assists and protects the rightful cause. In such a court, Abraham sat, when arbitrating among his simple-minded herdsmen. In such a court, was justice every where administered in the childhood of the human race; before wealth increased, and with wealth complicated interests, and law became a science requiring a life's study to understand.

Strange must that man's character be, and dull his sympathies, who, in the midst of occupations like these, does not find his heart accompanying and lightening his labours. He sees the people in their fairest light; he witnesses their ceaseless industry, their contented poverty, their few and simple pleasures, their plain sense of justice, their general faithfulness to their engagements. He finds them, as a nation, sober, chaste, frugal, and gifted with much of that untaught politeness, in which the rustic classes of colder climes are so often deficient. For months together, he uses no language, enjoys no society, but theirs. To these causes of attachment, is added that powerful tie, which unites us to those, whom we have laboured long to benefit. The knowledge and feelings, thus acquired under the green wood tree, will not be forgotten in after days, when the dark side of the picture will alone be presented to his view; when he has to deal with roused passions, and selfish desires, uncontrolled by a true Faith; when his intercourse with the people is confined to the prisoner at the bar, or to the vakils of a grasping plaintiff, and of a fraudulent (perhaps because oppressed) defendant.

● RT. V.—*A comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German, and Slavonic Languages, by Professor Bopp; translated from the German, by Lieut. Eastwick, and conducted through the Press by Professor Wilson. London. Madden. 1845.*

SOME of the wittiest sayings of Dean Swift were uttered with regard to the monstrous and absurd etymological speculations of his day; and even to a recent period the Dean's sarcasms were too generally applicable.* We ourselves recollect, in our school-boy days, how diligently and perseveringly we committed to memory all the absurd derivations in the *Clavis Homerica*. Our teacher was a first rate Grecian; but, like the generality of scholars of his time, his investigation of Greek was limited by the analogies drawn from its four principal dialects. Happily however for the cause of critical science, things have changed. Etymology, which, in the hands of narrow-minded pedants, was a mere *crux* for the school-boy, or a series of conundrums, like Hindu riddles, has risen, through the exertions of philosophic minds in Germany, to the rank of a science,—a deduction of a series of well ascertained grammatical laws, derived from facts tested in the true Baconian spirit. Comparative Philology, called also Linguistic, or Ethnography, is “the classification of nations, from the comparative study of languages.” The old philologists spent their time in a vain search after the primitive language; but Comparative Philology applies a kind of chemical analysis to languages, in order to resolve them into their elementary qualities. This rises higher than (what the Germans call) mere word-mongering. On this subject, Locke remarks, in his *Essay on the Human Understanding*, “the consideration of *ideas* and *words*, as the great instruments of knowledge, makes no despicable part of their contemplation, who would take a view of human knowledge in the whole extent of it.” The researches of Rawlinson, Burnouf, and Lassen, on the arrow-headed inscriptions in the ruins of

* We need only refer, as an illustration, to the work of Dr. Murray on languages, in two octavo volumes. He endeavours to deduce the words in all the European languages from the following syllables, and their compounds:—ag—wag—hwag,—bag—dwag—cwag—lag—mag—nag—rag—swag; and yet he was a professor of languages! Even that able metaphysician, Dugald Stewart, propounded the ridiculous notion, that Sanskrit was a *jargon* devised by the Greeks of Bactria,—though the laws of Manu, and the Vedas, are as old as Homer. The old Etymologists used to account for the word *sack* being found in so many languages, on the ground “that no one at Babel would have forgotten his wallet, whatever else he might leave behind.” Sir W. Betham of late years, in his *Irish Etymologies*, ventures on as wild theories as Becanus did in former times, who strives to prove that Adam and Eve spoke Dutch! His was the day for hunting after the Philosophers' stone, and searching what language our first parents spoke in the Garden of Eden.

Babylon and on the rocks of Van, and of Prinsep on the Pali, show how closely words, and even alphabetical characters, are connected with things, and throw light on the progress of society, when tradition fails. Words are in fact "the incarnation of thought:" and it is a matter generally agreed upon among metaphysicians—that language is as inseparable from thought, in our present state, as matter is from spirit; while the investigation of language itself has elucidated many of the laws of mental science. Hence Philology ranks as one of the branches of general science, in the proceedings of that utilitarian body, the British Association for the advancement of science; and, on taking up their volume for 1847, we find the following elaborate essays published in their transactions; "On the present and recent progress of Ethnographical Philology, by Dr. Latham." "On the various methods of research, which contribute to the advancement of Ethnology, and of the relations of that science to other branches of knowledge, by Dr. Prichard." "On the results of the recent Egyptian researches, in reference to Asiatic and African Ethnology, and the classification of languages." "A discourse read before the Ethnological Section of the British Association for the advancement of science, by Chevalier Bunsen."—"On the importance of the Study of the Celtic Language, as exhibited by the Modern Celtic Dialects still extant, by Dr. Meyer."—"On the relation of the Bengali to the Arian and Aboriginal Languages of India, by Dr. Muller."

It is a sign of the times not to be mistaken, that Philology holds a very different status now, from that which it occupied even twenty years ago. The examination papers of Cambridge (where a higher range of classical studies is pursued of late), of Oxford, and of Dublin, indicate this change very strongly; though it is to be regretted that, notwithstanding the Boden Sanskrit Professorship at Oxford, so little attention is paid there to Sanskrit—a language "capable of giving a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of Metaphysics." Both Professor Lee at Cambridge, and Dr. Wilson at Oxford, complain of the little encouragement given to Oriental studies in their respective Universities. The effects are seen in after life: for few of the men, who have come from these seats of learning to India, have distinguished themselves by their philological attainments; as the annals of the Asiatic Society, and the history of Biblical Criticism and Translation in India, will show. Even the best philological works published in England itself are generally mere translations from the German.

Dr. Wiseman has two Dissertations on this subject in

his lectures.* Since closer attention has been directed of late to the literary treasures contained in the German language, Philological science has become increasingly popular in England: but the Bopps, Adelungs, Grimms, Burnoufs, and Humboldts, of Germany led the way, while Oxford and Cambridge lagged far behind, content to be humble imitators: "sequuntur haud paripassu." The comprehensive mind of Leibnitz first gave shape to the science of Comparative Philology, which has of late thrown so much light on the history of mankind and "the physiological affinity of nations." In England, Dr. Prichard, by his "Researches," has elucidated, in this respect, a number of curious and important facts; while Hodgson is threading his way through the intricacies connected with the aboriginal tribes of India, guided by the clue of linguistic affinities. Following the same track, the Ethnological Society are making very important discoveries respecting the numerous tribes, and distinct nations, that are scattered over the wide range of Africa. The number of writers, that have sprung up on Philological subjects, since Catherine of Russia gave the first impulse, may well be called "legion."

The class of languages in this country, on which these general remarks bear, is derived from the Sanskrit, the study of which we consider valuable for various reasons.

It is of use, in producing a sympathy between the European and the Native, in gaining affection, and winning confidence. The former learns thereby to treat the latter with more respect. The country, which produced a Kálidás and a Valmíkí, is not to be despised, or regarded as the residence of a set of mere barbarians. We have, on former occasions, dwelt, in this *Review*, on the advantages, which a knowledge of Sanskrit may give to Missionaries, where there are time and capacity to acquire it;—we will now merely cite the authority of Professor Wilson on the same subject. "The Hindus will not listen to one, who comes among them, strong in his own faith, and ignorant of

* "*On the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*," a work which, in spite of some sectarian blemishes, we would earnestly recommend to the study of our readers, written by one of the ablest men of the day, and showing, in an interesting and popular way, how the Comparison of languages, Geology, Archæology, &c. all tend to confirm the truth of Scripture History, and to prove, as Vans Kennedy has done in his *Researches*, that the grammatical and lexicographical affinities of Sanskrit with the Indo-Germanic languages indicate, that mankind once spoke a common language on the plains of Babylonia;—and that in languages, as in paleontology and geology, we live in the wreck of a former world. The recent investigations of Chevalier Bunsen into the ancient Egyptian language have brought to light the important fact—that the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages, which have been hitherto considered to have no affiliation, are intimately connected, through the medium of the ancient Egyptian, which seems to be a link between those two classes. The researches of Lepsius and Meyer in Egypt also confirm the same position.

their's. To overturn their errors, we must know what they are. We must adapt our mode of teaching, with regard to the state of mind, and opinions of the people, we address." We see Paul acted in this manner in his address on Mars's Hill: and Indian Missionaries, feeling its importance, have been as distinguished, as any other members of society, for their knowledge of Sanskrit. Robert de Nobilibus wrote in Sanskrit two centuries ago, as idiomatically as any paṇḍit could. Paolino Bartolomeo, a Friar, was the first European, who published a Sanskrit Grammar in 1790. The works of Carey, Yates, and Mill, are too well known to require enumeration; these were all vernacular, as well as Sanskrit, scholars. There is an influential order of men in this country, of classical attainments, and (some) of considerable literary abilities, whom we should like to see attending to Sanskrit studies—the Chaplains of the E. I. C. Alas! we say it with regret,—of late years they have done next to nothing in connection with Indian literature, or biblical criticism. Did they stand off less (with a kind of *kulin* exclusiveness) from all non-English-University men, and prove that they have the reality, and not the *name* of knowledge (whether it be B. A. or M. A., or even L. L. D., at present not very certain tests of scholarship) it would be far better for their own reputation and usefulness.

Such is the affiliation between different languages, that it is now established as a fact that we cannot thoroughly know any one language without paying some attention to others. The Indo-Germanic class of languages for instance, is closely connected with and comprises the following, German, Gaelic, Persian, Greek, Latin, Russian: and the Sanskrit forms a connecting link to them all.

The old method of studying Greek etymologies reminds one of the systems of Patanjali and Panini; as in both cases the etymons were sought *within* the respective languages, instead of from other languages. On this subject, Chevalier Bunsen very justly remarks, "the absurd etymologies of the ancients are the most striking proof of the impossibility of a man's becoming conscious of his peculiarities, except by contrast and comparison with those of others." We have a memorable illustration of this, in "Horne Tooke's Diversions of Purley," by the etymological blunders he commits, owing to his ignorance of the comparison of languages. The light, that the illustrious Cuvier threw on paleontology by his researches into Comparative Anatomy, gives us an example of what ought to have been done by Horne Tooke in languages on a similar principle.

We need scarcely refer to the new fountains of thought opened

by Sanskrit literature,—of which Southey has made happy use, as also Milman in his “Nala and Damayanti.” Both were men unconnected with India: but they were poets, and therefore able to appreciate the poetic beauties of Indian verse. Wilson’s Hindu Theatre, and the publications of the Oriental Translation Fund, are also increasingly valued in Europe, and tend to give persons a more familiar view of India; though, as Professor Wilson remarks, “it is not enough to understand the language of a people: the people themselves must be understood, with all their popular prejudices, their daily observances, their occupations, their amusements, their domestic and social relations, their local legends, their national traditions, their mythological fables, their metaphysical abstractions, and their religious worship.” As in Europe, no man can enter into the spirit of Greek and Latin literature, without knowing the languages in which it has been embodied; so in India, the beautiful descriptions and metaphors, which abound in the writings of Kálidās, Valmíkí, and others, can only be fully appreciated by reading them in the original Sanskrit.

The work, which we have placed at the head of our article, shows the use of Sanskrit in philological pursuits. “Bopp’s Comparative Grammar” is fully entitled to the epithet of the *magnum opus* of Philology, and to claim as high a rank in the science of Grammar, as Newton’s Principia does in Mathematics, as Bacon’s Novum Organum in Mental Science or Blumenbach in Physiology.*

In Oxford, we are glad to observe that, in philological papers set for high classical attainments, there are various questions on the analogy between the Sanskrit and the Greek; and in this work, Bopp has thrown great light on the grammatical structure of the Latin and Greek, as deduced from the Sanskrit Grammar. In 1812, eager to ascertain the philosophy of language, he went to Paris to acquire a knowledge of Sanskrit; and, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to encounter, through the want of books, and the state of political affairs, he perse-

* We would like to see an analysis of such a work introduced into the Parental Academy, Saint Paul’s School, and other classical schools in this country, where, we regret to say, the study of Oriental languages is to a great extent neglected. Why do the East Indian community not aim at identifying themselves with India, and, as one step to that, making its languages and literature an object of specific study—instead of striving after a mock imitation of every thing English? Germans and Frenchmen have achieved distinguished progress in Oriental studies; but the name of scarcely one East Indian can be mentioned, who has published any thing on this subject that will go down to posterity. Those remarks are too applicable also to Young Bengal; in fact, Young Bengal so prides himself on writing a little bombastic English, richly charged with all sorts of inflated metaphors, that he thinks it beneath his dignity to write a common letter in idiomatic Bengali. Pandit like, he despises the Vernaculars, as only adapted for the “profanum vulgus.”

vered, and, in 1816, published his "Conjugation System," comparing the Sanskrit verb with the Latin, Greek, Gothic, and German. In 1818, he was sent along with Professor Franke, at the expense of the Bavarian Government, to London, to complete his Sanskrit studies. His next great work was his "Vergleichende Grammatik," the result of the labour of years. Professor Hayman Wilson observes respecting it,—“It has substituted for the vague conjectures, suggested by external and often accidental coincidences, elementary principles, based upon the prevailing analogies of articulate sounds, and the grammatical structure of language.”* The translation of the Comparative Grammar, was undertaken at the suggestion of Lord Francis Egerton, who prepared a portion of it; and the remainder was finished by Lieut. Eastwick and Professor Wilson; the original was commenced in 1833, and is not yet completed. We hope many works of a similar kind may issue soon from the press. We are no blind, enthusiastic admirers of Sanskrit: we think English is a far more useful language for the educated natives of India; still we approve of the noble efforts of such men, as Dr. Ballantyne of the Benares College, and Mr. Muir of the Civil Service, to convey a knowledge of European science, and of Christianity, to the learned classes of India, through the medium of their venerated Sanskrit.†

The tendency of the age is in favour of the brotherhood of nations, and the unity of states—"the fraternity of peoples." A person can breakfast now in London, and dine in Paris; and rail-roads are about to be introduced into India. While steam, literature, politics, and commercial intercourse, are bringing Europe, India, and America, into close contact, we have an antagonistic power, the curse of Babel, in the multiplicity of languages. India alone has more than ten different dialects, which cannot

* Dr. Young, an eminent mathematician, has put the affinity of languages to the test of the mathematical calculus; others have successfully applied the doctrine of chances to it.

† We would add here the name of Dr. Mill, late Principal of Bishop's College, the author of the *Christa Sangita* in Sanskrit. We trust that the newly appointed Principal, Mr. Kaye, will do what is in his power to give a more oriental turn to the studies of Bishop's College. Without neglecting the classics, Sanskrit might form an indispensable part of the course of study for those pupils designed to be missionaries. It would be quite as useful for them, if not more so, than Latin, when labouring for the evangelization of the Hindus. The learned Hindus cannot appreciate the acquaintance, which a Missionary or Catechist has with Latin; but they can value his knowledge of Sanskrit, and are more likely to lend a patient ear to what he says respecting the Hindu system, when he draws his references from the fountain head. The Revd. K. Banerjee has done much good in this respect by his knowledge of Sanskrit: and we trust that, not only in Bishop's College, but also in other Institutions for training Native Christian agents, some attention may be directed to this subject.

(as some would wish) be eradicated.* But Comparative Philology affords some clue to this difficulty, by enabling us to rise from the known to the unknown, and, through the association of ideas, to make the knowledge of one language serve as a key to the study of another. Thus he, who has mastered Greek, has overcome nearly half the difficulty of Sanskrit, the key (or as Bunsen calls it), the *humus*, to Indian languages. Even the German class of languages bears a strong family likeness to the Sanskrit; Bopp, when he was reading the Gothic of Ulphilas, states that he almost fancied it was Sanskrit, which he was studying—so close were the grammatical and lexico-graphical affinities between Sanskrit and that parent of the German. The Sanskrit is easily learned by a person who knows Bengali, or Hindi, and vice versâ, as nine-tenths of the words in the North of India vernaculars are of Sanskrit origin: and yet Bopp declares, that the Bengali resembles the Sanskrit, in its grammatical system, infinitely less than the majority of European languages. Comparative Philology is therefore calculated to facilitate the study of the Indian languages very much. Even a Highlander, coming from the Grampian hills, and landing on the shores of Bengal, if he be a man of scholarly habits, may trace a very close connection between his native Gaelic and the Sanskrit-derived vernaculars of India, as Monsieur Pictet, in his “*Affinité sur la langue Celte*,” has pointed out so ably and accurately. Humboldt, in a very learned publication, has likewise shown that the Kavi language of the Eastern Archipelago is of Sanskrit origin.

* Some deprecate the notion of creating a Vernacular literature; and we are ourselves warm and enthusiastic advocates for the spread of our noble English language, likely to claim, if any can, to be the leading one on the globe. But allowing for those, who have means and capacity to devote nine years to its study, and who will continue it in after life—for those that learn English to qualify them for situations under Europeans and Government—and for the effects of increased intercourse, social, religious, political, and mercantile—can we calculate on more than 100,000 natives becoming well acquainted (not mere smatterers) with English in the next generation? Now India contains 100,000,000 British subjects: 99,900,000 therefore must depend for all kinds of knowledge, religious, social, and useful, on the Vernacular. The Vernaculars also are yearly receiving fresh accessions, since the Government has adopted the principle that they are to be the language of the Courts, and of the Administration generally. It is therefore of great importance to render them as capable as possible of expressing European ideas. But the principal North Indian languages, the Bengali, Hindi, and Marhatta, are little better than dialects of the Sanskrit. They have Sanskrit roots with Prakrit terminations; and by their connection with the Sanskrit, like the German, they have unlimited power of forming compound terms; while, in the Tamulian class of languages in Southern India, the Sanskrit has engrafted all its theological and metaphysical terms on them; and, like the Latin of Europe, furnishes all their ecclesiastical phraseology. Neither the Muhammedan conquerors of Northern India, nor the Brahminical colonizers of the South could force the aborigines to give up their languages. Some nevertheless say, Let these native languages become extinct! Dr. Channing has illustrated this subject powerfully, with reference to the Americans, in his own graphic style, in an Essay on “National Literature.”

The importance of knowing the vernacular languages of India is generally admitted; the advantage of a preparatory study of Sanskrit (as in Europe of a classical education for the acquisition of the French, Italian and Spanish languages,) is great; to use the words of Schlegel,—“He, who is ignorant of Sanskrit, will have to fatigue his memory in learning the vernacular words one by one, whilst the Sanskrit Grammar makes us systematically acquainted with their formation and affinities.” As the labours of classical scholars have formed the standard in English, so have those of Pandits in the Bengali and Hindi. The Sanskrit affords a test, fixed and invariable, by which the primitive sense of Bengali and Hindi words, synonymes, and technical terms, is to be ascertained. Few would venture on vernacular composition without having a person to refer to, acquainted with the Sanskrit. Nine-tenths of the Bengali and Hindi, and four-fifths of the Mahratta, languages are of Sanskrit origin: and, even in the Urdu language, though of Muhammedan parentage (in which there is a contest going on, whether it shall be fixed on a Sanskrit or Persian basis, which is likely to be decided in favour of the former) nearly the whole of its verbs, and many of its nouns, are derived from Sanskrit. The Pali, the sacred language of Buddhism, from Thibet in the north to Ceylon in the south, and from Siam to Japan, bears a close affinity with the Sanskrit, as may be seen in “Burnœuf et Lassen. *Essai sur le Pali.*”

In the system of education, pursued in the Normal Schools of England and Scotland, the Latin and Greek roots, incorporated into the English language, form a branch of instruction—as conveying the primitive meaning of words, and therefore giving clear ideas. Sanskrit holds precisely the same position with regard to Indian vernaculars, assigning to their meaning a fixity, and ascertaining the exact force of synonymous expressions, besides producing copiousness and precision. Professor Wilson states—“The Sanskrit was a spoken language, broken down into various dialects, which were fitted with new grammatical combinations.” Since the Persian has been discontinued in Bengal, as the language of the Government and of the Courts, the Bengali language has been gradually purifying itself from its foreign admixtures, and falling more and more into a Sanskrit mould. It has not, however, had the advantage of a Dante to raise it at once to a classical standard, and has been long impeded by the general use of the Persian and Urdu, which, like the French tongue in Prussia in the days of Frederic the Great, have prevented national development, and proved a complete clog on all endeavours to unfold the rich resources of the Mother language.

The utilitarians of the day sneer at philological studies: but the institution of the Ethnological Society has shown their va-

lue ; for, as Leibnitz remarks—“ As the remote origin of nations goes back beyond the records of history, we have nothing but their *languages* to supply the place of historical information.” This is eminently the case with respect to India, as the genius of Brahmanism has ever loved metaphysical investigation, in preference to historical research. Mr. Pickering, the President of the American Oriental Society, justly observes, with reference to the Sanskrit,—“ No man can claim to be a philologist, without some acquaintance with that most extraordinary, and most perfect, of the known tongues.”

Much light is thrown on the common origin of the Hindu and the European races, by the number of words, expressive of simple ideas, bearing a resemblance both in sound and sense, in their respective languages. Out of a number, we give a few, as specimens ; the Sanskrit words are marked in italics :—

LATIN.	SANSKRIT.	LATIN.	SANSKRIT.
Deus.	<i>deva.</i>	Anguis.	<i>nág.</i>
Vent-us.	<i>vát.</i>	Ante.	<i>atí.</i>
Humus.	<i>bhumi.</i>	Bellum.	<i>valam.</i>
Mensis.	<i>más.</i>	Carmen.	<i>karman.</i>
<i>Æs.</i>	<i>ayas.</i>	Cano.	<i>gána.</i>
Juvenis.	<i>júva.</i>	Curro.	<i>chara.</i>
Rota.	<i>ráth.</i>	Domo.	<i>dám.</i>
Ago.	<i>aj.</i>		

ENGLISH.	SANSKRIT.	ENGLISH.	SANSKRIT.
Door.	<i>dwar.</i>	Tree.	<i>tara.</i>
Another.	<i>anyatra.</i>	Very.	<i>bara.</i>
Woman.	<i>vamini.</i>	Was.	<i>vasa.</i>
She.	<i>sa.</i>	Wish.	<i>ish.</i>
Son.	<i>santán.</i>	While.	<i>velá.</i>
Sweet.	<i>swad.</i>	Away.	<i>ava.</i>
Sir.	<i>sri.</i>	Bake.	<i>pakwa.</i>
Smile.	<i>smi.</i>	Bald.	<i>palit.</i>

GREEK.	SANSKRIT.	GREEK.	SANSKRIT.
τενω,	<i>tan.</i>	ὑπερ,	<i>upari.</i>
νύξ,	<i>nishá.</i>	φύω	<i>bhu.</i>
οστέον,	<i>asthi.</i>	χειρ,	<i>kar.</i>
ὄρμη,	<i>urmi.</i>	χέιμα,	<i>hima.</i>
φάω,	<i>bhá</i>	ἐπι,	<i>api.</i>
τότε,	<i>tathá.</i>	ἐτι,	<i>iti.</i>
τυπτω,	<i>tup.</i>	ερα,	<i>irá.</i>
υδωρ,	<i>uda.</i>	ετερος,	<i>itara.</i>
ὑπο,	<i>upa.</i>		

We have remarked on the affinities shewn to exist, on indubitable philological evidence, between the Sanskrit and the Gaelic—thus opening out a wide field for investigation in tracing the emigration of nations. We here annex, as an illustration, a few words out of many, as specimens: the meaning corresponds in both languages.

SANSKRIT.	Gaelic.	SANSKRIT.	Gaelic.
<i>An.</i>	Anain.	<i>Rich.</i>	Ruig.
<i>Nar.</i>	Anear.	<i>Navan.</i>	Noi.
<i>Hri.</i>	Airde.	<i>Drip.</i>	Drip.
<i>Adhi.</i>	Adh.	<i>Dru.</i>	Dair.
<i>Uru.</i>	Air.	<i>Dashan.</i>	Deich.
<i>Ata.</i>	Eath.	<i>Dwi.</i>	Da.
<i>Anu.</i>	Ann.	<i>Dhí.</i>	Dhi.
<i>Ayu.</i>	Aois.	<i>Drish.</i>	Dearc.
<i>Rájata.</i>	Airgidh.	<i>Dam.</i>	Duine.
<i>Bád.</i>	Baidh.	<i>Jani.</i>	Gein.
<i>Bhú.</i>	Bu.	<i>Go.</i>	Ce.
<i>Bad.</i>	Bitá.	<i>Kul.</i>	Ceil.
<i>Bhru.</i>	Bruach.	<i>Stha.</i>	Stad.
<i>Ekaki.</i>	Ceach.	<i>Dwára.</i>	Dorus.
<i>Asti.</i>	Ata.	<i>Iti.</i>	Ath.
<i>Atti.</i>	Ith.	<i>Uri.</i>	Awr.

The German, derived from the Gothic according to Grimm, bears a strong affinity to Sanskrit in various points. We give a few specimens of corresponding words.

SANSKRIT.	GERMAN.	SANSKRIT.	GERMAN.
<i>Aksha.</i>	Achse.	<i>Gri.</i>	Girren.
<i>Hansa.</i>	Gans.	<i>Adya.</i>	Heute.
<i>Am.</i>	Um.	<i>Yuj.</i>	Joch.
<i>Apo.</i>	Ab.	<i>Lok.</i>	Lage.
<i>Ayas.</i>	Eisen.	<i>Mur.</i>	Maure.
<i>Hrid.</i>	Herz.	<i>Mira.</i>	Meer.
<i>Shad.</i>	Schader.	<i>Manas.</i>	Meinen.
<i>Chanda.</i>	Scheime.	<i>Mush.</i>	Maus.
<i>Char.</i>	Karren.	<i>Mashaka.</i>	Mukke.
<i>Gau.</i>	Kuh.	<i>Násá.</i>	Nase.
<i>Dám.</i>	Zahm.	<i>Nabhas.</i>	Nebel.
<i>Vidhava.</i>	Weide.	<i>Nam.</i>	Name.
<i>Drá.</i>	Traum.	<i>Plu.</i>	Fluss.
<i>Dashan.</i>	Zehn.	<i>Pára.</i>	Fahre.
<i>Ir.</i>	Irre.	<i>Pilu.</i>	Pfeile.
<i>Bhrátri.</i>	Brudar.	<i>Rita.</i>	Recht.

The Russian, sprung from the Slavonic, bears a close relation to Sanskrit.

SANSKRIT.	RUSSIAN.	SANSKRIT.	RUSSIAN.
<i>Lip.</i>	Lipnur.	<i>Jiva.</i>	Ziwoe.
<i>Ubha.</i>	Oba.	<i>Dhumas.</i>	Dym.
<i>Apa.</i>	Ob.	<i>Dwára.</i>	Dwor.
<i>Anu.</i>	Na.	<i>Da.</i>	Dolia.
<i>Vaymen.</i>	Bain.	<i>Dhayá.</i>	Diewa.
<i>Jani.</i>	Zena.	<i>Sthá.</i>	Stoiu.
<i>Dri.</i>	Deru.	<i>Klesh.</i>	Kli.
<i>Dwi.</i>	Dwai.	<i>Kash.</i>	Koszu.
<i>Dháman.</i>	Dom.	<i>Loh.</i>	Likuiu.
<i>Devri.</i>	Diever.	<i>Lagh.</i>	Leczu.
<i>Drip.</i>	Drobhu.	<i>Lup.</i>	Lupliu.
<i>Saptan.</i>	Sedm.	<i>Madhu.</i>	Med.
<i>Veda.</i>	Widok.	<i>Mārana.</i>	Morin.
<i>Asti.</i>	Est.	<i>Mátri.</i>	Mater.

The Persian, along with the Zend and Pehlevi, its ancient forms, corresponds also with the Sanskrit.

SANSKRIT.	PERSIAN.	SANSKRIT.	PERSIAN.
<i>Nar.</i>	Nar.	<i>Misra.</i>	Amizad.
<i>Tára.</i>	Sitara.	<i>Nau.</i>	Nau.
<i>Dadami.</i>	Daden.	<i>Nabhas.</i>	Nebo.
<i>Dashan.</i>	Deh.	<i>Ashta.</i>	Hesht.
<i>Eka.</i>	Yek.	<i>Megha.</i>	Migh
<i>Saptan.</i>	Haft.	<i>Nám.</i>	Nam.
<i>Tij.</i>	Tizad.	<i>Bhru.</i>	Abru.
<i>Dwára.</i>	Dar.	<i>Panchan.</i>	Penj.
<i>Sthá.</i>	Istad.	<i>Sam.</i>	Ham.
<i>Lih.</i>	Lazad.	<i>Chháya.</i>	Sayah.
<i>Madhu.</i>	Mai.	<i>Swar.</i>	Siphar.
<i>Maha.</i>	Mah.	<i>Apah.</i>	Ab.
<i>Mátri.</i>	Madar.	<i>Shat.</i>	Sad.

To these may be added names of numbers, of relations, &c., not taken at random, but formed on fixed analogies and positive laws. Philologists however rely more on grammatical, than on lexico-graphical, affinities.

The Sanskrit has numerous and striking grammatical analogies with the Classical languages. The Sanskrit feminine ends in *a*, *i*, corresponding with Greek *α*, *η*; the Greek comparison ends in *τεpos*, *ταρος*; the Sanskrit in *taras*, *tamas*: and the Sanskrit and the Greek have each three numbers, and three voices, &c. &c. We give a comparative table of the declensions.

SINGULAR—The Sanskrit *Accusative* terminates in *m* ; the Greek in *ν* ; the Latin in *m* ; as *danam*, δῶρον, donum.

Ablative — *t*, old Lat. *d*.

Genitive — *s*, *syā*, thus *bharatas*, φερωντ-ος, *cu-jus*, *vrika-syā*, λυκοι (σ) ο.

Locative — *vrike*, λυκῳ, *nave*.

DUAL. *Nom. Accus. Voc.* — *nāv-au*, νᾶε : *madhini*, μεθυε : *vrika-au*, λυκῳ.

PLURAL—*Nominative* — *duhitaras*, δύνᾱνι, *θυγατερες*, λογοι.

Accusative — *duhitris*, θυγατερας.

● *Dative and Ablative* } — *bhyas* ; Lat. *bus*, as *vāgbhyas*, *vocibus*.

Genitive — *ām* ; Greek *ων* ; as *navām*, νᾶων.

Locative — *shu* ; Greek *σι* ; as *bhrátrishu*, πατρα-σι.

Neuter—*Nom., Accus., Sing.* *Danam*, δῶρον, donum. ★

We subjoin one or two specific examples.

Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
<i>Nom.</i> <i>dātā</i> , दότη, <i>dator</i>	<i>dātārau</i> दότηε	<i>dātāras</i> दότηες <i>datores</i>
<i>Acc.</i> <i>dataram</i> , दότηा, <i>dator-rem</i> .	} " " }	<i>dātāras</i> दότηας <i>datores</i> .
<i>Loc.</i> <i>dātari</i> दότη-ι, <i>dator-e</i>		
Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
<i>Nom.</i> <i>Bhrat-a</i> πατηρ <i>frat-er</i>	<i>Bhrat-arau</i> πατερ-ε,	<i>Bhrat-ras</i> πατερ-ες <i>fratr-es</i>
<i>Acc.</i> <i>-aram</i> — (a) <i>-rem</i>	" "	<i>-ris</i> <i>-as</i> <i>-es</i> .
<i>Abl.</i> <i>-re</i> <i>-e, (d)</i>		{ <i>-bhis</i> } <i>-ibus</i> .
<i>Gen.</i> " <i>-pos</i> <i>-ris</i>	<i>-ribhyam</i> <i>ων</i>	<i>-rinām</i> <i>-ων</i> <i>-um</i> .
<i>Loc.</i> <i>-ari</i> <i>-ρι</i> <i>-re</i>		<i>-rishu</i> <i>-ας</i> ,

Though we fully admit the road to Sanskrit literature is rugged; yet it has been, to a considerable degree, Macadamized of late years. On this point we quote the authority of Professor Williams. "When the student has once thoroughly mastered the rules, relating to the combination of letters and the inflection of nouns and verbs, the path, in Sanskrit, becomes easy to him; and he passes, with the utmost certainty, to a complete acquaintance with the subject in all its bearings. Not so in Greek, or Latin. At the point in Sanskrit, where our labours end, at that point, in the others, do our real labours begin. It is in the syntax of Greek and Latin, that the true test of scholarship lies. In Sanskrit, on the other hand, the subject of syntax is reducible to a few plain rules." Of the Sanskrit verb, he remarks—"There is no part of the grammar, so capable as this, of plain exoteric explanation; whilst there is none so obscured by the esoteric and mystical teaching of native grammarians. In no language are the general principles so few, and so close to the surface; whilst the abstruser truths, the niceties and refinements, are multiplied to an extent, that tends to discourage, or even disgust, the uninitiated learner. Hence it happens that the expounder of Sanskrit Grammar, who wishes to exhaust his subject, is here not

only compelled to embarrass and perplex an otherwise simple statement, by the diffused exhibition of various forms, and tenses, and exceptions, which are of little utility to the ordinary student; but is forced, moreover, to bewilder the beginner by a complication of technical phrases, conventional abbreviations, and symbolical letters, which are as puzzling at the first stage of his studies, as they may be useful in assisting his memory at a later period. And thus it is that a very false impression is formed of the difficulty of a language, the broad and useful principles of which lie wholly within the reach of the most moderate capacity.”*

Comparative Philology smooths this path still more, by giving us the rationale of grammatical forms, and by interesting our inventive faculty; for one great help to memory is the power of associating ideas, in opposition to the mechanical-rote system of the Pandits. There are about 1,700 roots in Sanskrit; and a considerable number of these have an affinity to roots in the European languages. The rules of *Sandhi*, which are difficult to be remembered by a mere effort of memory, may, to a certain extent, be impressed on the mind by the analogy of other languages, such as the French, which has many changes of a similar kind. The rule of *Guna*, that *a*, when it precedes *i* at the end of a word, is to be changed into *e*, (as in *Parama Ishwar*, *Parameshwar*,) may be remembered by noting the words in English, that, though written *ai*, are pronounced *e*. Similarly *a* and *u* are changed into *o*; as *Hitā-upadesh*, *Hitopadesh*; like the English, *beau*. In English, the article *a* takes an *n* before a vowel, on a similar principle with that, by which *r* is often inserted in Sanskrit words. We find in Latin corresponding changes, as *collate* for *conlate*, *accept* for *adcept*, &c. This key of linguistic affinity has simplified the difficult question of the termination of verbs; as the personal endings of verbs in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, are shown to be mere contractions of pronouns. Professor Williams himself, like Socrates, has, in his grammar, “brought down philosophy from the clouds to dwell among men.”

Among the facilities for the study of Sanskrit, afforded of late years, is the publication of Grammars and Parsing-books, which enable one to dispense with the cumbrous and absurd mode of learning grammar according to the pandit system—the system of Panini and Vopadeva. The remarks of one of the greatest philologists of France, the late Baron de Sacy, are applicable to this subject. “The study of language is not a mere

* Williams's Sanskrit Grammar, p. 56.

exercise of the memory; the judgment may and must come frequently into operation; and the more successful we are in applying the reasoning and intellectual powers to this study, the more we abridge it, and render it easy and accessible to well constituted minds." Sydney Smith, in his own witty style, has, in a similar way, exposed the absurd method, adopted formerly in the old Grammar Schools of England, of learning Greek through a grammar in Greek.

We would say to a beginner at once; do not study Sanskrit Grammar by the irrational and mere parrot modes of the native Grammarians, designed rather for metaphysicians than students; but avail yourself of the grammars of Ballantyne, of Yates, and, above all, of Professor Williams. The latter was published in London in 1846. The author constantly keeps in view the affinity between the Greek and Sanskrit, and renders the acquisition of the principles of Sanskrit Grammar as easy as of those of Greek; he simplifies the rules of *Sandhi* very much, and gives a number of parsing exercises, which are of incalculable benefit to the tyro. We remember ourselves the severe mental labour we underwent in Greek studies both at school and college: and our experience, in contrasting them with the labour we have devoted to Sanskrit, is—that it is quite as easy to study the lyric strains of Jaydeva, as the odes of Pindar, and that Sanskrit does not present greater difficulties than Greek.

To those, who ask why we would leave the native track, we reply, that time is the great improver. We study metaphysics and philology in Europe now, in a far easier and more intelligible mode, than the schoolmen did. Even in England grammatical science has undergone considerable improvement. The pandits are very indifferent teachers, even of their own tongue. It is to Europeans, not to Hindus, that we are indebted for all the facilities, that have been presented of late years in the study of the Indian languages and literature, and which have rescued us from the endless refinements of the *Laghu Kaumadi*, &c. &c. The writers of the Port Royal Greek Grammar, though Frenchmen, did more for rendering the study of the Greek Grammar easy and intelligible, than any of the Greeks, or their successors, that were driven from Constantinople, when that city was captured by the Turks. So it has been in reading Sanskrit. In 1825, Humboldt commenced the plan, now so generally adopted, of separating the Sanskrit words; though it was the pandit system from time immemorial to agglomerate them. We have seen, in a book on the pandit model, a word of 318 syllables! Consult Yates's Grammar, p. 337, for an illustration. Even the *Nalodaya*, one of the most difficult books in Sanskrit, has been so simpli-

fied by the labours of Dr. Yates, that it "may now be read by any person, only just commencing his study of the Sanskrit." Archbishop Whately, following out the same plan, has, in his *Logic*, brought down the Aristotelian syllogisms to the comprehension of an ordinary understanding, though previously they were very difficult.

The proficiency, acquired by continental scholars in Sanskrit, *without the aid of pandits*, and, in former days, with very defective dictionaries and grammars, shews that the language is not of so difficult nature, as is commonly imagined. The knowledge of Sanskrit notwithstanding great obstacles, attained by such men as Schlegel, De Chezy, Raske, Westergaard, and Lassen, evinces that Sanskrit, when studied according to the principles of European philology, requires neither the time nor application that many imagine. "*E. uno disce omnes.*" We give one example in the case of Monsieur de Chezy, the translator of the drama *Sakantala*, who shews, both in his translation and notes, a high degree of scholarship.

De Chezy commenced Sanskrit in Paris* in 1806, by studying the *Hitopadesh*, using Wilkin's translation as a dictionary—a work of enormous difficulty: yet in six months, without dictionary or grammar, he accomplished the Herculean task of analysing its words, idioms, and syntax. In the same way, he spent the next ten months on the *Bhagavat Gita* and *Manu*. In 1808, he read the *Brahma Purana*, not having the aid of any translation. He subsequently perused in one year the whole of the *Ramayan*; on which he remarks, "I confess I felt not less proud of having comprehended the description of the feats of Ram, than was that hero himself after the conquest of his fierce enemy." In 1810 he read the *Megha Duta*, *Gita Govinda*, and *Sakantala*; he had no Sanskrit Grammar until that year; and, in his previous studies he had to form, *à la mode Hamiltoniane*, his own grammar and dictionary from the language itself.

But Comparative Philology, by bringing to light the connection between the Greek and Sanskrit, has afforded the greatest aid in the study of the Indian languages, and particularly of the Sanskrit. Bopp first directed attention to this subject, in his admirable little work—"The Conjugation System." We append a comparison between the Greek and Sanskrit verbs, as an illustration of this principle.

The *first person singular* ends in Sanskrit in *m* or *mi*. In Latin, the plurals end in *mus*; in Greek in *μεν* (*μεσ*); and in

* Napoleon afforded every encouragement for the study of the Oriental languages; and the same policy has been pursued by the French Government since, and particularly under the regime of Louis Philippe.

Sanskrit in *mas*. Thus *tishthāmi*, *ιστημι* : *tishtāmus*, *ισταμεν* (*ν*) : *bhāreyan*, *feram* : *bhārémas*, *feramus*.

The *second person* in Sanskrit ends in *si* or *tha* ; thus *tishtasi*, *ισης* : *bibhaditha*, *fidisti*.

The *third person* in Sanskrit ends in *a*, or *t* ; as *tishtate*, *ιστατι* : *tishtet*, *stet*.

The Imperfect is formed by prefixing *a* in Sanskrit, and *ε* in Greek. Thus *a-tarp-a-m*, *ε-τερπ-ον* : *a-dada-m*, *ε-διδ-ων*.

We proceed to show, more in detail, the grammatical affinities of the Greek and Sanskrit verbs.

THE VERB SUBSTANTIVE.*

PRESENT.

SING.	<i>asmi</i>	<i>asi</i>	<i>asti</i>	PLURAL.	<i>smah</i>	<i>stha</i>	<i>santi</i> :
Greek.	<i>ειμι</i>	<i>εις</i>	<i>εστι</i>		<i>εσμεν</i>	<i>εστε</i>	<i>εντι</i> (<i>Doric.</i>)

IMPERATIVE.

SING.	<i>edhi</i>	<i>astu</i>	PLURAL	<i>sta</i>	<i>santu</i>
Greek.	<i>ισθι</i>	<i>εστω</i>		<i>εστε</i>	<i>εστω</i> (<i>σα</i>) <i>ν</i>

POTENTIAL.

SING.	<i>syam</i>	<i>sya</i>	<i>syat</i> .	PLURAL	<i>syama</i>	<i>syata</i>	<i>syaih</i>
Latin.	<i>sim</i>	<i>sis</i>	<i>sit</i>		<i>simus</i>	<i>sitis</i>	<i>sint</i>

IMPERFECT.

SING.	<i>ásam</i>	<i>asis</i>	<i>asit</i>		<i>ásma</i>	<i>ástu</i>	<i>ásan</i>
Latin.	<i>eram</i>	<i>eras</i>	<i>erat</i>		<i>eramus</i>	<i>eratis</i>	<i>erant</i>

VERB IN THE ACTIVE VOICE.

PRESENT.

SING.	<i>Lagami</i>	<i>lagasi</i>	<i>lagati</i>	PLUR.	<i>Lagámah</i>	<i>lagatha</i>	<i>laganti</i>
Greek.	<i>λεγω</i>	<i>λεγεις</i>	<i>λεγει</i>		<i>λεγομεν</i>	<i>λεγετε</i>	<i>λεγοντι</i>

IMPERFECT.

SING.	<i>Alagam</i>	<i>alagah</i>	<i>alagat</i>		<i>Alagama</i>	<i>alagate</i>	<i>alagan</i>
Greek.	<i>ελεγον</i>	<i>ελεγες</i>	<i>ελεγε</i>		<i>ελεγομεν</i>	<i>ελεγετε</i>	<i>ελεγον</i>

PERFECT.

SING.	<i>Lalaga</i>	<i>lalagishe</i>	<i>lalage</i>		<i>Lalagima</i>	<i>lalaga</i>	<i>lalagul</i>
Greek.	<i>λελεχα</i>	<i>λελεχας</i>	<i>λελεχε</i>		<i>λελεχαμεν</i>	<i>λελεχετε</i>	<i>λελεχασι</i>

POTENTIAL.

SING.	<i>Lageam</i>	<i>lage</i>	<i>laget</i>	PLUR.	<i>Lagama</i>	<i>lagete</i>	<i>lageyuh</i>
	<i>λεγοιμι</i>	<i>λεγοις</i>	<i>λεγοι</i>		<i>λεγοιμεν</i>	<i>λεγοιτε</i>	<i>λεγοιεν</i>

* See Vans Kennedy's Researches, p. 255.

FIRST FUTURE.

Lagishyāmi lagishyāsī lagishyati Lagishyāmah lagishyatha lagishyante
 λεξω λεξεῖς λεξει λεξομεν λεξετε λεξοντι

CONDITIONAL, FIRST AORIST.

Alagishyam alagisheah alagishyat Alagishyama alagishyata alagiehyan
 λεξαιμι λεξαις λεξαι λεξαιμεν λεξαιτε λεξαιεν

IMPERATIVE.

Laga lagatu lagata lagantu
 λεγε λεγετω λεγετε λεγοντων
 Participle present active *Lagan* λεγων
 Middle *Lagamanah* λεγομενος

We add various miscellaneous examples :

Present			-dhvé			σθε		
Sing.			-v-āte			νται		
ACTIVE.			IMPERFECT ACTIVE.					
<i>rah-a-mi</i>	εχ-ω	veh-o	<i>Atarp-a-m</i>	ετερπ-ο-ν				
<i>a-si</i>	-εις	is	— —-s	ε-ς				
<i>-ti</i>	-ε (τ) ι	it	— —-t	-ε				
Dual			Plur.					
<i>thas</i>	-τον		<i>ā-ma</i>	ο-μεν				
Plur.			<i>a-ta</i>	ε-τε				
<i>a-mas</i>	-μες (ν)	-mus	<i>a-n</i>	ο-ν				
<i>-tha</i>	-τε	-tis	Sing.					
<i>-nti</i>	-ντι	u-nt	<i>Abhav-a-m</i>	εφν-ο-ν	ba-m			
Sing.			<i>s</i>	ε-ς	ā-s			
<i>Bhāv-a-mi</i>	-φν ω		<i>t</i>	ε- (τ) ι	u-t			
<i>a-si</i>	-εις		Dual					
<i>-ti</i>	-ε (τ) ι		<i>a-tam</i>	ε-τον				
Dual			Plur.					
<i>-thas</i>	-τον		<i>ā-ma</i>	ο-μεν	bā-mus			
Plur.			<i>a-tha</i>	ε-τε	ba-tis			
<i>ā-mas</i>	-μες (ν)		<i>n</i>	ο-ν	ba-nt			
<i>a-tha</i>	-τε		FUTURE.					
<i>-nti</i>	-ντι		Sing.					
PRESENT MIDDLE.			<i>Bhav-i-shyāmi</i>	φν-σω	fac so(faxo)			
<i>Bhar-ē</i> (from	φερ-ο-μαι		<i>asi</i>	-σεις	-sis			
<i>Bhar-a-me</i>			<i>ti</i>	-σει	-sit			
<i>a-se</i>	ε-σαι		Dual					
<i>a-te</i>	ε-ται		<i>shyathas</i>	σεται				
<i>a-vahé</i>	ο-μεθον		Plur.					
<i>e-thé</i>	ε-σθον		<i>shyāmas</i>	σομεν	-simus			
<i>ā-mahé</i>	ο-μεθα		—athas	σετε	-sitis			
<i>a-dhvé</i>	ε-σθε		—nti	σονται	-sint			
<i>-nte</i>	ο-νται		Sing.					
Sing.			<i>Da-syami</i>	δω-σω	da-bo			
<i>Tan-u-e</i> (from <i>tan-u-mé</i>)	ταν-υ-μαι		<i>asi</i>	-σεις	-bis			
<i>-u-shé</i>	-σαι		<i>ati</i>	-σει	-bit			
<i>-té</i>	-ται		Dual					
Dual			<i>syathas</i>	-σεται				
<i>-vahé</i>	μεθον		Plur.					
<i>-āthe</i>	σθον		<i>syāmas</i>	-σομεν	-bimus			
Plur.			<i>syatha</i>	-σετε	-bitis			
<i>-mahé</i>	μεθα		<i>syanti</i>	-σονται	-bunt			

FUTURE MIDDLE.			Dual	
Sing.	<i>Dá-syé</i>	δω-σομαι	<i>Dadyatam</i>	διδουητον
	- <i>syasé</i>	-σεσαι	Plur.	<i>Dady-áma</i> διδοι-ημεν
	- <i>syáte</i>	-σεται		-άτιι -ητε
Plur.	<i>Dásyámahé</i>	δω-σομεθα		-us -εν
	<i>syad</i>	-σεσθε	Sing.	<i>Déyasam</i> δοι-ην
	<i>syanté</i>	-σονται		<i>Déy—as</i> -ης
	POTENTIAL.			—-at -η
Sing.	<i>Dadyam</i>	διδου-ην	Plur.	<i>Deyasma</i> δοι-ημεν
	—ás	-ης		—asta -ητε
	—át	-η		—asus -ησαν

We append, from Vans Kennedy's work, a list of words common to the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, German, and English languages, which shews that the coincidences, we have given, are not accidental or conjectural, but accord with the laws of speech.

Sanskrit.	Greek.	Latin.	Persian.	German.	English.
asti	εστι	est	ast	ist	is
upar	ὑπερ	super	abar	ober	over
richate	ορεγεται	porrigit	rasad	reckt	reacheth
kálānam	καλαμον	calamum	kalam	kiel	quill
jānu	γονυ	genu	zanu	knie	knee
tārā	{ τειρεα	astrum	} sitara	stern	star
	{ αστηρ	sidera			
twam	συ (τυ)	tu	to	du	thou
dwi	δυω	duo	do	zwey	two
nákhám	ονυχα	unguem	nakhan	nagel	nail
náwam	νουν	novum	nau	neu	new
návan	εννεα	novem	nan	neum	nine
nāma	ονομα	nomen	nam	nahme	name
no	νη	non	nah	nein	no
pádām	ποδα	pedem	pu	pfoto	foot
pitri	πατηρ	pater	pidar	vater	father
bharate	φερεται	fert	barad	gebäret	bearcth
bbratri	φρατηρ	frater	birádar	bruder	brother
madhyam	μεσον	medium	mian	mitto	mid
mashaka	μυια	musca	mágás	mücke	midge
matri	μητηρ	mater	mádár	mutter	mother
mishrayate	μιζεται	miscet	amizad	mischet	mixeth
musha	μυς	mus	mush	maus	mouse
yugam	ζευγος	jugum	yugh	joch	yoke
lakayate	λειχεται	lingit	lázad	lecket	licketh
sharkara	σακχαρ	saccharum	shákár	zucker	sugar
shash	έξ	sex	shash	sechs	six
sapta	έπτα	septem	háft	sieben	seven
sthá	ίστα	sta	istad	steh	stay
swar	σφαιρα	sphæra	siphar	sphäro	sphero

We could easily enlarge this list, by appending words in other languages, such as the Anglo-Saxon verb substantive *Eom, es, is, Sy, sy, sy, Beom, bist, bith*, and the corresponding Sanskrit *Asmi, asi, asti, Siám, siáh, siát, Beom, bist, bith* ;* as also from the Zend Vocabulary of Du Perron, and the Comparative Tables furnished by Pott, Von Hammer, Merian, Eichhoff: but we trust the lists given already are sufficient to satisfy any man, who wants moral and not mathematical evidence; for, to use the well known adage of Butler "probability is the guide of life."†

Our object in this paper has not been merely the gratification of the curiosity of the Philologist: we aim at a more practical effect. India is now becoming more and more the home of many Europeans—the place to which they look forward to settle their children in. They ought therefore to feel a warmer sympathy in the ancient history, modes of thought, and literature, of the Hindu races, who surround them: that hauteur and exclusiveness, for which the English on the continent of Europe are so notorious, must be abandoned; and the Indian languages, the key to the hearts of the Indian people, must receive a greater degree of attention, and must be studied, as the expression of national thought and national feelings. The Anglo-Indian population is not much given to the study of any foreign language. The great works of the continental writers seldom reach these shores. Most Europeans, indeed, come to India before their education is half finished, or any solid foundation for mental improvement is laid: the consequence of which is, that they too often remain children for life. "Men are but children of a larger growth," as is seen here in the undue importance attached to rank, and the vast preponderance (as shown some time ago by the *Friend of India*) of millinery over literary importations. The head-gear is often magnificent, when the head itself is quite unfurnished.

It is high time that this lethargic indifference to philological pursuits should be shaken off. Philology must be regarded, not as a mere play upon words, but as a science, having as great a practical bearing on vernacular studies in India, as the lectures of the Professor of military fortification and gunnery at Addiscombe have on the labours

* Sharon Turner has given lists of Anglo-Saxon words, having an affinity with Sanskrit in his "History of the Anglo Saxons;" as also in a valuable dissertation published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.

† The Lithuanian, still spoken in Courland and Lithuania, of which the ancient Prussian is a dialect, bears also a very close affinity to the Sanskrit; as does the Cymraig, the cognates of which are the Cornish, Welsh, Armoric. On a recent occasion a priest from Bretagne visited Wales and was understood by the people—the Basque dialect having a strong affinity to that of the Ancient Britons. See "Prichard's Eastern origin of the Celtic Nations."

of the Officer in an Indian Campaign. Hence, while the generality must be content with a knowledge of the vernaculars, it is advisable that a few should thoroughly master the difficulties of the Sanskrit language ; which, though dead as a spoken tongue, still lives in the mighty influence, which it is daily exerting in moulding, and supplying with technical terms and linguistic principles, the leading vernaculars of Hindustán. Our young Civilians, it is true, apply to it at Haileybury ; but hitherto all the benefits, to be expected from the study there, have not been produced, because, though the foundation has been laid, no suitable superstructure is erected ; and when, as in the case of those designed for Bengal, they arrive at the Presidency, instead of being located in some Mofussil station, where the language of the country is spoken pure, they are left for a year or more in the dissipation of Calcutta, where a horrid jargon, neither Bengali nor Urdu, is spoken. Thus the young employé, who leaves College profoundly ignorant of the colloquial,* when engaged in the Mofussil, continues from habit the use of the same *patois*, and thus perpetuates an evil, which is fraught with much mischief. We allude to the fact, that while the peasantry and population of the country understand only Bengali, and while they are the chief suitors in Mofussil Courts, the language of the Court—Bengali in theory, and by Government regulation—is still to a great extent, (we believe sometimes through the roguery and wilful obstinacy of the Amlahs and other officials), chiefly of Persian origin, with a slight infusion of the vernacular. This is bad policy, as well as bad taste. We desire to see the Bengali (the language of twenty-five millions of people) take its proper position here, instead of the lingo of Syces, Khansamahs and bigotted Musalmans, whose pride is still mortified in seeing their favorite Persian dethroned, and who therefore cling with excessive tenacity to its eldest daughter, the Hindustani. The preference, given by Government in former days, to the Persian over the Sanskrit has exercised an unfortunate influence. What use is there that men, who ought to speak Bengali, a language of Sanskrit parentage, should learn Persian, which is of a totally different genius ? The chief effect hitherto has been to foster the attachment to a mongrel dialect. Now the study of sound philological principles would tend very

* Censure has been passed on the authorities of Fort William College, as if they were the sole persons blameable for the little which the Civilians learn there of the languages of the country. We fear, the Government of Bengal is the party which has resisted every plan for carrying out a system of strict examination, instead of the present cramming system. Let an example be made, by sending back to England a few of those young Civilians, who have not passed in the languages, and we shall soon see a change.

much to check this evil; and adherence to the standard set up, in Sanskrit, would preserve the Sanskrit-derived languages pure from foreign admixtures.

We have always been, and are now more than ever, strenuous advocates for the diffusion of the English language and literature in India, which we believe is destined to be as much the exponent of Protestant Christianity throughout the world, as Latin has been of the Romish Church, Arabic of Muhammedanism, or Pāli of Buddhism. We have no sympathy with the old school of Orientalists, who, like Zachariah Holwell and others, thought the Hindu religion and literature susceptible of little improvement. We reprobate, as worse than useless, the whole Pandit system of teaching Sanskrit Grammar;* but we still hold to our ground, that the study of Sanskrit by a select few would be of very considerable benefit and importance; and we hope the Government of India will pay more attention than it has hitherto done towards fostering a taste for Oriental languages among its servants and subjects. One step, we are happy to learn, has been taken in the right direction. The Court of Directors has made a grant of 80,000 Rs. for publishing a portion of the Vedas in Sanskrit, with an English translation by Professor Wilson.†

While the Government of India might do much, and does so little, for the promotion of Orientalism, we see Russia, with far sighted policy, affording every possible encouragement to those studies, and even to Sanskrit. We remember, when leaving London for India ten years ago, finding it very difficult to purchase a copy of a particular work in Sanskrit, in consequence of the Russian Government having sent over an agent to buy up all that could be procured. The emperor of Russia has offered at his own expence to print one portion of the Vedas; he sometime since sent a magnificent present of books to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (which showed the progress made by Russians in Oriental languages), along with a gold medal, as a token of his approbation of the labours of the Society. To the Russian system of diplomacy, Oriental languages are absolutely necessary. She knows well the indispensable importance of her agents being acquainted with the languages and literature of the countries, where she has any political or commercial dealings;

* Professor Wilson, in his Sanskrit Grammar, which has passed to a Second Edition, adopts to a considerable extent the mode of the native grammarians.

† The original is edited by a *German*, much to the disgrace of Oxford and Cambridge, which could not furnish a man for such a purpose. There is one ray of hope in the latter University. The Greek lexicon chiefly used there, Scott and Riddell's, gives the Sanskrit cognates of the Greek. This indicates that the tide is on the rise.

and the Russians are, perhaps, the best linguists in Europe. Had Russians, instead of Englishmen, carried on the late campaign in the Púnjáb, there would not have been that gross and unpardonable ignorance of the language, and, by consequence, of the feelings of the people, which led to such a lamentable loss of life. English officers were laughing at this stupidity of "the black fellows," and priding themselves on the calmness and quietness, that prevailed, at the very time that the elements of hate and aversion to the Feringis were accumulating all around. "We were fiddling, while Rome was burning." Had we at that period men, like Halhed in days of yore, (who knew the languages and manners of the Bengalis so well, that he used often to disguise himself, and pass for a native) to have gone among the Sikhs, and learnt the state of feeling, the Government might have been apprised in time, and many widows and children might still enjoy the benefit of a father's aid. We trust our topographical and linguistic ignorance will teach this important lesson—that the Government ought to require, as a *sine quá non*, a thorough *colloquial* knowledge of the Panjabi, a daughter of the Sanskrit, from every functionary employed by them in the District of the Five Rivers, and to apply the same principle to all their uncovenanted servants, whether clerks or teachers of schools, or in any other capacity throughout India.

From "Young Bengal at present," we regret to say, there is not overmuch to hope—whether we regard his mock imitation of English habits—or notice the progress of (what he calls) civilization, in chop-houses and champaign, English stockings and Wellington boots—or his political entrée in to, what O'Connel terms "normal schools for agitation," the so-called municipality of Calcutta. We have seen the contempt, which Young Bengal generally entertains for his own national literature, while he spouts Emerson and Carlyle. Notice has also been directed in a former number of this *Review* to the lamentable defect of the system in Bishop's College, (deplored by many of its warmest friends,) in accustoming natives designed for rural districts to the use of wine, beef, &c., and thus assimilating them with that most degraded of all the inhabitants of India, the low Portuguese—men who have lost every trace of the European, except the ridiculous appendages of a chimney-shaped hat, a swallow-tailed coat, and boots after the latest fashion of Hoby.

It is not from men, who make themselves a species of renegades, that we expect much benefit for this country. They are not the men to sympathise with the masses. Their know-

ledge of English, valuable in the abstract, is used by them, more as a means of distinction and isolation, than as "a fort over a valley for protection." We can make allowance for the novelty of their situation, and the difficulties they have to contend with. But our hopes mainly rest on another class, who, while they are imbued with European ideas, can communicate them in an Oriental mould. Our views on this point thoroughly agree with those expressed by a writer in an able periodical, the *English Review* for June 1848, in a clever article on "Indian priests, pandits, and missions." The writer argues that the evangelization of India is likely to be effected by a class of men, who have Christian ideas, but cast in an Oriental mould.

"There is scarcely an instance on record of one nation resigning its own language, and its own civilization, in exchange for a foreign language, and an exotic civilization. The rule is, that the less advanced people have their condition modified and ameliorated, but not obliterated, by their superior invaders, until the introduction of the new element brings them to a high standard, just as the mixture of races seems destined to bring the human species to perfection. It is thus that our own character as a people has been formed. There was no forcible transportation of Roman or Norman language and civilization. Where such was attempted, it failed; but there has been a happy blending of antagonistic principles, so that whilst our Saxon origin may be distinctly traced in our language, manners and dispositions, we have been moulded into symmetrical proportions, by the literature of Italy, and the daring spirit of Norman chivalry. Now, such a process is not going on in India; for we are at present only attempting to produce an intellectual revolution, and to squeeze Oriental minds into European shapes."

We trust that due attention will be paid to this by persons who have charge of the training of Native Christian youth. The tendency of the latter is evidently to *anglicise* themselves in dress, habits, &c. Besides the evil of increased expenditure, which defeats the design of having a *cheap* native agency, this is calculated to foster a notion, too common among the Heathen, that Christianity is an *English* religion, designed for Englishmen and imitators of the English, and that drinking wine and eating beef are accompaniments of native conversion. On the importance of native Catechists knowing one of the classical languages of India, we quote the authority of an able periodical in its day,* edited by Drs. Carey and Marshman:—

"But the other advantages, which the cultivation of Sungskrit would give the native advocate for truth, are certainly great. Not to mention the value of that habit of patient investigation, which a few years' study of Sungskrit would form, and which would prepare the mind for the examination of every other subject—the copiousness, correctness, and delicacy which

* *Quarterly Series of the Friend of India*, for 1822, p. 139.

might pervade the diction of a native advocate for truth versed in Sungskrit, would render his discourse highly acceptable. Of this we can easily form an idea, from the pleasure with which we listen to a speaker of superior accuracy and delicacy in our own language: and if this be often the fruit of a thorough knowledge of Greek and Latin, the Sungskrit, entering so fully as it does into the Indian languages, enables a man to speak them, (the Bengali for example,) with that choice of adjuncts, of connectives, and compound phrases, to which one ignorant of it, is scarcely competent. When to these we add the advantages, which he would derive from an acquaintance with the fabulous history of the country; the examples which this must afford him, for illustrating the truth; the opportunity, which it must give him, for contrasting light with darkness, and sound doctrine, relative to both God and man, with the grossest delusion—we must feel convinced that the language deserves cultivation, were it only as an instrument to dispel Brahmanic deception, and repair the mighty evils, which it has been hitherto the means of spreading throughout India."

We also cite, in confirmation, the opinion of Mr. Muir, a gentleman, who has devoted much time and money to the diffusion of knowledge among the learned classes, through the medium of the Sanskrit, and who is the strenuous advocate of an enlightened Orientalism. He observes,*—

"The necessity for a Missionary mastering the Indian Philosophy (as well as Mythology), in all its branches, and of his being able to talk readily and familiarly about it, if he would hope to be the instrument under God of eradicating the deeply-rooted and widely-diffused errors of the systems it embraces, is too evident to need to be urged at length. It is manifest that he can carry no weight with learned Natives, if his conversation does not indicate that he does not vituperate at random the doctrines he assaults. If either confessedly or apparently he has never investigated the merits of those systems, he will be exposed to the imputation of impugning that, of which he knows nothing, on no better grounds than those of foreign prejudice, and an aversion to every thing, which does not form a part of his *own* Literature and Religion. The more extensive the Missionary's acquaintance with Hindu Literature, and the freer his acknowledgment of the merits of all its unobjectionable portions, the more credit will he be likely to gain for pure and honest views, and an enlightened wisdom, in his attacks on the undeniably great and fatal errors of the Indian creeds."

The signal failure of the efforts of the English Church, both in Wales and Ireland, to influence the masses in its favour, reads a solemn lesson on this subject to those who have the welfare of India at heart: for it was mainly owing to its clergy's remaining ignorant of the vernacular languages, and (by consequence) of native habits and modes of thought, instead of following the example of St. Patrick, who, in the sixth century, made himself thoroughly master of the Gaelic. We are glad to see that the Welsh are pressing on the notice of the British Government the importance of insisting, that

* *Christian Intelligencer*, 1838, p. 182.

the Bishops, appointed for Wales, shall know the Welsh language.

There is one class of natives, however, in Calcutta that are taking a right direction in respect of language: we refer to the members of the *Tatwabodhini Sabha*. By their publications and meetings, they have done much to foster a taste for Oriental languages. Their *Tatwabodhini Patrika* is equal, in the literary value of its matter, to any English monthly publication in India, giving a series of excellent articles on Archaeology, the Vedas, and Puranas, which exhibit great research and talent. May they be led ere long to see the necessity of a purer and holier religion! The heads of the *Sabhâ* evidently feel the importance of inculcating European ideas through an Oriental medium. They are aware of the evils of a state of things, which prevails, we are sorry to find, at Bombay, as well as in Calcutta, and on which Dr. Wilson in reference to the Scottish Institution at Bombay, remarks:*

"The applications for admission are very numerous; but only those are attended to, which are made in behalf of boys, who *read their vernacular languages with fluency*. He (Dr W.) was more and more persuaded of the immense importance of the study of the native languages. The English, he was sure, would never be mastered by those who are ignorant of them. It is absolutely necessary that the learner should associate all his acquisitions with the grammar of his own tongue. An essay had been read by one of the pupils, which exactly expressed his sentiments on this subject. He felt impelled strongly to state his views regarding it. There is a *Negro-English* prevalent in the West Indies; and, if particular care be not taken, there will speedily be a *Parbhû-English* in Bombay, and a *Babu-English* in Calcutta. A corruption of our powerful and beautiful language, in fact, was already almost established. Nothing can be more ridiculous than the attempts to write in it, which are made by the clerks of our public offices, when circumstances lead them to go beyond the routine of official forms. The errors, to which he referred, were not peculiar to individuals. They pervade the speech and correspondence of whole communities. But without insisting further on this subject, he would ask, if it can ever be expected that India can be regenerated, with the neglect of its own languages? Such seminaries as this could not contribute to its improvement, if their pupils could not communicate their stores of knowledge to its sons. The very object of giving a superior education, at a great expense, to a limited number of persons, is, that they may diffuse learning throughout the country. If they be not led to study the languages of their own people, they will find it impossible effectually to instruct them."

The present is the day for centralization, which to a certain extent is a blessing; but we believe that the efforts, made to destroy nationality in language and literature, will be as vain as have been the attempts of conquerors, like Charles the Fifth

* *The Evangelization of India*, by John Wilson, D. D., 1840, p. 484.

and Napoleon, to extirpate the distinctions of peoples, and to blend them in a common mass. Napoleon's temporary successes in this point, like the swell of a flood, died with himself.

“Naturam furcâ expelles, tamen usque recurret.”

The leading statesmen of France now repudiate this part of Napoleon's policy, though the Austrians are about to try the experiment with regard to unfortunate Hungary. The remark is applicable to other matters, besides poetry, “that whatever is to be truly great and affecting, must have in it the strong stamp of the native land, and this not of a law, but of necessity, from the intense hold on their country of the affections of all truly great men.” We see this illustrated by Dante in Italy, Goethe in Germany, and in our own Shakespeare.

While the perpetuation of obscure dialects, containing no literature, and confined to a fragment of people, is not to be desired, —we rejoice to think, that strenuous efforts are now in progress to cultivate the principal vernaculars of India, the languages of one hundred millions of people ; and that a greater impulse will thus be given to the study of Sanskrit philology, as the great basis. We deprecate any attempts to bring the English and Oriental languages into a state of rivalry. They have both distinct spheres. They can run parallel, without clashing. Let English be studied, as the instrument for acquiring knowledge, and the vernaculars, with their Sanskrit roots, as the media for imparting it. We need ripe scholars in both—men who will clothe European and Christian ideas in an Oriental garb. Let us take warning by the Portuguese. They denationalised the natives, and produced a mongrel breed, deficient in moral, intellectual and physical energy,—as we have formerly pointed out, in an article in this *Review*, on “The Portuguese in North India.” All the personalities and prejudices of former days are passing away. The field is wide. Let there be a friendly feeling between all the advocates of Native improvement—whether they agree with the views of Wilkinson and Muir on Sanskrit studies, with the abettors of an exclusively English education, or with Adam, the able compiler of the Report on “The state of Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar.”

ART. VI.—*An Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch ; a letter from an Artist in India, to his Mother in England. Calcutta. 1849.*

THERE are probably not very many of our readers, whose recollections do not include visits paid, in the days of other years, to houses "at home," that had sent forth some of their members to search for glory, or for gold, in the regions of the East. Such need not be reminded of the admiration, with which they were wont to gaze on the "Indian curiosities," that had been sent home, with the view of imparting to affectionate relatives some idea of the *environments*, amidst which their beloved exile had pitched his tent in the land of his sojourning. Now we can predict, with considerable confidence, that the book, now in our hands, will ere long be as regularly found on the drawing-room tables of such houses, as hitherto the palm-leaf or ivory fans, the curiously carved ivory balls, and the tale paintings, on the mantel-piece—the large umbrella, the sola hat, the long spear, and the battle-axe, in the lobby—the leopards' or tigers' skins, on the landing-places of the stairs—the powder-manufactured curry, and the chatni, on the dinner-table—the hooka after dinner, (in "learning to like" which, various qualms are by the adventurous encountered), and the preserved ginger and citron and guava jelly at the dessert. And truly the "sketch" before us will do more to put our friends at home *up* to an infinity of our belongings, than would a whole ware-house of "Oriental Presents," consisting of things that we never see, except when we go to buy them for the purpose of sending them home. This is not the case with the articles described and delineated in the very clever production before us. *They* are the persons and the things that are around us, and about us, throughout our every waking and every sleeping hour; and are just the things, which those, who are most interested in us, would like to understand, because we are so constantly surrounded by them, and which, *for the very same reason*, strange as it may appear, ordinary letter-writers never think of describing.

Before we go further, we may as well announce our townsman, Mr. C. Grant, as the author of the sketch. The publication is indeed anonymous; but we do not think we are guilty of any breach of confidence in making this announcement, inasmuch as, to those who are acquainted with Mr. G.'s previous publications,* the fact is virtually announced in every

* Oriental Heads; and Sketches of Public Characters; and several single portraits. Among these we may take the liberty of mentioning a very admirable likeness of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, which is just about to be published, and which will doubtless be eagerly sought for by his Lordship's numerous friends and admirers.

page save the title-page. We may safely say that there is no artist in India, who could have produced the work before us, except Mr. Grant.

Mr. Grant's sketch then is a gossiping rambling letter, descriptive of Indian men, and manners, and habits. The author follows no very regular plan, but breaks off from point to point, as object after object strikes his artistic eye. And we propose to indulge ourselves in a similar gossiping and rambling notice of it.

After a short preface, and a dedication to the *memory* of the mother, for whose gratification the sketch was originally designed, the writer starts off at once into a description of his Calcutta home. Outside and inside, above and below, he delineates it with the accuracy of an appraiser, and the skill of an artist. It is surprising how difficult it is to give to the uninitiated an idea of ordinary things, without the aid of diagram, or graphic illustration. We remember on our return voyage to India, after a temporary absence, having had the greatest possible difficulty in making our shipmates understand the nature of that simplest of all machines, a hall punkah; and it was not till we enlisted a log-slate and a cluc of spun-yarn into the service, and rigged an actual jury punkah in the cuddy, that we quite succeeded in indoctrinating some of the more obtuse of the party into a knowledge of the mystery. This, by the way, suggests another place, where our friend's sketch will be sure to be found, and where it will not fail to be extensively popular—in the cuddy, to wit, of all outward bound India men.

The description of his own house in Calcutta naturally leads to a sketch of a bungalow (which, we think, we recognize as one at Barrackpore), and of the quadrangle of a native house. Then there is a well-merited tribute to the taste of Col. Powney, who, as many of our readers know, surrounded himself, wherever he sojourned, as well with all manner of birds and beasts and creeping things, as with a body of young men, whom he blessed with his counsel, and in many other ways: and many of whom delight in remembering the obligations, under which he laid them at the outset of their honourable career.

It is but a poor, and evidently a sour-grape sort of congratulation that our author chuckles over, when confessing the absence of that essential element of home comfort, the fire, and the cheerful fire-side. He boasts forsooth, that, if we have no fires, we have no smoky chimneys. The fact is, that very few of our houses have fire-places; but all of them ought to have; and, if we were invested with legislative authority, the very first Gazette should

contain the Draft of an Act to render it penal to build a house without a fire-place. We rejoice to know that "the voluntary principle" is already at work in this direction, and that a good fire is a luxury of which our children understand the meaning. It was not so a few years ago. The daughter of a friend of ours went home only three or four years ago, and of all the wonders that she saw to wonder at in that most wonderful of all places, London—the one, that seemed to strike her as the most wonderful, was the fire in the parlor grate! The fact is, that there is a good long period of every year, during which the weather is such, that there is no place in the world, where a fire is either more enjoyable, or more necessary. Elsewhere it is possible by other means to produce a comfortable temperature of body; but here nothing will do it but a fire. The cold of Bengal is indeed a formidable foe, against which no weapons but *fire-arms* will avail to wage effectual war. Every one of us has experienced the feeling which dictated the words which Mr. Martin, puts into the mouth of a sturdy Scotsman; 'the cold of Caledonia's mountains he could bear, but against the cold of Bengal he was powerless.' He, who should put a grate and a chimney into each house in Bengal, would be worthy to have his name handed down along-side of his, who found the imperial city of brick, and left it of marble.

Our author waxes eloquent upon the mosquitoes, those most formidable antagonists of the Anglo-Indian's comfort, whose "wound is great, because it is so small." We suppose our anxious relatives at home, when they think of the discomforts to which we are exposed in this land, conjure up in their imaginations a group of Bengal tigers, and cobras, and hideous alligators, and our poor selves trembling with terror, while we are fleeing from one, lest we fall into the jaws of the other. But we can assure them, for their satisfaction, that if the number of the cobras were doubled, and that of the alligators trebled, and that of the tigers quadrupled, while that of the mosquitoes should be halved, the comfort of ninety-nine out of every hundred European residents in India would be sensibly increased. One of our friends, indeed, professes to have arrived at such a pitch of philosophy as rather to like them than otherwise; and the affliction that they caused to ourselves on our first arrival is now a matter of distant recollection; but really to new-comers the matter is a very serious one. We have seen more than one lady, whose feet were so inflamed and blistered, that she could not put them to the ground; and we remember there was in the ship, in which we first came to India, a sailor-boy who

was invalidated for half the voyage, by reason of the bites, that he had received on his previous trip. Captain Basil Hall's description of a griffin's turning into bed is no caricature. It must be said, however, in justice to trans-fossal Bengal, that whenever we cross "the ditch," the pest is greatly abated.

Our entomology is indeed a subject of much interest to every new-comer. If the mosquitoes interest him painfully, the red ants, which swarm in our houses, excite his curiosity, and are frequently the objects of his watchful attention. We think it is old Nestor Iron-sides, in the *Guardian*, that describes a community of ants, in terms which, from our observations of European ants, we deemed fabulous. But scarcely any terms could do more than justice to the sagacity and persevering industry of their brethren in India. The white ant is a disgusting insect, with which all mankind, that is all Indian mankind, wage, and ought to wage, internecine war; but the red ant is a respectable and companionable fellow, to which we can pleasantly consent to give up an occasional sponge-cake, or the remnants of a jar of jelly. Like the house-swallow in England, the red ant in India seems to claim our protection; and, unlike the swallow, he abides with us in all seasons, and renders us not an unimportant service in clearing away, as our author says, the carcase of any defunct cockroach or departed lizard, that may have escaped the vigilance, or the broom, of the sweeper. The small black ants too are a poor delicate helpless race, which there is neither honor nor advantage in destroying; and the large black ants do not generally infest our houses, however they, mole-like, may sometimes disfigure our lawns. But the white ants! We affect them not. Without doors, and within, in our trees, our wardrobes, our furniture, and worst of all, our book-cases, they commit their disgusting and destructive ravages; and it is all but impossible to be secure against their attacks. We have heard that the venerable Dr. Carey was never known to be thoroughly enraged by any creature, except by these same white ants: and, well he might,—for they utterly destroyed in a single night, either Walton's *Polyglott*, or Poole's *Synopsis*. We believe it is on record, that the good old man forthwith set about a search after the queen mother, with the view of cutting off the succession; but whether he succeeded, or not, we do not remember to have heard. If however our readers wish to peruse a description of such a hunt for the prolific mother of this unclean race, they will find a very graphic one in Captain Basil Hall's *Fragments*, in which the principal huntsman was not the meek Dr. Carey, but the choleric, warm-hearted admiral, Sir Samuel Hood.

Not one of the least amusing portions of the sketch before

us is the description of the cook-room. It certainly would astonish a European *artiste*, were he to set eyes on the place, whence our dinners are produced, and on the implements and utensils, wherewith and wherein they are concocted. If the saying be true, (which we once quoted before, while discussing in these pages a somewhat different subject) that he is the real philosopher who can "bore with a saw, and saw with a gimblet," we may claim for our Indian cooks a high standing place in the temple of science. We cannot precisely say whether it is true or not, as is commonly reported, that the French cooks can convert superannuated leather slippers into all the elegant luxuries of three courses; but, supposing it to be so, we could back the cooks of India against the world for their powers of producing eatable dinners with the smallest possible apparatus of the implements of their craft.

From the cook-room, our author proceeds to the store-room, where he delivers a lecture upon wine and beer, Calcutta auctions, Calcutta tradesmen generally, China shoe-makers, the adulteration of various goods, and the substitution of country-made, for "Europe," articles. He then returns to the subject of wine and beer, and quotes various opinions, and various practices, of medical men for and against the use of these beverages in tropical climates—one, declaring that they are indispensable; another, that they are destructive; a third, that water is certainly by far the best drink, in support of which opinion he had not himself tasted water in 28 years, but had enjoyed excellent health all the time.* It is just the old story. General rules will not suit all cases. We believe that one main reason of the improved health and prolonged life of the European people of India now, as compared with former times, is the great increase of temperate habits among them. And we believe that a still further diminution of the consumption of wine, beer, and spirituous liquors, would produce a still further improvement in the health of the community; but we believe there is a limit which it is dangerous to cross; and this limit is different for different individuals. It must in fact be ascertained, by an inductive process, by each individual for himself.

From those liquids, the author proceeds to descant upon milk, or upon that compound, which passes muster as a substitute for it within the ditch. It is indeed very poor stuff at the best;

* It should be noticed however, in justice to Dr. Corbyn, one of the worthiest and best of men, and absolutely incapable of insincerity, that this inconsistency between his theory and his practice was, in a manner, accidental. He had formed the habit of drinking every day a very moderate allowance of beer, and nothing else; but he confidently believed that, since the habit had been formed, it was better not to break it off; but that it would have been better still, if it had never been formed.

and we have often wondered, that, amongst all our "companies," no one has ever been formed, for the supply of pure milk to the inhabitants. From milk, he makes a transition to buffaloes, wild and tame; butter; butter making; the Acra farm; Bandel, Dacca, and Hissar cheese, (the last of which, he says, is by some considered equal to Parmezan); and then, to that staff of Bengali life,—ghee. It is altogether astonishing to what an extent the consumption of this article is carried by many of our native fellow-subjects. If they are in good health, they take it in all possible and imaginable forms; and in a few, that are neither possible nor imaginable, because they are well; and, if they are sick, they take it in still other forms in order to make them well. We remember once, on occasion of a severe illness, to have received a visit from a native gentleman of the respectable old-school class. On entering the room where we were extended on a couch, he stood speechless for a couple of minutes, as in astonishment at the emaciation that the disease and the doctors had been clubbing for three weeks to produce; and then broke silence with—"Ah! master must drink ghee. Master lean too much—ghee make master fat—very good thing ghee!" The goodly presence of our friend was a sufficient voucher, that he at least was no stranger to an experimental test of his own prescription. It is certainly strange, that, in so hot a climate, such an article of diet should be used in any considerable quantity. We can understand how the inhabitants of Polar regions regale themselves with train oil; but it is strange that a similar regalement should find acceptance with the inhabitants of a sultry land like Bengal; yet so it is. As our author truly remarks—"To the natives generally, I believe that nothing can be too rich. They are as fond of ghee as the Esquimaux."

The next subject noticed is that of conveyances. This is a fertile subject. For variety of equipages, we believe the Calcutta Course might be backed against the world; and really, although some of them are sufficiently grotesque, and although there may be no one that in the London parks would be deemed actually first-rate, we doubt whether so large a number of neat carriages and good horses could be found anywhere else in the world. There are no doubt in London a few "turns-out" that might out-price any two Calcutta ones; but we question whether the two hundred vehicles, that should first pass a stationary spectator in Hyde Park, would be found on the whole, so good, or so neatly turned out, as an equal number that should pass him at driving time, on the strand, in Calcutta. But the European vehicles all yield in point of interest to the Karanchi: and we do

not understand why our author has withheld a sketch of it. Sure we are, that his pencil would have found employment, worthy of it, in delineating the horses, the harness, the driver, with his foot ever lifted in mid-air, in order to add emphasis to the *coups-de-fouet*, wherewith he incessantly visits his cattle,—the passengers, three asleep, three awake, and one *in transitu*,—and the carriage itself! Words are baffled. Really, there should have been a picture of the Karanchi.

The subject, next introduced, is that of horses, and their “keep.” Of the temper of our country horses our author seems to have formed no very high opinion. Our experience has led us to a somewhat different conclusion. We know that some of the cavalry horses are very savage; but then, we believe, it is the delight and pastime of the *sowars* to render them so. We remember to have heard from an old cavalry officer, that it was no unusual thing for a horse to seize the rider in front of him by the loins, and drag him from his horse, and while his own rider pulled him off his fore-legs by a powerful Hindustani bit, to rear on his hind-legs with his victim dangling from his mouth. We believe this, to the extent that it had happened once or twice; and we lately knew a horse do, what we never heard of a horse’s doing before—that is, biting his rider, while actually on his back. It was a little brute of a pony, that, on receiving a touch of the switch, deliberately turned his head round and upwards, like an elephant grasping a branch of a tree over his head, seized his rider’s arm, and bit it so severely, that there was danger of its requiring to be amputated. But withal, we do not think that our country horses are generally so bad-tempered. Of those, with which we have been personally conversant, a fair proportion have been perfectly gentle.

The subject, next introduced, is bathing; one of the real luxuries of our hot-weather life. We have long been of opinion, that as a general rule, every one of us ought to bathe every day once. Lord Bacon somewhere relates of “a certain bishop;” that he used to bathe twice a day, and, being asked the reason, replied, “because I cannot conveniently bathe thrice.” But we do not think that even here, either purposes of cleanliness, or health, or comfort, require more than one thorough ablution a day. Unless in extraordinary circumstances, however, we do not think that this should ever be omitted. By a very natural transition, our author passes from the subject of bathing to that of water; and truly we must acknowledge, that the best drinking-water in Calcutta is not good. We never enjoy a glass of water, however properly it may be iced, within the

ditch. Filtering makes it look clear enough ; but still it is not good. So far as we know, the best correction of the Calcutta water is charcoal made from the wood of the Babul tree. This, we believe, may be had from the apothecaries at a very moderate price, and really makes the water drinkable. The subject is an important one ; and we trust that our readers will be suitably grateful to us for the hint, that we now furnish to them.

The next topic introduced is the fertile one of servants, on which there is a long discussion, containing many remarks that are well worthy of being pondered by all Indian residents : and this, by the way, suggests to us, that we have not yet allowed our author, in any instance, to speak for himself, and that we may as well introduce an extract on this subject.

We will now, if you please, return into the house, where, being seated, allow me to direct your attention to an Indian domestic squad. Of the characters of its members, we have as many varying estimates, both oral and written, as they, probably, were they to turn authors, would give of their masters, the Europeans ; a diversity of opinion, however, that may be traced to the usual sources, difference of rank and station, of temper and of habits, and of many accidental causes, which you can as well imagine, as I describe.

The Calcutta servants, are, chiefly, natives of Bengal, a portion of this mighty land, wherein the class, to which the domestics (at least) belong, is (as nearly all authors and all living witnesses, whom I have either met with, or heard of, agree in representing) at a very low ebb in morality. It will not be necessary for me to be more definite than this, with reference to class. —I feel assured that the “ natives of Bengal,” sometimes so collectively and sweepingly spoken of, will not need either exception, or advocacy, so humble as mine. I am happy in the acquaintance of a few native gentlemen, of whose friendship and esteem I shall always be proud, and who, together with many of the rising generation, now educating,—springing up, as it were, from a new soil—are, I trust, calculated to prove to their country, both “ useful and ornamental.”

From the servants then, without education, without the inculcation of any moral code, accustomed to those listless habits, which climate, want of mental excitement, and the depression consequent on political causes, operating for ages past, have induced, it would be vain to seek for any large evidence of principle or spirit ; though, under circumstances of excitement, they may occasionally be seen to extraordinary advantage. They are patient, forbearing, generally speaking, grave and quiet in their demeanour ; and I believe that with a proper acquaintance with their language, a determined and consistent strictness, short of personal violence (as erroneously or heedlessly resorted to by some, as ingloriously by others) regular payment of wages, and careful administration of justice in the various little disputes and grievances arising amongst themselves, and that are most probably submitted to their masters, as “ of the bench” for adjustment,—much may be done towards gaining their respect, attention, and even attachment. I have heard instances of their following their masters on foot, and coming in, after a journey of six or seven hundred miles with cheerfulness. In one of these instances, following the same lord and mistress

(upon whom indeed it reflects much honor) was an aged female domestic :— in the words of Chaucer,

“ So eld she was, that she ne went
A foote, but it were by portent;”

and who, declining the use of the bullock carriages, which, she said, only made her bones ache, actually performed nearly the whole of the journey from Cawnpore to Lahore, from Lahore to Mussoorie, thence to Gwalior, and finally to Calcutta, *on foot* !

Amidst, however, so vast a variety of people, whom fortune or misfortune, adventure or trade, servitude or crime, may have severed from their native soil in all parts of this vast country, or this vast land and its many countries, and thrown into the city as a common centre, you will readily suppose that there exists a proportionate variety in character and worth. You will as readily believe that a city, ever the arena of vice and dishonesty, is not only the least advantageous to the morals and education of the lower order of its inhabitants, but to the estimate, which observers, who may not have particularly studied Miss Martineau, will form of the people at large : hence many of those prejudices and errors in regard to the people of India, which are so injurious to a kindly state of feeling generally betwixt them and Europeans, and to a just discrimination and separation of the evil from the good, which “peradventure may be found,” amongst the domestics, or their qualities. I have spoken, however, of diversity of opinion ;—a case will best illustrate this.

Let us suppose an old and independent resident,—his health best, if not alone, preserved by a warm climate—long habituated to a troop of attendants—taught on his arrival, and accustomed to obey, an unwritten but thoroughly understood law, which saith, “Thou shalt do nothing for thyself, which thy servant can do for thee”—having, in fact, resided over long in the camp of Darius, and acquired a natural fondness for eastern pomp, servility, and quietude—forming, or influenced in his estimate of the people's worth, not by their integrity, but by the degree in which their services conduce to this envied state of ease and feudal dignity ; never having need to study either their expense, or individual industry, which will not appear to be lacking in the presence, and (from the numbers to share it) is never very largely drawn upon,—such an individual is not likely, unless a man of very observing mind, to view, otherwise than favourably, the reverential and submissive Asiatic attendants, whom he will probably declare to be “the finest servants in the world.” These, on the other hand, with high and regularly paid wages ; with full opportunity for the acquisition of “perquisites,” and with very little to do, will of course do their best to set that little off to advantage. Away, however, from attendance on the master, or put in the slightest degree out of the usual way, none can be seen more independent and careless. They will do nothing, which is not “so nominated in the bond ;” to which many Europeans, unless acting from motives of private policy, are good-natured, or weak enough, to yield. I have generally observed far more neglect of strangers, or visitors, and sometimes worse attendance, in the houses of the higher classes, than in humbler dwellings.

The individual of more circumscribed means has to look somewhat closer, and through a less golden medium than his wealthy neighbour. He is brought into immediate collision, both with the servants, and the people generally ; and then it is that the gulf between master and man in India becomes apparent. Participation of interest, or feeling, cannot be expected. Dissimilar faiths, and diametrically opposed habits and customs, even amongst equals, who, with few exceptions, neither eat nor drink together,

and lack, consequently, one of the grand sources of sociality and good feeling, are sufficiently inimical to any such participation: how much more, therefore, where servitude is the only connecting bond? Whether rich or poor, the Europeans are regarded as birds of passage: the domestic in India, therefore, can never, as in England, look upon himself as in a place of permanency,—as forming part and portion of the family, domiciled for his old age,—possessing, as it were, for his own, and probably children's sake, an actual interest, a *fee simple*, in the very soil.

Although I feel assured that the mass of Europeans arrive in the country most favourably disposed towards their "brethren of the sun," there appear no means or appliances, save the enlightening and all charity-breathing spirit of Christianity (where its riches are fairly drawn upon), to foster and encourage the disposition; and so it commonly follows in a short time, that those, who on their arrival, had entered their protests against the severe opinions, careless demeanour, and harsh language of their friends, themselves merge into the indifferent, the careless, and the severe.

The want of principle, so unhappily prevailing amongst the very class with whom Europeans in Calcutta have the most dealings, strikes at one of the most vital points in a man's affections. Indifference to the master's interests begets, of course, indifference to the servants' feelings; and their want of spirit and energy seems further, too often, to beget the opinion that they have no feelings to hurt. Ignorance of their language bars appealing to, or correcting, them in a proper manner; and thus it follows, that their fears or self-interest are supposed, and, in many cases, too truly, to be their only assailable points. The feelings, thus engendered toward the servants, extend themselves to the people at large.

With persons of violent tempers, insufferable pride, and sweeping prejudices—maladies incurable, and as common to the frozen north, as to the burning east—it can only be said—You cannot "gather figs from thorns, nor grapes from thistles." To the impetuous may be added the juvenile, and too often, consequently, the inconsiderate; of whom, arriving in the country at the ages of sixteen and seventeen, no small number go towards the formation, immediately and ultimately, of Indian society. With hot blood in their veins, little judgment in their heads, and spirits above boiling point—sobriety or circumspection of behaviour would be *milk-sopism* in their vocabulary: any tricks, inconsistencies, or indignities, are of no consequence to the "black fellows," who, in accordance probably with the imbibed notions of our young Englishers, are regarded, without discrimination, as rogues, thieves, and pusillanimous cowards, undeserving either of consideration or respect. The mildness of demeanour, perfectly natural to the Bengal oriental, whatever his principles be, is neither appreciated nor understood, but rather furnishes theme for contempt.

On the other hand, the very griffinage of many kind-hearted persons is evidenced by some attempted demonstrations of kindness, conceivable only in an English brain, or of that unrestrained demeanour which they have been accustomed to show towards domestics at home. *There*, the spirit of Benevolence need fear no mortification, by the rejection of her offerings and her sacrifices; *here*, where superstition, fatality, priestcraft, and idolatry, live and reign in almost the zenith of their prosperity and their power—where our griffins cannot approach even a menial who may be cooking—offer his child a fruit—accidentally touch an article of his cooking paraphernalia—lay finger on his *hooka*, or put foot within the threshold of his mud hut—without having imparted pollution; where, amongst the most heinous sins of ill-breeding, is that of asking a man after the welfare of his wife and sisters—and to admire and compliment his infant is to plant upon

it "an evil eye"—where if, in mercy and in kindness, they offer medicine to the sick, it is probably refused from their hands or their vessel—one might detail a catalogue of their errors and mishaps, to exceed even those of the 'Blunderer' of Theophrastus.

Turn which way they will, they are checked in every attempt to do the polite, or the social : their endeavours to render any little attention, or acts of consideration, might be compared to a child's industrious exertions with shawl, pillows, and sweetmeats, to "make pussy comfortable."

Now these little things are neither agreeable nor self-flattering, and, in spite of some persons' philosophy, act as so many rebuffs and annoyances : the consequence is that the European, in self-defence, wraps himself in a cloak of dignified reserve, and holds a respectful distance for the future.

Here we must stop ; else we should very willingly go on to quote our author's very sensible remarks upon the advantage that would be derived by each individual, if, on coming to India, he (or she) would set resolutely to the learning of one, or other, of the native languages. Hindustani probably would be best for a lady in almost every part of India ; but it is very desirable, that every gentleman, in addition to a competent knowledge of this widely spread dialect, should be able to read and speak well the language, peculiar to the part of the country, where he is "located." This would unquestionably cause him to be regarded with much greater respect by the natives. In fact it is not very creditable to us, that we generally know so little of the language of the people among whom we sojourn. Multitudes of instances might be given to show the evil effects, that have arisen from want of knowledge of the language, on the part of those who might have known it. But we shall content ourselves with one instance, in which the effects were not evil, but only ludicrous ; and this we rather give, because we can vouch for the actual occurrence of the fact, substantially as we relate it, and because it has never "appeared in print" before. A lady had occasion to be dissatisfied with the condition of her carriage horses. They had gram and grass at will, but still they seemed to grow leaner and leaner. At last she took the advice of a friend, who recommended that a trial should be made with oats. She accordingly wrote a "chit" to a lady, who was her next-door neighbour, to the following effect :—"Pray tell me what is Hindustani for oats?" The answer was returned immediately, and forthwith the coachman was summoned. He appeared in full state ; and, whatever might be the condition of the horses, *he* was all right on that score. After making due salams, the following dialogue took place :—

Lady. Why are the horses so thin ?

Coachee. How can I tell, Mem Saheb ? If it be the will of Allah that they should be thin, who shall make them otherwise ?

Ulla. But *why* are they so lean ?

Ille. If your Ladyship does not know, how can your slave by possibility know ?

Ille. But what do you give them ? What do they eat ?

Ille. Every day each one eats four seers and sixteen bundles, (4 seers of gram and 16 bundles of grass).

Ille. But do you not give them any rats ?

Ille. Mem Saheb ?

Ille. Rats ? Don't you give them rats ?

Ille. (With an adjuration). How can I do so ?

Ille. Of course. No wonder though they are lean. In England we always give our horses plenty of rats ; and they are so nice and plump.

Ille. Oh Father !

Ille. Every day give them one seer of rats ; one seer, you understand, mixed up with their gram, and you will soon see how fat they will grow.

Ille. (Looking excessively puzzled). But how shall I get them ?

Ille. In the bazar, to be sure. Are there not any in the grain-dealer's shops ?

Ille. Too many there.

Ille. Well, get a maund ; have you not got money ?

Ille. Yes ; but they are not to be sold.

Ille. Why ! Did not you tell me that they are in the grain-dealer's shops ! Why won't they sell them ?

Ille. But how shall they be caught ?

Thus the dialogue went on for some time, until the lady began to "smell a rat"—if we may be allowed for once to condescend upon such an expression—and dismissed the coachman to discuss the wonderment with the syces, while she in like manner sought the assistance of her husband towards the unravelment of the mystery. We presume our readers have unravelled it long ago ; and therefore we need scarcely explain, that the note, which she sent to her neighbour, being written in a modern "lady's hand," the first principle of which, as of the science of derivative etymology, seems to be, that "all letters are convertible," the receiver read "rats" instead of "oats," and gave the answer accordingly. We cannot make the matter palpable by means of types ; but if any sceptical reader will ask any young lady to write the two words in her best hand, he will see how natural the mistake was. Before we leave this subject of mistakes arising from an imperfect knowledge of the language, we must take leave to caution our readers against ever being betrayed into the addressing to their servants any of the terms of abuse, that they may hear them address to

one another. We have been told that it is no very uncommon thing, to hear ladies call their servants by a name, which, applied by one man to another, conveys the basest insinuation against some member of his family, and which, addressed by a female to a male, could only convey the basest declaration respecting herself. Of course the servants know very well, that it is in pure and perfect ignorance of the meaning of the term that the lady uses it; but how they chuckle over it, and make it and her the subject of all manner of impure conversation among themselves, can easily be imagined.

On the subject of language there is another point on which we must say our say. It is about the language that is taught by the servants to our children. A friend once assured us, that he overheard a band of his own servants teaching his two daughters to repeat every term of obscenity in the language. This we trust is a rare case; but this is certain, that all our children do learn terms of abuse, and especially that one to which we have just alluded. Of course they know nothing of the meaning of it; but it is not to be doubted that a portion of that impurity of mind, which dictates the impurity of language to those, who do understand it, and continually make use of it, is transferred into the tender minds of those, who pick up the language without understanding it. The practical conclusion is, not that children should not be allowed to learn the language of the servants, for this it is impossible to prevent; but that they should never be left under their care, when it is possible for them to be under the care of their parents. This would be attended with many good effects, which this is not the place to enter upon.

The mention of khansamahs, and their monthly bills, leads the author into a digression, (if any thing can be properly called a digression, where no special order is professed to be followed) upon the coinage and current money of the country. He then gives a description of the various bazars in Calcutta, as they were in the days when his "sketch" was begun. We must quote his description of the Burra bazar:—

"But for *oriental* traffic, oriental tongues, and 'Oriental heads,' commend me to the *Burra Bazar*, a mart tailed on to the north end of the China Bazar,* and occupied or visited by merchants and travellers from all parts of the East; from the snowy range of the Himalayas, north-westward, to the very shores of the Caspian and Mediterranean—southward, from the scorch-

* The north end of the China Bazar, being occupied chiefly by up-country people, or foreigners to Bengal, I take the liberty to consider as forming part of the Burra Bazar.

ing sands of Arabia Deserta to Cape Comorin, and eastward, to the Archipelago and the Celestial Empire.

Few Europeans, I believe, have ever taken the trouble of exploring the inmost recesses of the Babel-like regions of the Burra Bazar. Indeed a person might walk through it, and, from the singular manner in which the buildings are constructed, remain unconscious, that the chief or most important part of the traffic existed above his head—a whole range of little offices or apartments occupying a second floor, to which, possibly, but one or two narrow, dark, break-neck passages are to be found as entrances.

Here, above and below, may be seen the jewels of Golconda and Bundelkund, the shawls of Cashmere, the broad-cloths of England, silks of Moorshedabad and Benares, muslins of Dacca, calicoes, ginghams, chintzes and beads of Coromandel, furs, fruits, and gums of Caubul, silk fabrics and brocade of Persia, spicery and myrrh and frankincense from Ceylon, the spice Islands, and Arabia, shells from the eastern coast and Straits, iron-ware and cutlery in abundance, as well from Europe as Monghyr, coffee, drugs, dried fruits, and sweetmeats from Arabia and Turkey, cows' tails from Thibet, and ivory from Ceylon. A great portion of these, and other such articles, are either sold or brought by natives of the countries from whence they are obtained, who, together with visitors, travellers and beggars, form a diversified group of Persians, Arabs, Jews, Marwarrees, Armenians, Mundrazees, Cashmeerees, Malabars, Goojratees, Goorkhas, Affghans, Seiks, Turks, Parsees, Chinese, Burmese and Bengalais."

He then describes the *motiyas*, or coolies, who take home the "bazar" (the uniform abbreviation for "the goods daily purchased in the bazar"); and then the hackeries, or carts, which are employed for the conveyance of heavier articles. Respecting these, he says,—“we have carts, which for roughness, simplicity, awkwardness, and noisiness, I would match against any carts in the world.” And safely could we back him. But these same hackeries are singular things. It had struck a friend of our's, that he had very often seen them fall down on a fair road from the breaking of their axle; but that, although they are constantly pushed, in the narrower streets, to the extreme verge, he had never seen one turned over into the ditch; at last, being a man, *calide qui potuit rerum dignoscere causas*, he discovered that this is due to the fact, that the bullocks are yoked so far apart, that they are always *without* the wheels, so that even were the bullocks in the ditch, the wheel might still be on the road. To ourselves also, deeply pondering, like a certain quondam Lord-Chancellor, an idea occurred, which seems to us not altogether unworthy of record. Our India readers all know that the hackeries are drawn by bullocks, and that the Indian bullock is furnished by nature with a hump. Now this hump is made a *point d'appui* for the draught pole, or rather for a cross pole, attached to the draught pole, as a yard is to a mast. Now it is certain that

the ox was used as a beast of draught, long before the horse was. But at last men discovered that certain advantages would result from the use of the horse for purposes of draught. But horses have no humps; and here was a problem. How was an animal, without a hump, to be made to do the work, which an animal, with a hump, had hitherto accomplished, and to the accomplishment of which the hump had been essential? Why,—by being furnished with an artificial hump. And such an artificial hump, composed of rags and straw, was fitted upon him, and he wears it, in its primitive form, whenever he does duty in a Bengali *karanchi*; and in a somewhat modified and refined form, under the style and title of a cart-saddle, when his services are required in England to draw a cart; and in a style of superlative refinement, when he tosses his proud head in a curricie. From the nautilus shell to the ship of the line; so from the bullock's hump to the most improved curricie harness; thus does art borrow from nature.

We must pass very cursorily over the notices of the various servants of the household, only observing that the sketches of them (evidently portraits) are particularly good. Under the head of the *khidmutgar* it is related, that, until of late years, those servants* refused to put on the table any of the flesh of the unclean animal; and, it is stated, that the objection was overruled, in consequence of many of them having been detected, not only touching, but eating it. As we have heard the story, it goes that a gentleman high in authority had a very fine Yorkshire ham, which his servant refused to bring to the table. He had no resource but to bring it himself, and in due time to remove it to the sideboard. After dinner, having occasion to return to the dining-room, he found the servants busily employed in consuming large slices of it, thickly spread over with strawberry jam!

In connexion with the notice of the *durwan*, our author utters a well-merited reproof of the habitual falsehood, that is perpetrated, in the orders given to servants to say, "Not at home" to visitors at inconvenient hours. But we must confess that we were in perfect ignorance of the existence of such a practice in India. It is certainly much less common here, than "at home." The "*Darwaze band hai*" (the gates are shut) we thought to be the universal substitute for it; and always implicitly believed, that, if the individual, whom we wished to see, was declared to be *bahar* (abroad), that he (or she) was really and literally so, in the lexicological, and not in any conventional, sense of the term. We should be sorry

* They are Muhammedans.

to yield up this belief, and must enquire more diligently into the matter.

Before leaving the subject of servants, we must quote our author's graphic description of one peculiarity of Anglo-Indian life; that of transacting all matters, down to the most trivial, by means of written correspondence.

"The man of whom I am now to speak is known—without reference to nice distinctions and derivations—by the various appellations of CHUPRA-SEE, HURKARUH, PIYADUH, PEON, or *Messenger*, and borrows the first name from the *chuprds*, or brass plate, containing his master's initials, or the name of the firm or office to which he is attached, worn on a belt across his breast. Though commonly attached to mercantile or public offices, where indeed he forms an indispensable assistant, he is yet occasionally found in private domestic life, and *there* serves to mark one of its peculiar features. His duty is simply that of carrying bills, parcels, letters and so forth, in which way an office will, of course, find for him plenty of employment; but of *verbal messages*, whether in public or private affairs, he is seldom, if ever, the bearer. No; you would really imagine that the whole business of life here were conducted by *chits*—*anglice notes*. Even were Europeans sufficiently acquainted with the language to trust *themselves*, they could not well trust *the men*, for the delivery of any but the most simple message; and now, indeed, by a kind of conventional agreement, to do so would be considered as something akin to a slight, or a rudeness. I know of but one general exception,—on occasions of enquiry after the sick, when, alike from good feelings and necessity, the formalities of life are disregarded,—but at other times, and those times endure from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, for the remainder of the year, nothing less than a note will answer the purpose. The very constitution of society here, arising from the nature of the climate, serves to multiply the occasion for paper and pens. A lady cannot, in India, put on her bonnet, nor a man at all times his hat, and step, were it but fifty yards from the door, to see a friend, or a new investment, or transact the slightest affair of business. Carriage, buggy, or palkee cannot *always* be at command without expense: a chit, therefore, favours economy. If a neighbour wish to set his clock; to know the range of the thermometer, to borrow the newspaper, or a friend to invite you to tiffin, to desire your advice, opinion, or aid, in the most trifling matter; if an article be required from the bazar or the shops—a new pair of boots, a book from the library, or a cheese from the provisioner's,—these, and the thousand little matters which require no enumeration, are all subjects for note correspondence. As for the ladies, it would be superfluous to attempt detailing the occasions which *they* find for the expenditure of their gilt-edged chit paper and medallion wafers. I need only remark that the ladies of this country, proverbially, write good hands, and with a facility of language and expression, which *practice* only can give. But why talk of the ladies and their *out door* correspondence? the habit of chit-writing is so strong, that members of the same family, living in the same house, correspond by note from one room to another!—Nay, the very children of eight years of age resort to pen, ink and paper, to borrow from their playmates, 'Peter Parley', 'Goody Two Shoes', the 'Boy's Own Book,' or the last new toy!

In short, I think, that a greater quantity of *note paper* must be consumed in Calcutta, and the other presidencies, than in London, Edinboro,' Dublin,

and Paris, put together !—and that, if one other to the various appellations of “*Curry latters*”—“*Mules*”—“*Ducks*,” and “*Qui hy’s*,”* by which the society of India has been honoured and distinguished, were needed, it might characteristically be found in the designation of “*the chit writers*.”

Under these circumstances, you will readily believe that, in a large family, employment, in the small way, may generally be found for servants about a house ; and that where, to obviate the possible inconvenience of taking them away from their accustomed sphere of usefulness, a *chuprásí* is engaged, it is not exceedingly difficult to preserve him from the rust of idleness.

I may remark, further, that the thoughtless habit which many people have of keeping servants unnecessarily waiting at the door (where they may sometimes be seen enjoying a composing nap), might serve as a further excuse, were any wanting, for the retention of the *chuprásí*’s services.”

This constant writing of notes might be supposed to be traceable in some way or other to the influence of the stationers : for verily it must lead to a consumption of note-paper and envelopes, in proportion to the population, far beyond what takes place in any other country in the world. But we suspect that the real origin of the habit is that same ignorance of the native tongues, to which our author elsewhere refers ; and which is, we will not say sometimes, but very generally, such, that it were not safe to trust any message to a servant. Indeed in any case, in which a message might be delivered by a European to a native servant, and by that servant conveyed to another European, and an answer brought back, the probability is so great, as to amount almost to certainty, that a mistake would occur somewhere, and some one link in the chain be snapped. Hence the necessity of constantly sending notes. Our author says that there is an exception in favor of messages of enquiry respecting the sick, and of the answers thereto. There are two standing stories, which at once shew the reality of the exception, and the unadvisableness of extending the exception more widely. For aught we know, they may be rather representations of what *might* have taken place, than of what actually *did* occur in any particular instance, but we “tell the tale as ’twas told to us.” The one is of a gentleman, who, on receiving such a message of enquiry as to the health of his sick wife, sent back in reply that she was *burra kráb* (very wicked) ; and the other is that of a lady, who declared of her husband in similar circumstances, that he was a *swine*. To our Indian readers it is superfluous to explain, that the gentleman meant to say of his lady, that she

* *Mulls*—from *Mulg-tání*, a favourite dish, and made in perfection, at *Madras*. “*Ducks*”—the inhabitants of *Bombay*. *Qui hy’s*—applied to the Bengal folk, amongst whom the pompous call for servants—*Qui hi ?*—who waits ? was thought to be characteristically common.

was *very ill*, and that the lady intended to convey the favourable intelligence, that her husband was *asleep*.

We have next a long, but interesting, account of the eatables, that constitute our daily food. On this point many people at home sadly lack information. A lady, who had been born in this country, and had never left it, till she went to England with her husband, told us that she afforded great surprise to her husband's relatives, by her not being surprised at the sight of beef! They were people of good standing in society, and, for aught we know, people of average information; but they had heard that the Hindus do not eat beef, and thence had concluded, by an over-hasty generalization, that there is no beef eaten in India. Be it known then to all such, through the medium of these pages, that we have in Calcutta better mutton (so says our author, and so say we), as good beef (so says not our author, but so say we), as is to be had in England. We have moreover as good fowls, as good ducks, as good geese, and nearly as good turkeys, though smaller. Then, we have as good pease, as good cauliflower, as good cabbages, as good asparagus, as good potatoes (nearly), as good turnips, as good carrots, as good onions, as good salad herbs of all kinds; and, in addition, we have several vegetables of excellent quality, which are little, or not at all, known in England. There is, for example, the *brinjal*, a very good vegetable, which we never saw or heard of in England; the *nol-kole*, which is much more common here than there, and which is one of the most delicate vegetables that can be put on a table; the sweet potatoe, which some people like very much, but which, we confess, is not to our taste; the *durras* (our author calls it *dherras*, and we suppose correctly), which is not at all to be despised, although its snail-like appearance renders it rather repulsive to new-comers.* Then, (not to mention a great variety of *sāgs*, or vegetables, of which the leaves are used as food, we have a vast multitude of plants of the gourd or cucumber kind, many of which are fit for something else than to be cultivated and dressed, and thrown away. The only really good vegetable, which we have seen at home and not here, is the sea-kale; and we are not sure, that we have not read in Mr. Speede's work, that it also has been cultivated here with success.

Nor has our *Ichthyine*—(such we think is the term, by which the books that teach us “how to observe” and “what to observe,” bid us designate the whole body of fish, that frequent the

* It is the seed-vessel of a hibiscus.

rivers, and sea-coasts, and dining-tables of a country) any reason to shrink from comparison with that of England. The *bhekti* is very like the cod; the *hilsa* is scarcely distinguishable from the grilse; the mango-fish is as like a burn-trout, as two blades of grass are like each other. Our author narrates the usual legend, illustrative of the taste that old Indians exhibit for this fish. He says that an old gourmand declared, that a dinner of mango-fish is worth a voyage to India. But this is an apocryphal version of the matter, and by no means equal to the genuine. As we have it, his speech ran thus, "True I have lost my health in India; my liver is gone, and I have nothing before me but a few years of suffering; but—I have eaten mango-fish!"

The flora of India, indigenous and exotic, is very extensive; and although the general opinion is exactly the opposite, we venture to assert, that there is no place in the world, where the flower-garden affords a more pleasing amusement. Plants will *grow* here; whereas in England, you have to wait for three months before you can decide, with respect to any plant, whether it will grow or not, and then generally the decision is in the negative. There is certainly no *city* in the world, where there are such facilities for gardening as in Calcutta. This is owing to the way in which the houses are generally built, each within its own compound. And as we write, not indeed within Calcutta, but in its immediate neighbourhood, we look out upon a garden, which we venture to say contains as many fine flowers as could be found in any garden in England, that is kept up at not more than ten times the cost, that is expended upon ours. As an instance of the rapidity, with which plants are propagated in this country, we may refer to the *Poinsettia pulcherrima*; which, we have understood, was introduced here in the time of Lord Auckland's administration, probably not more than a dozen years ago; and, at this moment, its bright rich flowers are beautifying, we believe, every garden in Bengal. The *Russelia juncea* is also a nearly recent importation, which is now everywhere. The *Poirrea coccinea* was introduced but a few years ago, and is already becoming not uncommon. Plants which, a few years ago, were esteemed as rarities, and bought at 16 and 20 Rupees per graft, can now be had every-where for the asking; such for example are the *Cordea Sebestina*, the *Euphorbia Jacquiniflora*, and though in a less degree, the *Bougainvillea spectabilis*. In fact, there is every encouragement that can be desired to amateur gardening. The idea, that the heat of the weather makes it impossible to take pleasure in a garden, is a groundless prejudice.

It is true that, in the middle of the day, it is impossible to enjoy a walk in the garden, unless under thick shade in the cold season ; but where in the wide world is there a greater proportion of really enjoyable mornings and evenings, than in this maligned climate of Bengal ? Throughout the hot weather, the mornings are always delightful ; during the rains, there are very few evenings, that are not exceedingly pleasant : and in the cold weather, both mornings and evenings are almost uniformly fine—the only exception being a few days in December, when the cold of the morning and evening is too intense, and when the mid-day is the most enjoyable season of the day. We wish we could disabuse our fair readers of the too prevalent notion, that gardening is not an amusement suited to the climate of India. As to India generally, we cannot speak. From the little we have seen of Madras, we should suppose that there are difficulties to encounter there, which it would be very honorable to surmount. But in Bengal, we repeat it, few amusements could be devised to which the climate is so suitable and so helpful, as the superintendence, and occasional participation in the lighter work, of a garden. But, if they will not be persuaded of this, at least let them be advised to undertake the task of arranging the flowers, that the *mali* brings into almost every house every morning. How easily could these be converted, from an object of pure ridicule, into a really tasteful ornament ; for the flowers themselves are good enough ; it is only arrangement that they require.

Our author next describes some of the fruits of India, beginning with the cocoa, which is certainly entitled, in respect of its multifarious utility, to take precedence of all others. With all that he says about it we most cordially agree, excepting as to the point on which, above all others, his judgment is entitled to infinitely greater respect than ours. We mean as to the beauty and gracefulness of the tree. We confess we have never thought it either graceful or beautiful, except indeed when it is only about 5 or 6 feet high. These epithets, we can more conscientiously agree with our author in applying to the *areca*, or betelnut palm, which he aptly compares to an arrow shot down from the sky. But is he right in saying that it sustains the shock of the storm, by yielding to the wind like a willow ? Our impression is rather that it bears it without yielding at all, and all through its very slenderness. In fact, the wind has nothing to take hold of.

As to our Indian fruits generally, we suspect that all new comers find them fall far short of the expectations they had been led to form of tropical fruits. At the time of their arrival, which is generally in the cold season, the best of the fruits are

not in season ; and when they express disappointment, they are told to wait till the mangos are ripe ; and this constantly repeated advice so stimulates their curiosity, that it defeats its own end. Generally speaking, they do not wait, but form their first acquaintance with the fruit, while still unripe ; and certainly few edible things are worse than an unripe mango. But, in point of fact, we are not such enthusiastic champions of the fruit garden, as of the flower garden of India. It is true that, besides the mango (and as a bad mango is very bad, so a good one is very good), we have the litchi, and the guava, which we estimate more highly than does our author, and the pine-apple, which with a little care, may be had in as great perfection, as in the West Indies, or in the pineries of England ; and the orange, which however is by no means so good as those that are imported into England, and which moreover "comes in" in the season, when it can least of all be enjoyed ; and last of all, the plantain, which is, all over the year, the staple fruit. We cannot agree with our author in the preference that he expresses for this fruit over all others. But, from his picture, we suppose that he refers to a variety, with which we are not conversant. This variety he calls the Mutawan (Qu. *Martaban?*). It may be common enough, although we are unacquainted with it, as our researches have not pointed in that direction.

But we must draw to a close. We cannot afford to follow our author through his graphic description of the seasons, nor to allude to the various peculiarities of Anglo Indian life, which are connected with these. We take leave of him with hearty thanks for the pleasure he has afforded us. The work having occupied Mr. Grant's scanty leisure hours during a period of nearly ten years, there is a very marked progression both in the literary and artistic style. When he has to re-write the "sketch,"—which, we doubt not, the exhaustion of the present edition will soon require him to do—he will probably be induced by his matured taste and judgment to render the former part somewhat less "eloquent," and more plain and accurate. The human figures too, in the former part, seem to us very much inferior to those in the latter. There is just one matter, which may be brought under the head of literary style, on which we will venture a remark. Mr. Grant sometimes indulges in (what we cannot but regard as) an unpleasing habit—that of using the expressions of Scripture, diverted from their original sense and application. For example, we do not like even such an expression as this, that "the morning air, and evening breeze, and a night's sound sleep, are more precious than gold—*yea than much fine gold;*" while we positively dislike some expres-

sions, which it is not necessary to quote. We know that this is, or rather we should say, *was*, with Mr. Grant, merely what we may call an external habit, and altogether unconnected with any want of reverential feeling towards the inspired records of our holy faith ; and it is with real pleasure that we observe a total disuse of the practice in the latter portion of the sketch.

Altogether, we look upon this work as a real acquisition to our Anglo-Indian literature, and confidently predict that it will be received as a very acceptable present, by the multitudes in England, to whom it will be sent. The illustrations are a highly creditable indication of the state of the fine arts amongst us, and will contribute to the extension of that reputation, which Mr. Grant has already earned as an artist. As we have been permitted to adorn our pages with a specimen, we select the following, not as the best in the book, but as a fair specimen of the whole. When our readers know that there are nearly two hundred of such lithographs, they will be disposed to wonder at the reasonable price of the book. •



- ART. VII.—1. *A Digest of the Criminal Law of the Presidency of Fort William*. 1846. By F. L. Beaufort, Bengal Civil Service.
2. *The Magistrate's Guide*. 1849. By F. Skipwith, B. C. S. 3rd Edition.
3. *Correspondence on the Abolition and Modification of Criminal Appeals*. Mil. Orphan Press. 1848.
4. *The Criminal Statistics of Bengal*, by G. Speede, Esq., 1847.
5. *Statement, submitted by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, relative to the administration of Criminal Justice in the territory subject to the Government of Bengal, during the year 1847*.
6. *The Justice's Manual*, by A. Montgomery. 1817.

It has been well stated, that it is the duty of the sovereign power in every civilized country “to protect, as far as possible, every member of society from the injustice or oppression of every other member in it,” or, in other words, “to establish an exact administration of Justice.”

The issue of two Guides to the Criminal Regulations and Acts of the Bengal Government, has led us to consider, how far the above rule has been followed by the Hon'ble East India Company in this country: for it is a rule, which, if duly administered, must promote the prosperity of the empire, the advantages to be derived from it by the Company, and the interests and the policy of the British nation.

The East India Company, it is well known, was originally, simply, a Company of Merchants, empowered by a Charter, granted by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1600 A. D., to trade to the East Indies. Accordingly, the Company established different settlements in India, exclusively for the purposes of trade, and, in the year 1661, obtained authority from Parliament to judge, according to the laws of England, all persons living under them in their settlements. By two subsequent Charters, respectively granted in 1683 and 1686, the Company was authorized to erect Courts of Justice for the trial of offences, committed both by sea and land, according to the English law, and the Courts, thereupon established, continued to exercise the powers assigned to them till the year 1765, when they were superseded by Courts established under the Nazim of Bengal, which were superintended, though very imperfectly, by the English heads of Factories.

It was not the policy of the Company's servants to subvert the existing system, and, accordingly, the Mahomedan criminal law was retained; but it was their firm determination to correct

abuses without delay, and with caution and judgment to purify the fountains of justice.

We shall continue our sketch in the words of Mr. Beaufort's book—we say of his book, because he tells us in a note, that “in some few places, the language of the authorities, from which he has compiled his sketch of the penal system, has been adopted, without the usual acknowledgment, implied by inverted commas.

“The administration of criminal justice was therefore left to the tribunals previously instituted. Those entrusted with the duties, which are now within the cognizance of our judicial authorities, are thus enumerated, in the report of the Committee of circuit: ‘The Nazim, as supreme Magistrate, presides personally in the trial of capital offenders: the deputy of the Nazim takes cognizance of quarrels, frays, and abusive names: the Fouzdar is the Officer of Police, the Judge of all crimes not capital; the proofs of these last are taken before him, and reported to the Nazim for his judgment and sentence upon them. The Mohtesib has cognizance of drunkenness, and of the vending of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs and the examination of false weights and measures; and the Kotwal is the peace officer of the night, dependent on the Fouzdari.’

“But it would appear, that the offences, here enumerated, were confined to the capital; for, beyond its precincts, the Zemindar, who was originally the chief fiscal officer of a district, exercised both a civil and a criminal jurisdiction, almost supreme, within the territory over which he was appointed to preside. The minor offences he visited with fines, imprisonment, or corporal punishment, according to his individual pleasure, or sense of justice; and, even in capital cases, he was under no further restraint, than that of reporting the circumstances to the Nazim, before proceeding to execution. The Government but rarely interfered with his decisions.* * *

“But even, if the institutions of the native government had been in themselves excellent, it would yet be no cause for wonder, that the administration of justice ceased, at a time when the government of the country underwent a total change, and when the Nazim was left without power to maintain the authority of his tribunals. The best instruments may be applied to the vilest purposes; and as an establishment, however good the principles on which it is founded, must fall to the ground, if the check of supervision is neglected in practice, so institutions, which have been perverted to accomplish only evil, may be capable of producing much good, if the

‘conduct of the ministerial officers is attentively and fitly inspected.’

The British Government, therefore, commenced by providing means for superintending the native tribunals.

‘In August 1769, certain servants of the Company, under the title of supervisors, were stationed in appropriate districts throughout the country with this intent; and, in the next year, two councils, with authority over the supervisors, were stationed, one at Múrshedabad, and another at Patna. In 1772, additional experience allowed the Government to create new courts, and to furnish them with certain rules, which were drawn up by the Committee of circuit, and adopted by the President and Council, on the 21st August of that year. In the Report, which accompanied these regulations, the Committee observed—‘we have confined ourselves with a scrupulous exactness to the constitutional forms of judicature, already established in this province, which are not only, such as we think in themselves best calculated for expediting the course of justice, but such as are best adapted to the understanding of the people. Where we shall appear to have deviated, in any respect, from the known forms, our intention has been to recur to the original principles, and to give them that efficacy, of which they were deprived by venal and arbitrary innovations, by partial immunities granted as a relief against the general and allowed abuse of authority, or by some radical defect in the constitution of the courts in being.’ By this scheme a Court of criminal judicature was established in each district under the denomination of Fouzdari Adawlut, in which a Kazí and Múftí, with the assistance of two Moulavis, as expounders of the law, were appointed to hold ‘all trials of murder, robbery and theft, and all other felonies, forgery, perjury, and all sorts of frauds and misdemeanours, assaults, frays, quarrels, adultery, and every other breach of the peace, or violent invasion of property;’ and it was also declared to be the duty of the collector of the district (he being a covenanted servant of the Company), ‘to attend to the proceedings of this court, so far as to see that all necessary evidences are summoned and examined; that due weight is allowed to their testimony; and that the decision passed is fair and impartial according to the proof exhibited in the course of trial; and that no causes be heard, or determined, but in the open court regularly assembled.’ A separate and superior Court of criminal jurisdiction was at the same time established at Múrshedabad, under the designation of Nizamut Sudder Adawlut, in which was to preside, with the

‘ title of Daroga chief officer, appointed on the part of the Nazim, assisted by the chief Kazi, the chief Múfti, and three capable Moulavis, whose duty it was declared to be, ‘ to revise all the proceedings of the Fouzdarí Adawlut; and in capital cases, by signifying their approbation or disapprobation thereof, with their reasons at large, to prepare the sentence for the warrant of the Nazim.’ A controul over the proceedings of this court, similar to that which the collectors of revenue were empowered to exercise over the provincial courts, was vested in the Committee of revenue at Múrshedabad; and the object of such control was stated to be ‘ that the Company’s administration, in character of King’s Dewan, may be satisfied, that the decrees of Justice, on which the welfare and safety of the country so materially depend, are not injured or perverted by the effects of partiality or corruption.’

“ Certain rules were supplied for the guidance of these courts. The collector was directed to keep a box, under his own key, at the door of the kutchery for the reception of petitions. Complete records were to be kept by the Fouzdarí Adawlut, and transmitted to the superior Courts twice every month; the collector was also to keep an abstract register of all the proceedings of that Court to be transmitted in like manner. The authority of the Fouzdarí Adawlut was to extend to corporal punishment, imprisonment, sentencing to the roads, and fines, but not to the life of the criminal. In capital cases the trial was to be forwarded to the Nizamut Adawlut, and ultimately to be laid before the Nazim. Persons guilty of misdemeanours, whose rank, caste, or station in life was thought to exempt them from corporal punishment, were made liable to fines; but such fines, if above one hundred rupees, were not to be enforced by the inferior courts; forfeiture and confiscation of the property of felons were to depend on the Nizamut Adawlut. Stringent penalties were enacted against dacoits, and threats of dismissal, or fines, and promises of rewards, were held forth to the thannadars, and payks.

“ By these arrangements, it will be observed, the judicial administration alone was affected; the law itself remained the same, with the exception of an additional and more severe provision respecting dacoity; and with the system of Police no interference was attempted.

“ In the following year, we find it a matter of consideration with the President and Council, whether the decree of the Nizamut Adawlut, after having received the confirmation of the Nazim, should be carried into execution precisely in the terms of his warrant; or whether the Government should in-

‘ interfere in adding to, or commuting, the punishment, in cases
 ‘ wherein it appeared inadequate to the crime, or ineffectual as
 ‘ a check. And the result was the appointment of the Darogah
 ‘ of the Nizamut Adawlut (which Court had previously been
 ‘ removed to Calcutta) ‘ to affix the seal of the Nazim, and the
 ‘ signature on his behalf, to warrants issued for the execu-
 ‘ tion of sentences approved by the court :’ and a power was
 ‘ vested in the President ‘ to superintend him in the exercise
 ‘ of this office, as well in revising sentences of the Adawlut, as
 ‘ in passing the warrants and affixing the seal.’ However bene-
 ‘ ficial the controul over the administration of criminal justice
 ‘ thus entrusted to the president, a short experience proved
 ‘ that it imposed a labour, and involved a responsibility, which it
 ‘ was not convenient to him to sustain ; and consequently, in Octo-
 ‘ ber 1775, the Nizamut Adawlut was removed back to Mūr-
 ‘ shedabad, and the uncontrolled administration of criminal
 ‘ justice was confided to the Naib Nazim, by whom Fouzdars,
 ‘ assisted by persons vested in the Muhammedan Law were ap-
 ‘ pointed to superintend the criminal courts in the several dis-
 ‘ tricts, and to apprehend and bring to trial offenders against
 ‘ the public peace.”

And here we must pause, and consider the legislative powers conferred upon the Company by the new Charter of 1773.

This Charter confirmed them in their possession for twenty years, and declared the Governor-General in Council of the settlement of Fort William, and the places subordinate thereto, competent to make rules and regulations for the good order and civil Government of the said settlement, provided they were not repugnant to the laws of England. They were not however to be valid, or of any force, unless, or until, they received the consent of, and were recorded by, the Supreme Court in Calcutta. The jurisdiction of this court was declared, by the Charter of 1773, to extend to all persons residing within the town of Calcutta, as well as to British subjects resident in any part of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa ; as also to certain descriptions of Natives of India, who might be in the employment of the Company, although not inhabitants of the town of Calcutta : and consequently the judges thereof claimed authority, not only over all the Company’s servants and British subjects resident in India, but over all the Native inhabitants, and all the Mofussil Courts. Had this claim of jurisdiction been recognised, the English law, modified possibly by the Judges of the Supreme Court, would have become the law of India.

Reference was in consequence made to the British Parliament and, as the habits, manners, prejudices, and customs, of the peo

ple of India were so totally at variance, in principle and practice, with those of the people of England, the application of the English laws to them was declared to be unsuitable; and a statute of 1781 exempted all judicial Acts of the Mofussil Courts from the interference of the Supreme Court, and conferred upon the local Government a more extensive power of legislation.

The Governor-General in Council was declared competent to enact regulations for the Provincial Courts and Council, subject, however, to the sanction of the King in Council: but in all and every enactment, regard was to be had to the civil and religious usages of the Natives.

So soon as the Charter was received, the Governor-General, with the concurrence of his Council, immediately remodelled the Police establishment. "The Collectors and Amils," says Mr. Beaufort, "had been acting as magistrates; but the want of an efficient Police had thus early shown itself in the increased confidence of the dacoits," and in the difficulty, with which government obtained intelligence of such events, as related to the peace of the country." These evils were ascribed by Mr. Hastings to the abolition of the Fouzdari jurisdiction of the Zemindars; to the resumption of the *Chakuran* land, and the employment by the farmers of the servants allowed to them by government solely for the business of their collections; and to the farming system, which removed the claim on the Zemindars, formerly possessed by the public from immemorial usage, to the restitution of all damages and losses sustained from robbers. The remedies adopted for the removal of these disorders were that thannadars were appointed to the fourteen districts, into which Bengal was divided for the various purposes of police; that the landholders and officers of the collections were enjoined to afford them all possible assistance in the discharge of their duties; that the land servants allowed for their respective districts were placed under the absolute command of the Fouzdars; that the *Chakuran* lands were again applied to their original design; that the Fouzdars were enjoined to assist each other in their respective jurisdictions; that an office for the superintendence of the Fouzdars was established under the control of the President; that the landholders were made responsible for losses, sustained by their neglect to assist the Fouzdars; and that all persons, convicted of abetting or conniving at the practices of robbers, were to be adjudged equally criminal with them, and to be punished by death.

"On the 6th April, 1781, it was declared that this system had by experience been found not to produce the good effects

intended by the institution. The general establishments therefore both of the fouzdar and thannadars were abolished by a resolution of the Governor-General and Council; and the English judges of the several civil Courts, being Company's covenanted servants, were invested with the powers, as magistrates, of apprehending dacoits and persons charged with the commission of any crimes or acts of violence, within their respective jurisdictions.

“They were not however empowered to try or punish such persons, nor to detain them in confinement, but were to send them immediately to the Daroga of the nearest Fouzdari court, with a charge in writing, setting forth the grounds on which they had been apprehended. Provision was at the same time made for cases, where, by especial permission of the Governor General and Council, certain zemindars might be invested with such part of the police jurisdiction, as they formerly exercised under the ancient Mogul government.

“In such cases, the Judge of the Dewani Adawlut, the Daroga of the Fouzdari court, and the Zemindar, were to exercise a concurrent authority, for the apprehension of robbers and all disturbers of the public peace. The better to enable the Government to observe the effects of the regulations thus introduced, and to watch over the general administration of criminal justice throughout the provinces, a separate department was established at the presidency, under the immediate controul of the Governor General, to receive monthly returns and reports from the judges, zemindars, and the Nazim; to arrange which, and to maintain, ‘an effectual check on all persons employed in the administration of justice, as well for such other purposes as his experience might suggest,’ an officer was appointed to act under the Governor General, with the title of Remembrancer of the criminal courts.

“These provisions proved inadequate. They contained one capital defect. The power of the English magistrates, over the zemindars and other landholders, was not only inefficacious in general, and the course of justice therefore weak and uncertain but the regulation, which vested the apprehension of all offenders in the magistrates, without permitting them to interfere in any respect in the trials, gave rise to a new evil. The magistrate being obliged to deliver over to the daroga of the fouzdar courts, and to that officer's prison, all parties charged with breach of the peace, however trivial, and a considerable time often elapsing before they were brought to trial—many of the lowest and most indigent classes of people were frequently detained for a long period in confinement, where the length

of their sufferings very often more than equalled their demerits.

"In June 1787, therefore a *new regulation 'for the administration of justice in the criminal courts in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa,' was passed by the Governor General in Council; and, at the same time, the offices of judge, collector, and magistrate, (except in the cities of Dacca, Moorshedabad, and Patna) were invested in the same person, but under distinct rules for his guidance in each capacity. By this regulation it was made the duty of the magistrate, 'to apprehend all murderers, robbers, thieves, house-breakers, or other disturbers of the peace, and to send them to take their trial, accompanied with a written charge in the Persian language, to the nearest Fouzdari court.' He was further 'invested with power to hear and determine, without any reference to the Fouzdari courts, all complaints or prosecutions brought before him for petty offences, such as abusive language or calumny, inconsiderable assaults or affrays, and to punish the same, where proved, by corporal punishment not exceeding fifteen rattans, or imprisonment not exceeding the term of fifteen days;' but in all cases, affecting either the life or limbs of the party accused, or subjecting them to a greater punishment than the above specified, the case was to be remitted, as above prescribed, to the nearest criminal court. In the case of groundless and vexatious complaints, the magistrate was authorized to inflict a fine, not exceeding 50 or 200 rupees, according to the supposed wealth of the offender,—the distinctions being the same, as those since prescribed in Section 8, Regulation IX., 1793. The Daroga of the Fouzdari Adawlut was declared to be totally independent of the magistrate, as far as related to the trial of causes, but subject in every respect to the Naib Nazim. Various rules for the guidance of the magistrates and the Fouzdari Courts were at the same time enacted. All complaints, with the orders upon them, were to be recorded in the magistrate's office, both in English and Persian—copies of which, with the result of each case detailed in a given form, were to be sent monthly to the Remembrancer of the criminal courts. The magistrate was not to detain in confinement, beyond two days, any person accused of an offence not within his competency to try. He was to inspect the jails, which were under the care of the Daroga, and to report thereon to the Governor General, 'that the necessary representations might be made to the Naib Nazim.' A report was to be made to Government of every landholder committed for trial; and European British subjects were to be committed under certain

rules to the Supreme Court. It was declared at the same time, that 'all Europeans, not British subjects, were equally answerable with the natives to the authority of the Magistrate within his own district, and to the Fouzdari Court to which they might be committed. The darogas were directed to transmit to the Naib Nazim copies of their proceedings at large, and to furnish him with various returns regarding the jail and the mal-khana; they were to deliver to the magistrate, for submission to the Governor General, monthly statements of the cases decided by them, and of the disposal of prisoners committed to them for trial. The officers of the Fouzdari courts were to be appointed by the Naib Nazim, and were required to hold courts at least three times a week throughout the year. Other provisions were adopted, regarding the establishments allowed for the various courts, and the manner in which the bills for all expenses were to be drawn.

"The power thus vested in the magistrates, to take cognizance of petty offences, obviated in some degree the hardship and inconvenience, which had before been experienced from the necessity of delivering over for trial to the Daroga of the Fouzdari court all parties charged with a breach of the peace, however slight, or any other criminal act, however trivial in its nature and consequences. But as all crimes of consequence were still exclusively cognizable by the Naib Nazim and his subordinate officers; as the sentences of the Nizamut Adawlut were final, and not notified to the Governor General, until they had been carried into execution; as the judges and officers of the inferior criminal courts were appointed by the Naib Nazim; and as he possessed an almost exclusive controul over those courts and their proceedings—many defects in the Mahomedan law, and abuses in the administration of it, were left unremedied, and placed beyond the controul and ameliorating influence of those who were, alone willing to suppress them. The Court of Directors had desired, in their primary instructions to Lord Cornwallis in 1780, that 'the trial and punishment of offenders against the public peace should be left with the established officers of the Mahomedan jurisdiction, who were not to be interfered with, beyond what the influence of the British Government might effect, through occasional recommendations of forbearance to inflict any punishment of a cruel nature. But his Lordship found himself compelled very early to bear testimony to the inefficacy of such measures, to prevent on the one hand the cruel punishments of mutilation, which were frequently inflicted by the Mahomedan law, and on the other to restrain the spirit of corruption, which so generally prevails in native

‘ courts, and by which wealthy offenders are generally enabled
 ‘ to purchase impunity for the most atrocious crimes. In con-
 ‘ formity with this opinion, the Governor General in Council de-
 ‘ termined, in December 1790, to introduce an entirely new sys-
 ‘ tem, and to take into his own hands the superintendence of the
 ‘ administration of criminal justice throughout the provinces.”

But before detailing the provisions which introduced this very important change, it seems useful to note the argument, from which he deduced, that Government held a right legally sanctioned to alter the Mahomedan law. It is clearly stated in a minute by Lord Cornwallis, dated December 1st, 1790 ; and it is worthy of remark that the framers of the celebrated “Fifth Report,” sanctioned by the House of Commons in 1812, had adopted his Lordship’s opinions, and even the words in which they were expressed. He writes : “With a
 ‘ view to ascertain more particularly the nature and causes of
 ‘ the defects (in the administration of criminal justice), and to
 ‘ collect the necessary information for remedying them, I direct-
 ‘ ed some queries to be stated to the magistrates of the several
 ‘ districts : from their answers to which, it will appear that the
 ‘ evils complained of proceed from two obvious causes ; first,
 ‘ the gross defects in the Mahomedan law ; and secondly, the
 ‘ defects in the constitution of the courts established for the
 ‘ trial of offenders. A provision against the first of these de-
 ‘ fects cannot otherwise be made, than by our correcting such
 ‘ parts of the Mahomedan law, as are most evidently contrary
 ‘ to natural justice and the good of society. That this Govern-
 ‘ ment is competent to such an amendment of that law, as may
 ‘ appear thus essentially necessary, cannot, I think, admit of a
 ‘ doubt ; since being entrusted with the government of the coun-
 ‘ try, we must be allowed to exercise the means necessary to
 ‘ the object and end of our appointment ; besides that we ap-
 ‘ pear to possess a sufficient legal recognition of the right in
 ‘ question from this—that the alterations made in the establish-
 ‘ ed Mahomedan law of the country by the first code of judi-
 ‘ cial regulations of 1773, and more particularly that entire
 ‘ alteration, and new and very severe provision, therein con-
 ‘ tained, for the punishment of dacoits, together with the su-
 ‘ perintendence and controul over all the new criminal courts,
 ‘ which the said regulations vested in the Company’s covenanted
 ‘ servants, stand both fully submitted to Parliament in the sixth
 ‘ report of the committee of secrecy, already quoted, as a dis-
 ‘ cretional act of legislation by the President and Council in
 ‘ the year 1773. And yet so far was the Parliament from dis-
 ‘ approving thereof, or limiting in any respect the authority of

‘ our government in India ; that with this information before
 ‘ it, and having these reports as the ground work of the law
 ‘ then passed, the Act of the 13th George III. Chapter 63,
 ‘ Section 7, vests the ordering, management, and government
 ‘ of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues, in the king-
 ‘ doms of Bengal Bahar, and Orissa, in the Governor-General
 ‘ and Council, for such time, as the territorial acquisitions and
 ‘ revenue shall remain in the possession of the said Company,
 ‘ in like manner (as the said Act recites), to all intents and
 ‘ purposes whatever, as the same now are, or at any time here-
 ‘ tofore might have been, exercised by the President and Coun-
 ‘ cil, or Select Committee in the said kingdoms. And, as it was
 ‘ then before the legislature, that the President and Council had
 ‘ interposed and altered the criminal law of the country, such
 ‘ alterations, and all future necessary amendments thereof, ap-
 ‘ pear, by the above clause, to be legally sanctioned and au-
 ‘ thorized.

“ It is necessary only to add to this, that all subsequent Acts
 ‘ of Parliament, which have entrusted to the Government of
 ‘ India renewed or increased powers of enacting laws, have in
 ‘ no way restricted them in amending the Mahomedan criminal
 ‘ law. In the conclusion of the minute quoted above, Lord
 ‘ Cornwallis proposed to introduce four modifications of that
 ‘ law by a formal-enactment ; first, that the apparent intention
 ‘ of a murderer, and not the manner, or instrument of perpe-
 ‘ tration, should constitute the rule for determining his pun-
 ‘ ishment ; secondly, that in all cases of murder, the relations
 ‘ of the deceased should be debarred from pardoning the offen-
 ‘ der, and that the law should be left to take its course, with-
 ‘ out any reference to their wishes, upon all persons convicted
 ‘ thereof ; thirdly, that other punishments should be substi-
 ‘ tuted for mutilation ; and fourthly, that heinous offenders
 ‘ should be admitted to become witnesses against each other,
 ‘ in the manner of king’s evidence in England. Three out of
 ‘ the points, which he thus brought forward, as those most re-
 ‘ pugnant to the principles, or inadequate to the ends of jus-
 ‘ tice, were the same as those, which Mr. Hastings had advanced
 ‘ in 1773, as reasons for that system of interference with the
 ‘ decrees of the Nazim, which he instituted and superintended ;
 ‘ but as they had never been formally abrogated, the Naib
 ‘ Nazim had doubtless considered as of no effect such innova-
 ‘ tions in practice on the prescribed rules of the Mahomedan
 ‘ law.

“ It seems unnecessary to follow Lord Cornwallis in the obser-
 ‘ vations, which he recorded, on the second defect above men-

tioned ; viz., the imperfect constitution of the criminal courts, because they must be generally obvious to all, who consider the facilities to a dishonest tampering with justice, and the unavoidable delay between the primary investigation by the police magistrate, and the final sentence by the Naib Nazim, which such a system necessarily produced. The correctness of his conclusion, that the future controul of so important a branch of Government ought not to be left to the sole discretion of any native, or indeed of any single person whatsoever, is sufficiently apparent. As such controul must necessarily be exercised by the Government itself, and as it is essential for the prevention of crimes, not only that offenders should be deprived of the means of eluding the pursuit of the officers of justice, but that they should be speedily and impartially tried, when apprehended, it was determined to create a new machinery. Judges of circuit were appointed to the duties hitherto performed by the Fouzdarí Darogas ; and the place of the Naib Nazim was supplied by the Governor-General and Council.

“ By the regulations passed on the 3d December 1790, the Court of Nizamut Adawlut was again removed from Moorshe-dabad to Calcutta—the duties of the court being undertaken by the Governor-General and the members of the Supreme Council, assisted by the local Kazi of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and two Muftis ; and a Register was appointed for the conduct of the executive business of the court, the office of the Remembrancer being merged therein. The powers of the court were declared to be those ‘ lately vested in the Naib Nazim : ’ and their decisions were in all cases to be regulated by the Mahommedan law, except as far as the restrictions passed in accordance with Lord Cornwallis’s two first propositions, noted above ; but the applicability of the law to the circumstances of the case was to be determined by the Kazi-ul-cuzat and the Muftis.

“ Four courts of circuit, superintended respectively by two covenanted Civil Servants of the Company, and each having a Kazi and Mufti to assist the Judges, and to expound the law, as well as an executive officer, called the Register, were at the same time established, for the trial of offences not punishable by the magistrates ; but they were directed to hold two general jail deliveries annually, at the stations of the several magistrates within their divisions. In cases of acquittal, and of punishment less than death or imprisonment for life, in which the judges of the court of circuit might approve of the futwa of their law officers, they were empowered to pass a

‘ final sentence ; but in cases of death, or perpetual imprisonment, as well as in all cases where the judges might ‘ see cause to disapprove either of the ground of the trial, or the futwa,’ they were required to transmit their proceedings for the final sentence of the Nizamut Adawlut. Rules of practice were at the same time enacted for the various functionaries ; in which all the provisions of the preceding regulation of 1787, applicable to the new system, were re-enacted ; and further, a regular system of investigation was prescribed to the magistrate and the superior courts in all complaints, the whole of the proceedings being committed to writing. Murder, robbery, theft, and home-breaking, were at the same time declared to be unbailable offences ; and French subjects were placed on the same footing as European British subjects.

“ The regulation, thus enacted, continued in force, with a few alterations and additions, until 1793. But as the whole was embodied in the regulations published in that year, and still forms a part of the existing code of laws, it is unnecessary to detail here the various improvements, which time and experience produced.

“ In December 1792, the police system was entirely remodelled. It was found, that ‘ the clause in the engagements of the landholders, by which they were bound to keep the peace and, in the event of any robbery being committed in their respective estates, to produce both the robbers and the property plundered, had become not only nugatory, but, in numerous instances, had proved the means of multiplying robberies and other disorders, from the collusion which subsisted between the perpetrators of them, and the police entertained by the landholders.’ All powers were therefore taken away from the landholders ; the country was divided into jurisdictions of about ten koss square ; and a darogah, with an establishment of officers, was appointed to each. The regulation, which introduced this system, was republished, with some slight modifications, in the following year, as part of the permanent code of Bengal, Regulation XXII, 1793 ; and it is therefore needless to advert further to its provisions in this place.”

This system, embodied in the Regulations enacted in the year 1793, referred to Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa only ; but has been extended, with modifications suited to the inhabitants, to the rest of India under the dominion of the East India Company.

In the year 1793 the charter was renewed ; and again in 1813 ; but the Legislative power of the local Government was in no material degree altered. In the year 1797, it was enacted that all regulations, affecting the rights of persons or things

whether of natives, or others, who were amenable to the provincial courts, should be registered and formed into a code: and those already passed were expressly confirmed.

In the year 1833, the character was again renewed for twenty years; and the legislative powers of the Governor General in Council were very considerably increased. He was authorized to make laws for all persons, whether British or Native, foreigners or others; and for all Courts of Justice, whether established by Her Majesty's charters, or otherwise, and for the several jurisdictions thereof; but it was expressly declared, that such legislative should not affect any of the provisions of the acts for the punishment of desertion, or mutiny, in Her Majesty's, or the Company's, armies, the prerogative of the Crown, the authority of the Parliament, or the constitution and rights of the United Kingdom, or of the East India Company.

It was further declared, that the registration of the laws or regulations, made by the Governor General in Council, should be unnecessary; for this was imperative under former charters: but that every regulation or law should be laid before both Houses of Parliament, which should be competent to confirm, alter, modify, or repeal, them, as they should deem fit.

The Court of Directors also, with the concurrence of the Board of Controul, was declared competent to require the Governor General in Council to rescind any law passed by him: and a power was reserved to the British Parliament to enact generally any law, which it deemed proper, for the territories of the Company, and the inhabitants thereof.

This charter is still in force: and having therefore traced up, *ab initio*, the legislative powers of the Governor General in Council to the present time, as well as the alterations introduced by the servants of the Company in the system of administering the Mahomedan law, it is necessary briefly to declare what that law is.

"The elements of this law," says Mr. Beaufort, "are taken from the Koran: but there are so very few passages therein, which are applicable to ordinary cases, that the administrators of the law are obliged to have recourse to numerous commentators, as well as to the *súnnut*, or rules of conduct deduced from traditions of the oral precepts, actions and decisions of the prophet. The two great sects of Mahomedans, the Shíás and Súnis, frequently differ both in interpreting the Koran, and in admitting or rejecting the traditions; but the authoritative writings of Abú Hunífab, and his two disciples, Abu Yusuf and Imam Muhammed, who were Súnis, govern all judicial decisions in India. If a difference

of opinion exists between these authorities, judgment is to be given according to the decisions, in which the master and one of his disciples agree; or, if both the disciples dissent from their master, according to that which appears most consonant to reason, or the practice of modern days, or founded on the best authority. In judicial decrees, however, the doctrine of Abu Yusuf is considered more sound than that of his fellow disciple. When no precedent can be found, the Mahomedan judge is directed to abide by the decisions of subsequent lawyers; but, if these also fail to afford a direct solution of any legal question, it is deemed not improper to resort to judgment, analogy, and reason. The principles of penal justice comprised in the Mahomedan code are classed under three heads; viz. 1st, *Kisas*, or retaliation, including *diyut*, or the price of blood; 2nd, *Húúd* or prescribed penalties; 3rd, *Tazír* and *Siyasut*, or discretionary correction and punishment. Under the first head are included offences against the person (called *pirayat*), as wounding, homicide, and murder. Under the second, are arranged robbery (*surika-i-kulesa*), theft (*surika-i-sughra*), drinking wine (*shuráb*), adultery (*zina*), and slander (*kuzuf*). And the third head comprises all crimes not expressly falling within the laws of *Kisas* and *Húúd*, as well as those, which, though comprehended within the general provision of those laws, are specially excepted from the operation of them, by some doubt or legal defect (*shúbha*). The offences, which fall under the heads of *Kisas* and *Húúd* will be noticed hereafter, in their proper places; but the principles of *Tazír* and *Siyasut* are of a more general nature and it is more convenient to note here their general provisions.

Tazír, in its primitive sense, means prohibition or restriction, and is legally defined to be an infliction (*akúbut*) undetermined by law, on account of the right of God, as well as for the rights of individuals; or, in other words, for the ends of public, as well as private, justice; and it is declared to be incurred by any offence, whether word or deed, not subject to a specific legal penalty.

Siyasut, literally protection, is a word used to express the exemplary punishment, extending even to death, which may be considered necessary to protect the community from atrocious and irreclaimable offenders. These terms include both objects proposed to be affected by punishment, correction and discipline; individuals are punished and reformed; others are deterred from committing the like offence, and the well being of the community is improved.

“ In the case of offences against the community, the evidence of the prosecutor is admissible, or the offender may be brought to trial and punishment without any complaint from the party injured ; and the judge alone is capable of remitting the punishment incurred. But, in the case of offences against individuals, the plaintiff must himself, or by deputy, conduct the prosecution, and, though incompetent to bear testimony in his own case, is at liberty to forgive the offence. In cases of the latter description, absent witnesses may appoint persons to give evidence for them ; or, in defect of proof, the accused party may be put upon his oath. *Tazir*, though allowed as a private right, cannot be inflicted without a judicial sentence ; and, though for the full legal conviction of a Mahomedan, the evidence of a witness of any other religious persuasion is not strictly admissible ; nor of women, if the prosecution be of a public nature ; yet *Tazir* and *Siyasut* may in all cases be inflicted upon strong presumption, whether arising from the credible testimony of men or women, of whatever religion, or from circumstances which warrant a violent presumption of guilt, as well as upon the confession of the accused. And it is expressly declared that a conviction for *Tazir* may be founded upon the depositions of the prosecutor and one credible male witness in public cases, or, in those of a private nature, upon the testimony of two men, or one man and two women. The punishments, which may be awarded upon a conviction for *Tazir*, include private and public reprimands, and exposure (*tushir*,) a temporary sequestration of property, stripes, imprisonment, and even capital punishment, according to the rank and situation of the offender, or the nature of the offence.

“ The general doctrine of discretionary punishment has been clearly set forth in the preamble to Regulation LIII. 1803 ; and it will be fit to cite the passage at length. ‘ The Mahomedan law vests in the sovereign and his delegates, the power of sentencing criminals to suffer discretionary punishment (under the legal denomination of *Tazir*, *Akúbut* and *Siyasut*) in three cases. First, in the case of offences, for which no specific penalty of *Hudd* or *Kisas*, has been provided by the law, being for the most part offences not of a heinous nature, the punishment of which is left discretionary, below the measure of the specific penalties for the correction and amendment of the offender. Secondly, for crimes within the specific provisions of *Hudd* and *Kisas*, when the proof of the commission of such crimes may not be such as the law requires for a judgment of the specific penalties, though suffi-

'cient to establish a strong presumption of guilt; or, although
 'the proof be such as is required for a sentence of *Hudd* or
 ' *Kisas*, when such sentence is barred by a remission of the
 'claim to retaliation, in cases of *Kisas*—or by any of the spe-
 'cial exceptions and scrupulous distinctions, which (under the
 'general denomination of *Shúbha*) are considered, by the pre-
 'valent authorities of Mahomedan law, to bar a judgment for
 'the specific penalties of that law. Thirdly, for heinous
 'crimes in a high degree injurious to society, and particu-
 'larly for repeated offences of this description; which, for
 'the ends of public justice (as expressed by the term *Siyasut*)
 'may appear to require exemplary punishment beyond the
 'prescribed penalties; and with respect to crimes of this
 'description, an unlimited discretion, extending to capital
 'punishment, is admitted to have been left by the Maho-
 'medan law to the sovereign authority of every country,
 'in which that law prevails, as well as to its judiciary delegate.
 'Such being one of the leading principles of the law, the admi-
 'nistration of it necessarily became arbitrary and uncertain,
 'when committed to inefficient officers. The amount of injury
 'suffered doubtless differs considerably in cases which fall
 'under the same denomination; and therefore it is impossible
 'accurately to define each particular offence, and to appoint a
 'specific punishment for every crime. But there are few indivi-
 'duals, and rarely to be found, to whom so wide a latitude in
 'meting out punishment can be entrusted, as is given by the Ma-
 'homedan law: and still smaller must be the number of those,
 'whose minds are able to contract to the pointless intricacies
 'and uncertain provisions of that code, and at the same time
 'to expand to the noble duties of judge, and the great ends of
 'criminal justice. And hence it was observed, 'in the adjudi-
 'cation of punishments under the discretion thus allowed, that
 'the Futwas of the Mahomedan law officers of the criminal
 'courts were often governed by a consideration of the degree
 'of proof against the party accused, rather than the degree of
 'guilt and criminality of the act, established against him;
 'and the penalties awarded by them, in such cases, were either
 'adjudged on insufficient proof of guilt, or were inadequate to
 'the heinousness of the offence of which the prisoner was con-
 'victed.' The law was amended in these points by the regula-
 'tion, from which these passages are quoted."— Pages 15,
 16, &c.

We will now proceed to consider the system at present in
 force, for administering the criminal laws.

All charges of adultery, fornication, calumny, abusive lan-

guage, slight trespass, or inconsiderable assault, must be preferred to the magistrate of the district; but, with these exceptions, all other charges may be made, at the option of the aggrieved party, to the darogah of the thanna, within whose jurisdiction the crime is committed. Magistrates are authorized however to refer charges, of the nature specified above, to the Police officers for investigation or report; but judgment can be passed on them only by the magistrates, or their assistants. If, through inadvertence, or misconception of the nature of the crime—and we are all apt to magnify injuries committed against us—charges of the above nature are preferred to the darogah, he is forbidden to investigate them; but, simply endorsing upon the back of the petition, the date of presentation and the ground of rejection, he is directed to return the petition to the plaintiff, and to instruct him to present it to the magistrate.

Although we have stated, that, with the exception of the crimes specified above, all others may be preferred to the Police officers direct, we must be understood as speaking of the *law* only: for one other crime has been specially exempted by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut—the crime of causing, or procuring abortion. We pondered long upon the grounds of this exemption, and came to the conclusion, that it was made, because it frequently arises from the commission of the two first crimes specified by law, and might therefore be considered of the same nature; and yet each crime is, of itself, of so different a complexion, that we at once see the absurdity of the conclusion we had arrived at, and that the person, who might commit the one crime, would be utterly incapable of committing the other.

It would not, we thought, be classed with abusive language and calumny, though we felt little doubt of its being frequently caused by them; and we felt it impossible that such a trespass, or assault, would be construed as light or inconsiderable, so as to bring it within the meaning of the law. After consultation with various eminent members of the Bar, who each declared himself capable of proving it to belong to either of the crimes enumerated above, we determined to consult the work referred to in the Guide. We did so, and, to our surprise, discovered that the Court of Nizamut Adawlut are of opinion, that it partakes of the nature of all, and that, unless death ensue, the offence is not considered by them to be of a heinous nature.*

* Extract from a Circular Order of the Court of Nizamut Adawlut to the several magistrates in the Lower Provinces, dated 31st Dec. 1824, No. 303.

In regard to abortion, or procuring it, the Court do not consider these offences to be of a heinous description, unless death ensue; and, where this is not the case, they are of opinion, that such charges partake of the nature of those specified in Clause 1, Section 13, Regulation 20 of 1817, (viz. adultery, fornication, calumny, abusive language,

The Indian Judges have at various times been accused of a deficiency of legal knowledge ; but this construction of the law must save them from the charge of a want of legal ingenuity. The assertion, that the crime, unless accompanied by death, is trivial, is to be regretted. But though the judges presiding in the court in the year 1824 may have deemed it so, we are happy to see that the law awards to it a punishment of 7 years' imprisonment.

So soon as a complaint is preferred to a magistrate against any person subject to his jurisdiction for any bailable crime or misdemeanour, the party is required to make oath to the complaint : or, if satisfactory reason be assigned by the complainant for not attending to make the same, the truth of the charge may be deposed to by some other credible person ; and a summons is then issued to the defendant, who is required, with the exception of very trivial cases, to put in bail to appear before the magistrate to answer the charge. This bail, which is to be taken by the officer serving the process, should be merely sufficient to prevent the parties absconding, before the case comes before the magistrate, and must never be excessive. Should a party so summoned abscond, or omit to give bail, he is liable to be apprehended by a warrant. Warrants issued for the apprehension of persons, who may have fled into, or been ordinarily resident in, Calcutta, must, under Act 23 of 1840, be presented to one of the judges of Her Majesty's Court, who will thereupon endorse and direct the same to be executed. After taking the defence, and hearing the evidence adduced on both sides, the magistrate passes sentence according to the nature of the case : but he can in no instance (we are here speaking of misdemeanours only) award a greater punishment than six months' imprisonment and a fine of 200 rupees, commutable to imprisonment for a further period of six months, should the fine not be paid.

Heinous charges may be preferred, at the option of the complainant, either to the darogah, or the magistrate who may at once, on the truth of the charge being sworn to, issue a warrant for the apprehension of the accused. If, in charges preferred to the darogah, that officer shall, after investigation, be of opinion that there is no evidence to convict the accused, he is at liberty to release him on bail, pending the final orders of the magistrate, to whom he is required to transmit the preliminary proceedings held by him. If he on the other hand considers the charge proved, he is required at once to transmit the accused,

slight trespass, or inconsiderable assault), and should not therefore be investigated by the Darogahs of Police, or other Police officers, without the special orders of the Magistrate.

together with the papers of the case, in the custody of a police officer, to the magistrate, who, after conducting the trial to a close, may acquit him, or sentence him to imprisonment with hard labour in irons, for any period not exceeding two years, and one year in lieu of corporal punishment. In cases distinctly taken out of his jurisdiction by any Regulation, or Act, or in which he considers him deserving of a greater measure of punishment than he is capable of awarding, the magistrate may commit the prisoner for trial to the Sessions Judge.

Should a case be sent to the sessions, the witnesses for the prosecution, whose depositions have been taken before the darogah and the magistrate, are again heard *vivâ voce, de novo*, in the presence of the judge and the law officer, or assessors, or a jury; the defence of the prisoner is taken to the charge; and any new evidence, he may wish to have heard, is taken, and the case is determined. Should no specific punishment be declared by any Regulation, the judge is competent to pass any sentence of imprisonment, not exceeding seven years with labour in irons, and two years in lieu of corporal punishment. He may also, in cases of misdemeanour, award a fine of any amount. Should the judge be of opinion that the sentence, which he is competent to award, is inadequate, he is at liberty to transmit the case for an enhanced punishment to the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, which is competent to award any sentence, short of death. Similarly, should any sentence, which the Sessions Judge is obliged to award agreeably to any particular law, be too severe, he is at liberty to transmit the case to the above court for mitigation of punishment.

All criminal trials were formerly held by the judge, aided by a law officer, who was appointed to sit with him for the purpose of expounding the Mahomedan law, which law the Regulations of the Company set aside. Thus, if the Mahomedan law sentence a prisoner to lose two limbs, the judge is directed by Regulation 19 of 1793 to commute it to imprisonment with hard labour for 14 years; if to lose one limb, to seven years. Again, should the Mahomedan law reject the evidence of any person on the ground of his not professing the Mahomedan law, the Regulations require him to state what his opinion would have been, had the person been a Mahomedan, and the judge then passes sentence. A difference of opinion, as to the guilt of the prisoners, rendered the transmission of the record for the final orders of the Nizamut Adawlut indispensable—a measure which retarded justice so much, that, in 1832, a law was passed which enabled the judge to dispense with the aid of the law officer altogether.

By that law a judge may avail himself of the assistance of respectable natives, should they be willing to afford it, in either of the three following ways :—1st, By referring the suit, or any point thereof, to a *punchayet*, who will carry on their enquiries apart from the Court, and report to it the result. 2d, By appointing two or more such persons to be assessors in the Court, with a view to the advantages derivable from their observations, particularly in the examination of witnesses. The opinion of the assessors may be given separately and discussed; and should the judge, or any of the assessors, desire it, their opinions may be recorded in writing in the suit. 3d, By employing them as a jury: they must then attend during the trial and are at liberty to suggest, as it proceeds, such point of enquiry as occur to them, and after consultation will deliver in their verdict.

The mode of selecting the jurors, the number beyond two to be employed, and the manner in which their verdict shall be delivered, are left to the discretion of the judge who presides. But, under all the modes of procedure noted above, the decision is vested exclusively in the judge, who may pass sentence, provided he is specially empowered by any Regulation to punish the prisoner for the crime established against him: otherwise he must refer the case for the final orders of the Nizamut Adawlut.

Persons, not professing the Mahomedan faith, may claim to be exempted from trial according to the Mahomedan law; and when they do so, their trial must be conducted in one of the three ways above pointed out.

Thus we see that trial by jury has been nominally introduced into India. A jury may be appointed, and deliver in its verdict; but its opinion carries no weight with it. With this we do not quarrel; for the natives of India are not sufficiently advanced to have such power entrusted to them. Not a man among themselves would, if he could avoid it, subject himself to the final decision of such a tribunal: yet few would object to be tried by one European judge, unaided by a jury, or a Mahomedan officer.

The prestige of the trial by jury is fast fading away in England; and the late Irish trials have shown that some alteration is indispensably necessary. Twelve men are sworn to give in a true verdict. Eight consider the crime proved, and four dissent: yet these four will be compelled by the dread of imprisonment, or of hunger, or of loss of time, to agree with the eight, and deliver in a verdict in direct opposition to their conscience and their oath—and yet this is called a unanimous verdict! This might be generally avoided by having the jury composed of the same member of jurors as at present, and allowing the verdict of two-thirds to be conclusive. But, as we before observed, the

natives of this country are not sufficiently advanced to be allowed the boon of trial by jury, as in England. and we therefore trust that until they are, it will not be forced upon them.

We learn from the Guide books, that the judge is directed frequently to remind the witnesses, that they are on their oath; and this leads us to observe that no oath, considered binding upon the consciences of Hindus and Mahomedans, is imposed in our Courts.

The Hindus were formerly sworn by the water of the Ganges, and the Mahomedan by the Koran. But these oaths were abolished in 1840, and an affirmation substituted in their stead, while the penalties of perjury remained. The natives of India have long been averse to swearing; and an oath is considered highly derogatory to their dignity and honour. No native of respectability therefore would attend our Courts; and, with the hope of surmounting their objections, the affirmation was substituted. The measure has signally failed. A respectable native is as averse as ever to appear in Court, while the only check upon the lower orders has been abolished. The penalties of perjury are being daily incurred by men, who have in their own opinion committed no crime. To lie is fashionable and no crime; but to have the lie detected is disgraceful, though meriting only in their eyes contempt, not punishment.

The repeated calling of the attention of the witness to the obligation imposed upon him, as enjoined by the Regulation, is highly creditable: but peculiar care should be taken by all judicial officers in the mode of administering an oath. It is too often administered in a careless and irreverent manner, and in the midst of noise and confusion, which must render its obligations but imperfectly understood by the witness receiving it. It is impossible to invest the form with too much solemnity; it is impossible to take too much pains to fix the attention of the witness upon it; so as to leave no loophole for ignorance or perversion. "My firm belief is," says an able writer, "that the administration of oaths on useless trifling occasions, and the carelessness, with which they are administered, are the principal causes of those gross perjuries, which vitiate and disgrace our jurisprudence. If God be called upon to bear witness to matters of no moment; if his holy name be on solemn occasions uttered in a loose profane or idle manner—where can be the sacredness, or where is likely to be the obligation, of such a binding?" If this be true of Christian England, how much more true of this country, where the oath is not considered binding, and where the people are more weak and ignorant? Happily no fee is required in India on the

taking of an oath, and the levity, with which the fee is demanded (frequently forming part of the oath), as noticed by the writer we have quoted above, is unknown. The substitution of an affirmation, in lieu of an oath, is not, we observe, binding upon any of Her Majesty's Courts of Justice: but the reason of their exception is not stated. A special law however has been passed, declaring affirmations legal in the Courts of the Calcutta Magistrates.

The crimes, punishable by law by Sessions Judges, are thus enumerated by one of the Judges of the Nizamut Adawlut:—

“ In original offences, that is, offences which it is not competent to a Magistrate to punish on conviction, the extent, to which a Sessions Judge can sentence to imprisonment, is seven years in some, fourteen in others.

“ In the former class, are affrays attended with homicide, wounding, or severe beating, homicide, not amounting to wilful murder, maiming, or wounding; going forth in a gang for the purpose of committing robbery; embezzlement of public money; perjury; forgery, or subornation thereof; fraudulently issuing and publishing fabricated deeds and papers; using, issuing, selling, or disposing of counterfeit stamp paper; paying or tendering for payment, counterfeit coin, bank-notes, or other security for money, knowing the same to be fabricated or counterfeited; and clipping, filing, drilling, defacing or debasing the coin of Government.

“ Now these are heinous offences: and I would not say; that, as a maximum punishment, seven years' imprisonment was excessive. A wise discretion is exercised in apportioning the punishment to the offence, in each case within the limits prescribed.

“ A sentence of fourteen years' imprisonment by the Sessions Court is permitted in cases of robbery by open violence, burglary or theft, attended with wounding, or other corporal injury not endangering life, and in some cases wounding with intent to kill, of counterfeiting the coin of the Government, forging stamp paper, or notes, or other public securities, knowingly receiving property obtained in robbery by open violence, or burglary, or theft, attended with aggravating circumstances.

And to every punishment, so mentioned above, should be added a further imprisonment of two years, in lieu of corporal punishment.

The Magistrate, where the district is large, may, if it be necessary, be assisted by a Joint Magistrate, who has the same powers as himself, and also by Assistant and Deputy Magis-

trates. The assistants are competent to award, in cases of theft, one month's imprisonment with labour, and one month in lieu of corporal punishment—and, in cases of misdemeanours, imprisonment for fifteen days, and a fine not exceeding 50 Rupees, commutable to a further period of imprisonment of fifteen days.

Where an assistant may be deemed duly qualified, he may be vested with the power, in cases of theft, of imprisoning individuals for six months, and one month in lieu of corporal punishment; or, in other cases, with six months' imprisonment and a fine of 300 Rupees commutable to a further period of six months, should the fine not be paid, provided the Regulations and the Muhammedan law warrant such punishment.

Deputy Magistrates may be, according to their qualifications, vested with any of the powers ordinarily exercised by a Magistrate. The office of a Deputy Magistrate has been recently established under Act XV. of 1843: and it is yet too early to venture an opinion upon the step. It is beyond all doubt in the right direction, and must eventually succeed; but, owing to some cause or other, it has not as yet been attended with the decided success, so reasonably anticipated by Government.

The Court of Nizamut Adawlut, which is the highest Court in the country, is vested with the general controul of the subordinate courts, and is competent to confirm, modify, or reverse any sentence passed by them. It formerly had the power of enhancing punishment, or of punishing persons acquitted by the courts below: but this power has been taken away from it by Acts, XXXI, of 1841, and XIX, of 1848. It is the *only* Court that has the power of reversing an illegal or unjust sentence, without any appeal being preferred to it. We regret that the same power is not vested in the lower appellate Courts; as their not having it, is often tantamount to the withholding a righteous sentence. Where any illegal or unjust sentence is discovered by them, the case must be reported for the final orders of the Nizamut Adawlut; and, from the delay unavoidable in the transmission of the papers of the case to Calcutta, the sentence of the unfortunate prisoners very frequently expires, before the favourable orders of the Court can possibly arrive.

But we must now consider the law of appeal. Until the year 1831, no specific law, relative to appeals in criminal cases, appears to have existed: but the superior Courts were by law competent to revise the proceedings of the lower Courts, and therefore admitted appeals, whenever they were preferred to them.

In 1831, a law was passed, allowing an appeal in all criminal

trials to the Nizamut Adawlut, but in miscellaneous cases only to the Sessions Judge, whose order on the appeal was final. In 1837, a further alteration was made. An appeal was allowed in every case of every kind from the orders of the Magistrate to the Sessions Judge; saving only in cases relative to orders appointing, suspending, and removing, police and ministerial officers; and a second appeal was in criminal trials allowed to the Nizamut Adawlut.

In 1841, an entirely new law of appeal was promulgated. Act XXXI. of that year allows an appeal from the orders of an Assistant Magistrate, or any other officer acting under a Magistrate, not vested with special powers, to the Magistrate in all cases within the limitation prescribed by Sections 8 and 9, Regulation 9 of 1793; *i e.*, in cases of theft, one month's imprisonment with labour, or in cases of misdemeanour, imprisonment not exceeding fifteen days or a fine not exceeding 50 Rs., commutable to imprisonment for fifteen days, provided the appeal is filed within one month. To that extent, the orders of a Magistrate or Joint Magistrate are final: but an appeal is allowed to the Sessions Judge from every sentence or order, exceeding the above limits, passed by any officer exercising magisterial authority, if preferred within one month.

An appeal is allowed to the Nizamut Adawlut from every sentence, or order, passed by a Sessions Judge in criminal trials, provided it be preferred within three months.

Appellate Courts, subordinate to the Nizamut Adawlut, are incompetent to alter any sentence or order of any inferior court, except upon appeal by parties concerned; and neither they, nor the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, have any power to enhance the punishment of any person convicted, or to punish persons acquitted, by the subordinate courts.

The Sessions Judge, though restricted from altering any sentence of a Magistrate, except on appeal, is empowered to call for his proceedings in any case, in order to satisfy himself as to his regularity of proceeding; and, should any irregularity be discovered he is competent to refer the case for correction to the Nizamut Adawlut.

The Nizamut Adawlut is empowered to call for the records of any criminal trials of any subordinate courts, and to pass such order upon them, as may seem fit.

An appeal is allowed to the Sessions Judge from the decision of a Magistrate, in cases of forcible dispossession decided by him under Act IV. of 1840, provided it be preferred within the month: and the decision of the Sessions Judge is final.

Such is the present law of appeal; but as it has been found

to encourage litigiousness, and to occupy the time of the appellate courts unnecessarily, a further change is in contemplation. The problem of appeal, it cannot be denied, is a difficult one to solve, and has for some time occupied the attention of Government, in obedience to the express directions of the Court of Directors, who, in a despatch, dated the 22nd January 1845, to the Government of Bengal, thus write:—

“ The lengthened terms of imprisonment are still such as cannot in our judgment be necessary for the purpose of example, and are objectionable in every other view of the subject. We refer you to the observations to the same effect conveyed to you in our dispatch of the 28th September, 1842, No. 12.

“ We observe that, in no fewer than 460 cases, the sentences of Commissioners and Sessions Judges have been called up for review by the Nizamut Adawlut; and those of Magistrates and inferior officers, in no fewer than 4,318 cases, by Sessions Judges. This forms a large proportion of criminal cases to be tried a second time. You are aware of our opinion, that, while it is necessary that a vigilant superintendence should be exercised over subordinate tribunals, with the view of preventing them from falling into error, and of preserving uniformity and regularity of proceeding, an absolute right of appeal cannot be allowed to convicts without its leading to unavoidable abuse. We trust, that, under the instructions with which we have furnished you, the law, in this respect, may undergo some useful modification.”

On the receipt of this despatch, Lord Hardinge, considering the opportunity a favourable one for the full consideration of the question, “ called upon the Court of Nizamut Adawlut to aid him, and lay before him such a plan, as might enable him to abrogate the right to appeal so indiscriminately allowed; and directed it to call upon the Sessions Judges and Magistrates to consider the subject with attention, and to report upon it at an early date.

“ On this subject, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal observed in a letter to the Officiating Register of the Sudder Court, dated 19th February, 1845.—

“ As a general rule, His Excellency would be disposed to abrogate all appeals on matters of evidence and fact, of which in general the Court of first instance, having the parties before it, is commonly better able to judge, than any Court of appeal, which sees only the record of the case; leaving a full liberty of appeal on questions of law. These questions would be required to be fully set forth in the application for appeal;

‘ and, if such applications were accompanied, as they ought to
 ‘ be in each case, by a copy of the order appealed against, the
 ‘ appeal might ordinarily admit of immediate decision by the
 ‘ appellate court, without calling for the record.

‘ His Excellency would still leave to every superior court
 ‘ the power of calling for, and inspecting, and reporting on
 ‘ the proceedings of its subordinates, without, however, alter-
 ‘ ing the decisions passed by the latter. Indeed His Ex-
 ‘ cellency would insist upon this mode of superintendence, and
 ‘ enforce it with strictness, as being in his judgment superior
 ‘ (for its object) to the present system of appeal.....The
 ‘ manner, in which the time of the Courts is now occupied by
 ‘ appeals, is notorious. It is illustrated very distinctly by the
 ‘ Court’s last return of the administration of criminal justice,
 ‘ for 1843. In that return it will be found, that, in the Sudder
 ‘ Court itself, the number of criminal cases before it on appeal
 ‘ was only 47 short of being equal to the number of regular
 ‘ trials referred to the court under the ordinary regulations—
 ‘ the numbers being,—

“ Of regular trials 278

“ Of appeals 231.

‘ The number of regular trials, held by the Sessions Judges,
 ‘ is not given in the return; but the number of persons tried
 ‘ was 4,270. Supposing an average of two persons tried in each
 ‘ case, the number of cases tried would be 2,135. While the
 ‘ number of appeal cases, for hearing before the same func-
 ‘ tionaries, was 4,924, or more than double the number of ordi-
 ‘ nary trials.

‘ The number of appeals tried by Magistrates is not given:
 ‘ but, if it bore any thing like the above proportion to the
 ‘ trials of first instance, the number must be enormous.

‘ There would appear then, in the present circumstances of
 ‘ the country, to be but a choice between two methods of ad-
 ‘ ministration. The one is that at present pursued, of taking
 ‘ *great pains in the selection* of functionaries (!), giving them ju-
 ‘ risdiction over immense tracts of country and vast numbers of
 ‘ people, paying them highly, and scarcely trusting them at all,
 ‘ without a constant system of appeal.

‘ The other is that of an equally careful selection, and equal-
 ‘ ly adequate remuneration, of functionaries: but their num-
 ‘ bers greater, the extent of their local jurisdiction smaller, and
 ‘ a confidence reposed in them, equal to the importance of their
 ‘ positions, and accommodated to the habits and manners of the
 ‘ people over whom they are placed; while, at the same time,

‘ such a general supervision is established, as cannot fail to bring to light any abuse of the confidence bestowed.”

In obedience to these instructions, a Circular was issued to the various Sessions Judges and Magistrates, calling upon them for their opinions: and we had hoped to find them recorded in the “Correspondence on the abolition and modification of Criminal Appeals;” but we have been disappointed.

The letter of the Register to the Court simply records the opinions of the Sudder Judges, which we shall presently notice, and states that “the replies of the Magistrates and Sessions Judges are herewith submitted.”

Replies to the Circular letter of the Sudder Courts were received from twenty-seven Judges, and fifty-four Magistrates Commissioners and Political Agents, making a total of eighty-one: but of these only twenty-three have been printed, while no notice whatever has been taken of the remainder.

The principle of “selection” has not been declared; nor have we, from perusing the replies, been able to discover it. No analysis even of the opinions of these twenty-three officers has been given; and we have accordingly been obliged to make one.

Of the twenty-three officers, whose minutes have been printed:—

- 8 are in favour of the system of appeal at present in vogue.
- 4 would confine appeals to points of law.
- 2 would continue the present system, as far as regards Magistrates, but abrogate all appeal from the decision of Sessions Judges.
- 1 would confine it to points of law, and cases of manifest deficiency, or total absence, of proof.
- 1 is for the total abolition of appeal in every case.
- 1 would confine it to points of law, provided the qualifications of the Magistrates are first raised.
- 1 would greatly reduce the power of appeal, but specifies no limits.
- 1 would continue the present system with regard to Magistrates, but continue appeal to points of law for Sessions Judge.
- 1 would restrict appeals to heinous offences.
- 1 would allow them upon points of evidence and facts, to sentences passed in excess of six months’ imprisonment or 200 rupees, or three months’ imprisonment with 100 rupees fine, and to all questions of law without reference to the period of imprisonment or amount of fine.
- 1 would continue the present system, but legalize fines for vexations, or litigious appeals.
- 1 omitted to give any opinion at all.

Five have recorded their opinion against appeals in summary cases, under Act IV. of 1840 for dispossession ; but the others have overlooked the law altogether.

After receiving and considering these replies, the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, in their letter to the Secretary of the Government of Bengal, dated the 8th October 1847, observe:—

“The chief modification of the law of appeal, which is proposed, is, that the liberty of appeal, of right, should be taken away. Further, cases under Act IV. of 1840, and others, in which the decisions are open to be contested in civil suits, should not be appealable, except as to the relevancy of the law to the particular matter at issue. In cases too, where the order of the Law or Court is conclusive by law, it should nevertheless be legal, to be respected by the superior Court. On this account, the power formerly vested in the Nizamut Adawlut, by Section 24 Regulation 9 of 1807, should be restored to it, both as regards criminal trials and miscellaneous proceedings.

“The Court would maintain the system of appeal, modified as above ; because, even if comparatively few of the convictions of the lower Courts be reversed, the necessity is still shewn of allowing an appeal to insure a fair administration of justice. This will not be gained by allowing them only on points of law, for there are few such in connection with criminal trials. Failure of justice principally arises from conviction on insufficient evidence, or excessive punishment upon right conviction, rescinded by Section 8, Regulation 53 of 1803.”

The plan then, recommended by the highest Court in the country for the adoption of the Government, is simply, to take away the liberty of *right* of appeal in criminal cases, and to abrogate appeal in summary cases under Act IV. of 1840, except as to the relevancy of the law to the particular matter at issue.

No appeal however, we think, should be admitted from decisions passed by Magistrates in summary suits for dispossession under Act IV. of 1840 ; because a decision is required in them with the simple object of suppressing affrays ; and this object would be better attained by a Magistrate, upholding and carrying into effect his own decision—a decision which he is morally convinced is right—than in giving effect to a decision of a Sessions Judge, which is at variance with his own, and which, if he is a man with any self-reliance, he must necessarily consider wrong. It has not unfrequently happened, that the award of the Magistrate has been carried into effect, and the evil pas-

sions of the litigants allayed ; but, when the order has been reversed on appeal, and the execution of the order of the appellate Court has led to the very thing, it was intended to prevent, viz. an affray. It is competent to an appellate Court, on a motion to that effect being made, to desire the Magistrate to delay the execution of his own order ; and in some courts the injunction is issued as a matter of course on the appeal being filed. It is desirable that it should be issued in every instance.

In one class of criminal cases, where an appeal is disallowed, we are of opinion that it should be granted ; and it might be granted too with such a proviso, as would not interfere with the harsh yet benevolent intentions of the Act. We allude to the cases of corporal punishment for simple theft under Act III. of 1844—an Act which appears to have escaped the notice of all the criminal authorities whose minutes we have analysed. A Magistrate is competent in cases of theft of property not exceeding fifty rupees, to award thirty stripes of a rattan ; but when stripes are given, no other punishment can be awarded. Boys, whose age does not exceed eighteen years, are required to be punished, *rather in the way of school discipline*, than of ordinary criminal justice ; and it is incumbent on Magistrates, in such cases, to award them a punishment not exceeding ten stripes of a light rattan.

Corporal punishment was abolished by Lord William Bentinck in the year 1834, and it is much to be regretted that it has been found necessary to recur to it. The fault rests with the Government. The preamble to the Act declares it expedient, until adequate improvements in prison discipline can be effected. The infliction of punishment with a rattan, if vigorously applied to the back, is most severe, and leaves indelible marks ; and it is usual for Police officers to examine the back of an accused person, to ascertain whether he has ever been flogged, or, as they expressly say, whether he is a *dāghí*, or marked, man ; so that we have no hesitation in declaring, that this Act ought to have been included among those enumerated for rescision in the Draft of an Act lately published, expressly prohibiting the application of indelible marks to any convict upon any part of the person. Boys should be whipped, as in England, privately, and with a light whip or rod, which, though they may leave weals, will not leave marks to be carried to the grave. They should also be struck, not on the back exactly, but on that part of the person, which is visited with such punishment at school.

As the object of this Act is to prevent the incarceration of offenders, of whom there is a hope of reformation, among the usually hardened inmates of a jail, the Act has given no power of appeal : and many are the innocent persons, we doubt

not, who, in this land of perjury, are at this moment bearing about on their persons the marks of disgrace. Magistrates are alone competent to award this punishment; and they are, as has been frequently pointed out in former articles in this *Review*, very young and inexperienced, and often times, from ignorance of the habits and castes of the natives, incapable of judging, when the punishment should be with propriety inflicted. The object of the Act would in no ways be defeated, if it were made incumbent upon a Magistrate to send the papers of the case for the confirmation of his order by the Sessions Judge. No delay need occur: the courts are all close at hand; and lengthened proceedings on the part of the Magistrate and Judge would be unnecessary. Were the Magistrate simply to write on the record with his own hand, "Corporal punishment considered proper," and then transmit the case to the Judge, who should simply write "Confirmed," or "Disallowed," the object would be obtained. The rubukari, containing the reasons for the judgment, might be drawn up subsequently. If the order be confirmed, corporal punishment should be instantly inflicted; if otherwise, the prisoner should be remanded into custody, till the rubukari should arrive from the Judge.

Before we dismiss this subject, we must revert to a sentence in the letter of the Secretary to Government, as it contains an error, which must not be overlooked. In speaking of the methods of administration, adapted to the present circumstances of the country, Mr. Halliday writes of the one *at present pursued*, "that of taking great pains in the selection of functionaries."

Now we have always supposed, that this plan had yet to be tried. We should be glad to learn where it has been pursued in any single instance. That there are several able, most able Magistrates in the country, we are most willing to allow; but we most emphatically deny, that they were *selected* for their appointments. They were put into them at random, and have become good officers by experience. Had they been *selected*, the inefficiency and boyishness of the magistracy would not have been so constantly pointed out. Had they been *selected*, there would have been no necessity for extra Sessions Judges, and no reason for recommending the appointment of Deputy Magistrates. Ask themselves as a body, if there is one among them, who considers himself to have been *selected*. Ask the able among them, even when, after long drudgery and "hope deferred" they have obtained a magistracy, if they do not consider themselves to have been cruelly neglected. Ask the ablest officiating Magistrates, who have year after year obtained the approbation of their immediate superior officers, what answer they obtain to their ap-

plications for confirmation. They will tell you, if old, that they are informed that there are still seniors to be provided for—if young, that they are inexperienced, and unreasonable—aye, unreasonable in asking for an office, the duties of which they have long performed zealously and creditably, but the emoluments of which have been carefully withheld from them. Such a word, as *selection*, has not been in use in the Bengal Secretariat Office since the days of Mr. Mangles. The “merit-fostering system” though subjected to ridicule, and open to objections, held out hope, and awakened a spirit of zeal and emulation in the Civil Service, which it has been difficult to quench. In his days, the man, who performed his duty, felt sure of his reward. It might be delayed, but it was sure; and ardour was never damped by the knowledge, that idle seniority or imbecility must be first provided for.

But what, it may be asked, became of the idle and the inefficient in Mr. Mangles’s time? We answer, they disappeared. Cured as by a miracle, they, who believed themselves ill, or incapacitated by infirmity, revived. They became clothed again with energy, and the thirst of emulation was excited among them.

The Civil Service is strictly a seniority service: and very strictly has the rule of late, with a few to-be-railed-at exceptions, been observed. Without any exertion, without any merit, and now and then with a slightly damaged reputation, men are carried upwards with the stream, as far as the office of Sessions Judge:—and there they are laid upon the shelf.

It is no wonder, that Mr. Hawkins, in his able minute upon the appeal law, has recorded against the Sessions Judges the following judgment: the only wonder is, that under the circumstances it should be as favourable as it is:—

“With regard to the Sessions Courts, daily experience ‘points out’ the propriety of maintaining the exercise of an ‘appellate jurisdiction over their proceedings by such a Court ‘as the Nizamut Adawlut. The law, administered throughout ‘the entire jurisdiction of the Court, in the Regulation provinces, is one; but the administration is in the hands of many; ‘and, as may naturally be supposed, multiform sentences for ‘the same offences vary as much as they well can do; and to ‘insure any thing, like an uniformity of administration, there ‘must be a controlling power, vested with authority to correct ‘and amend the proceedings of the Sessions Courts. The ‘criminal law was unquestionably administered with greater ‘uniformity under the Circuit Courts, than it now is by the ‘Sessions Courts. One Judge held the circuit in a number ‘of districts, and the sentences in criminal trials for like and

‘ similar offences, in the entire extent of his jurisdiction, were
 ‘ much of the same character; and mutual intercourse, and
 ‘ constant interchange of communication, led to similarity of
 ‘ procedure and administration, on the part generally of the
 ‘ Judges of a Provincial Court of Circuit. Now it is quite the
 ‘ reverse. One Judge takes one view of a class of crimes;
 ‘ another takes altogether a different view; and hence the ne-
 ‘ cessity of a superior power to bring them, as near as possible,
 ‘ to something like uniformity. Besides which, all our Judges
 ‘ are not men of the same stamp. One may safely be trusted
 ‘ with extensive powers; while another requires a more vigilant
 ‘ supervision. For the most part they are men, whose judgment
 ‘ can be depended upon; but there are exceptions, and there
 ‘ ever will be exceptions:—and exceptions must be considered,
 ‘ in cases involving the liberty of a man for all periods extend-
 ‘ ing to fourteen years. The experiment, now proposed, of
 ‘ abrogating all appeals has not been tried for a period of half a
 ‘ century and upwards, during which our system of criminal ad-
 ‘ ministration has been in force; and I do not think it can be
 ‘ safely tried now. The Circuit Judges were men of greater ex-
 ‘ perience than many of our present Judges; they had the be-
 ‘ nefit of mutual consultation. Our present Judges act singly
 ‘ and alone. The Circuit Judges sat with a Law Officer, and a
 ‘ difference of opinion involved the necessity of a reference to
 ‘ the Nizamut Adawlut. Our present Judges often sit with a
 ‘ Jury, and are competent to over-rule the finding of a Jury, and
 ‘ to proceed at once to sentence. The Circuit Judges were for
 ‘ the most part at a distance from the scene in which the trials
 ‘ were to be held, and came to the bench, unprejudiced by pre-
 ‘ vious information. It is to be hoped that the last clause
 ‘ describes the state of things now; but it cannot be denied
 ‘ that local information, and local association, may occasionally
 ‘ involve the possibility of a different result. The abrogation
 ‘ of appeals was never thought of during the existence of the
 ‘ Provincial Courts. I do not think the experiment should be
 ‘ made now.”

We will now endeavour to give an account of the extent of crime in the Lower Provinces, and for this purpose will refer to *Mr. Speede's Criminal Statistics of Bengal*. From the difficulties attending his researches, these cannot be deemed incontrovertibly correct, but are yet sufficiently so for our purpose.

The area of the Lower Provinces may be taken to be about 154,453 square miles, with a population of 37,318,685, which is about 238-54 inhabitants to a square mile. During the years

1823-24-25-26, the number of criminal cases brought to trial was 170,331, in which 392,900 persons were concerned, of whom 146,975 were convicted and punished.

All these persons were not imprisoned; but at least one-third of them were released on the payment of a fine.

In the years 1833-34-35-36, the total number of criminal trials is not mentioned; but the number of persons concerned were 166,673, of whom 128,135 were convicted and punished.

This statement shews a great improvement, for whereas in the first period the proportion of offenders to the population was *one* * in 354, in the latter, it is *one* in 560.

Of the number of persons who may have been released on appeal as innocent, or convicted on insufficient evidence, we have no information: but that they were probably numerous, we may infer from Mr. Hawkins, who tells us, that, from the year 1840 to the middle of 1845, the number of cases decided by the Magistrate and his assistants, exclusive of those committed for trial to the Sessions, was 197,016, of which 28,611 or about one-seventh, were appealed. It is to be regretted that the number of appellants, and the number acquitted on appeal, is not given: but we may form a guess. We will take the average of persons in each appeal to be three: this will give us 85,833 appellants, of whom half, it may be presumed, were released. The proportion of offenders therefore to the population is more favourable than that given by Mr. Speede.

The criminal statements for the year 1847, prepared by the Register to the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, have, while we are writing, been sent to us, and enable to give an analysis of crime for the last year, but not so complete a one as we could wish. The statements are confused, and we are unable to follow up the cases sent by the Magistrates to the Sessions Court, and by the Sessions Court to the Nizamut Adawlut, so as to tell precisely the number of persons convicted of crimes committed in any one year.

In the year 1847, 92,313 persons were apprehended by the Police; 2,257 were under trial at the beginning of the year, and 355 were transferred. Of these, 54,319 were convicted, 33,786 acquitted by the Magistrates, and 3,558 committed to the Sessions. Of the fate of those committed, we cannot speak; as the tabular statement, in which they are entered, is swollen by prisoners received back from the Nizamut Adawlut, and prisoners transferred.

It gives a total of 4,256 persons under trial before the Sessions Court. Of these, 1,764 were convicted, the large number of

* The population in the latter period is increased to 38,817,874.

1,300 acquitted, and 504 referred to the Nizamut Adawlut. The commitments of 54 persons were cancelled, 20 died, 20 were transferred (whither?), and 413 remained under trial.

To the number referred for trial to the Nizamut Adawlut, must be added 20 pending on the first day of the year, which gives a total of 480 persons. Of these 331 were convicted, and 146 acquitted, leaving three under trial at the end of the year.

The proportion of acquittals to convictions is very great, being 35,227 acquitted after trial, to 56,414 convicted.

Of the convicted, however, many were released on appeal, as we proceed to show; but the exact number of persons we cannot make out, as the number of cases appealed is alone given, and not the number of persons interested in them.

From them we gather, that, of 4,089 appeals brought to trial before the Sessions Court, 371 were rejected as irregular, the orders of 2,027 were confirmed, 1,406 were reversed, leaving 285 pending at the end of the year. To these must be added 63 orders of the Sessions Judges reversed by the Nizamut Adawlut. Allowing 3 persons to each appeal, we must deduct 4,407 persons acquitted on appeal from the numbers entered in the body of the statement as convicted, and add them to the acquittals; and the former will be then 39,634, and the latter 52,007.

The statement is valuable, but would be more so, if arranged in a somewhat more methodical manner. The result of charges pending at the beginning of the year should be distinguished from those preferred during it; and explanations might be given as to where the persons, entered as 'transferred' arrive from, or are sent to. When the commitments are quashed too, we should be told whether the prisoners were acquitted or punished by the Courts below, and a note might be given, shewing the result of trials left pending at the close of the year. This could not be difficult; as the Report before us, for 1847, was not published till October 1848; and the result therefore of the trials must have been known.

A comparative statement of the crimes committed in Bengal, with those committed in England and France, has been attempted by Mr. Speede, and we give it below; but it is by no means conclusive. We learn (page 78) that the data, from which the table for France is framed, are for the year 1826, and that the amount of population is taken from W. Porter's tables for the year 1820; while the table of crime is framed from the "*Compte general de l'administration de la justice criminelle*."

The table for England and Wales is the average of the four years 1823, 1824, 1825 and 1826; and that for Ireland is for the year 1826 only:—

Places.	Extent.		Persons charged.	Convictions.			Proportion to the Population.				Proportion of convictions to charges, one in	
	Square Miles.	Population.		Population per square miles.	Crimes.	Offences.	Total.	Offenders charged, one in	Convicted.			
									For crimes, one in	For offences, one in		Total, one in
Bengal.....	1,54,453	36,918,765	239.03	9,687	27,087	36,769	386	3,811	1,363	1,004	0.375	
England & Wales.	57,066	11,978,875	209.91	9,523	179	9,702	845	1,259	66,921	1,234	0.686	
Ireland.....	30,000	6,801,827	226.72	...	...	9,368	460	...	...	726	0.640
France.....	2,05,000	29,236,000	143.10	4,307	5,096	9,403	175	6,788	5,737	3,108	0.056	

We will let Mr. Speede afford his own comments ; for we are glad to be able to shew, even approximately, that the criminal administration of justice in Bengal under the Hon'ble East India Company is not very inferior to that of other countries, in Europe.

“ Although taken on authority, which is generally considered good, the extent of square miles in France may be considered rather in excess ; although in all other respects this statement may be looked on as correct. An examination of its details shews rather favourably for the Police of Bengal, notwithstanding the large proportion of offenders apprehended, as compared with the population—being nearly 225 per cent. greater than in England and Wales, and 122 per cent. above that in Ireland, whilst with France the comparison appears as 49 per cent. on the other side. This latter is so very disproportionate, alike to the rates of population, and to the subsequent convictions, that there is little reason to doubt, that the report is encumbered with every petty appearance at the Police, even if only for examination of passports, or administration of oaths of forms ; and it can hardly therefore be assumed as any help to our object. In comparing Bengal also with England and Wales, or even with Ireland, consideration must be given to the greater degree of education known to exist in these two countries ; and this is rendered the more striking by contrasting the one of these with the other, shewing so marked an evidence in favour of England and Wales, wherein education has, it is notorious, so greatly the superiority ; this is the more worthy of remark, as it goes far to prove the fallacy of the assertions made by the opponents of education among the natives. It has to be borne in mind also, in considering the contrast shewn in this table, that personal liberty is much more secure, and the chance of false or extortionate arrests vastly less in Great Britain, where malicious complaints are less frequent, and less liable to be carried out to the extent of an arrest than in this country. Yet considering all these collateral circumstances, we cannot look on the appearance of this part of the Police operations in Bengal, as exhibiting so unfavorable an aspect as we have been generally led to expect. At the same time it must be admitted that it is on such comparisons alone that any judgment can be formed of the good or ill condition of the Police of any country and of its operations.

“ In comparing the convictions of those who are arrested for crimes in Bengal, the advantage is evidently apparent over those in England and Wales. At the same time, however, the proportion proved in the courts in the latter exceeding those of the former, viz. about thirty-three per cent., we may fairly

‘ assume, that the executive duties of the Police are better and
 ‘ more effectually performed; since it is evident, that fewer false,
 ‘ or doubtful, seizures must occur, and that the evidence has been
 ‘ more carefully selected, and more surely obtained. We have
 ‘ however generally been led to suppose that the proportion
 ‘ of crime was greatest here; but this would not appear by
 ‘ these tables to be the case, notwithstanding the greater amount
 ‘ of the population, being about fifteen per cent., without taking
 ‘ into account the large tracts of jungle: and, were it not that,
 ‘ in India, conviction is more difficult of attainment, from the
 ‘ corruption of the courts, and the chances of escape thereby
 ‘ being increased, it would seem that Bengal was less prolific
 ‘ of crime than Great Britain. In France it would appear to
 ‘ be yet more reduced; and we have good reason to believe this
 ‘ to be the case; as in addition to the known superiority of the
 ‘ Police, in activity—the new districts are less rife in crime
 ‘ than either our own, or this country; and their inhabitants
 ‘ are a simple and inoffensive race.

‘ It is unnecessary to refer more at length in regard to
 ‘ offences, except to remark the very small proportion they bear
 ‘ in England and Wales to the extent and density of popula-
 ‘ tion. It is preferred therefore to pass on to the general state
 ‘ of convictions of all sorts for both crimes and offences. In
 ‘ ration of these proportionate convictions, Bengal stands third
 ‘ in the countries selected—France being the first, and shewing
 ‘ one conviction to 3,108 inhabitants, and Ireland resting the
 ‘ lowest in morality, or one in 725—Bengal being (as shewn) as
 ‘ one in 1,004; a ration that under all circumstances, may be
 ‘ considered tolerably favourable. The proportion of convictions
 ‘ to the charges made, or offenders, supports what has been
 ‘ already remarked respecting the greater activity in the exe-
 ‘ cutive apartments of the Police, and the certainty of evidence.
 ‘ It is remarkable that, generally speaking, less than half the
 ‘ offenders are convicted: notwithstanding the alleged exertions
 ‘ on the part of the Police in Bengal the convictions are little
 ‘ more than one-third. In England, Wales, and Ireland, they
 ‘ stand as two-thirds; but in France they do not amount to
 ‘ even a twentieth.” pp. 80, 81.

And what, it may be asked, is the number of Magistrates and Police officers employed to maintain the peace, and prevent and detect crime among the thirty-seven and a half millions of inhabitants of Bengal? and what is the cost of their maintenance to the Company?

The lower provinces of Bengal are disposed into thirty-two Zillahs, under the jurisdiction of one Superintendent of Police. Twenty-four of these have each a Magistrate; and eight, a Joint Magistrate, subject to the immediate controul of the Sessions

Judge, who has however no power over the Police. The number of Assistant and Deputy Magistrates varies according to the exigency of the districts: of these there are at present twenty-four.

These thirty-two districts are subdivided into 445 Thannahs, or Police stations, presided over by a Daroga, having under him a Mohurrir, Jemadar, and several Burkundazes, averaging about ten to a Thannah: and numerous Choukidars, or village watchmen; who average 264 to each Thannah, all of whose duty it is to maintain the peace, to detect and prevent crime, and to perform the other ordinary duties of a Police: and did they but perform their duty, there can be but little doubt that the number is amply sufficient.

Their general inefficiency and corruptness has been so often set forth in these pages that it will suffice merely to re-state the fact.

The annexed Table, prepared from Mr. Speede's work, will show the estimated area of each particular district, the population, and the numbers of Police employed; and will be more satisfactory to most readers than giving the whole in round numbers.

District.	Area. Sq. Miles.	Population.	Darogas.	Mohurrirs.	Jemadars.	Burkundazes.	Choukidars.	Puhardars.	Total num- ber of Police.
Patna	1,060	815,790	22	21	18	472	3,558	26	4,117
Behar	1,196	807,924	9	9	11	183	6,425	38	6,678
Shahabad	3,056	961,924	11	11	15	168	4,873	..	5,078
Sarun	2,520	923,872	11	12	11	112	4,026	..	4,172
Chumparun	2,515	408,560	8	8	8	80	2,772	..	2,876
Purneah	10,800	1,602,902	14	10	24	275	9,665	163	10,177
Bhagulpore	9,600	2,000,900	13	19	26	213	3,299	46	3,616
Monghyr	4,166	866,520	9	9	11	128	3,130	25	3,312
Tirhut	10,000	1,510,427	16	16	24	235	8,640	..	8,900
Dinagpore	4,136	2,293,200	17	17	18	182	7,170	..	7,704
Malda	3,500	431,715	8	8	8	95	2,192	..	2,311
Rungpore	6,570	1,214,275	20	21	26	312	7,594	..	7,973
Rajshelhai	4,364	987,678	10	10	14	151	4,255	..	4,413
Bugurah	3,963	321,000	9	9	9	125	3,294	124	3,570
Pubna	3,324	598,573	9	9	10	133	3,255	..	3,416
Murshadabad	4,235	969,447	36	37	60	724	3,598	..	4,455
Birbhum	3,850	1,580,665	18	18	19	257	13,881	..	14,193
Mymensing	6,025	1,634,183	13	15	20	172	5,787	..	6,027
Dacca	2,400	542,540	20	22	22	217	2,716	..	3,057
Farridpore	4,500	556,949	11	14	12	150	2,667	..	2,851
Sylhet	5,559	590,000	15	16	18	200	3,146	..	3,395
Backergunge	4,750	737,765	13	20	13	183	2,799	..	3,028
Tipperah	4,387	806,950	11	12	12	120	2,842	18	3,015
Noacolly	3,009	433,004	9	10	10	102	1,761	..	1,898
Hughly	2,509	1,508,843	18	19	36	367	9,559	475	10,474
Burdwan	3,776	334,603	10	12	14	148	3,177	47	5,408
Bankorah	2,900	145,000	12	13	15	149	5,394	61	5,643
24-Pergunnahs	2,296	722,814	10	18	54	431	3,358	..	3,877
Baraset	3,588	336,743	6	6	11	127	2,001	57	2,208
Jessore	5,940	893,038	12	12	13	148	4,042	..	4,227
Nuddea	5,400	836,900	16	15	19	201	3,758	..	4,009
Midnapore	6,782	1,663,228	23	22	24	255	4,640	667	5,631
			445	474	608	6,918	154,613	1,747	164,832

The utter impossibility that one man, however able, can be competent to superintend 164,835 policemen, besides fifty magistrates and their assistants, is, we should think, sufficiently glaring, and on the occurrence of a vacancy we hope some change will take place. We would have two (four would be better), upon the same salaries as a Sessions Judge, with sufficiently liberal travelling allowances; and they should never be stationary. A reduction, however, in the salary of the Superintendent of Police is, we fear, all that is contemplated: but that, we need scarcely remark, will by no means secure greater efficiency in the system of controul.

The officers appointed to control these, who are all (with the exception of the Sessions Judges, thief-catchers) have been given above: and we will therefore briefly show the cost to the Company of the whole.

24	Magistrates, at 900 Rupees each per month...	259,200
16	Assistant Magistrates, at 400 Rupees each...	76,800
445	Darogahs, at 70 Rupees each	373,800
474	Mohurís at 7-8 ditto	42,660
608	Jemadars, at 8 ditto	58,368
1747	Puharídars, at 4 ditto	83,856
6918	Burkundázés, at 4 ditto	332,064
154,613	Choukídars, at 3 ditto	5,566,068
	River Police, Boats, &c.	39,591

NOTE.—In this table the salaries of the Superintendent of Police, and the Deputy Magistrates, as well as the establishments of the Superintendents and of the 24 Magistrates, are omitted.

Assuming then the population of Bengal at thirty-seven millions and a half, we find that there are one hundred and sixty-four thousand, eight hundred and five police officers distributed through Bengal, which gives us an average of 1 policeman to 800 inhabitants. London is controlled by a police force of 1 to every 336 individuals; and the country by 1 to 1,769, or 1 man to every 4,403 square acres. Ireland is not a fit country for comparison; for the people are controlled there by the army, and not by the police: but we may observe that a force is maintained of 8,263 men, which gives an average of 1 to 945 inhabitants.

What strikes one with surprise is the difference of cost. A policeman in England costs the government £55-16s. annually; while one in Bengal costs only £4-16s.; or, if a village

watchman, £3-12s. There is however as much difference in their respective qualifications. The English policeman is as efficient, as the Bengali is inefficient.

We will now briefly consider the various crimes, and the laws in force for their suppression.

The crimes, which may be regarded as peculiar to India, and unknown in England, are those of Thuggi, Satí, Slavery, and Dharna, and to them may be added Dacoity.

Dacoity or robbery by open violence, cannot be said to be unknown in England: but there are no *castes*,* who are robbers by profession, and whose children are taught to regard robbery as a lawful means of livelihood. To constitute a dacoity, it is necessary, that the person, or persons, committing it, shall go forth armed with some offensive weapon, or in a gang of not less than three persons, armed, or unarmed, and attack some house, or building, in which there may be persons residing, or goods stored, at the time of attack.

With the view of suppressing dacoity, various laws have, from time to time, been passed, of greater or less severity, but with doubtful success. At one time a party charged with dacoity, and absconding, was proclaimed; and, on being apprehended, was liable to be tried for contumacy, should the evidence against him, on the charge of dacoity, be insufficient for his conviction. That law has been rescinded, as its severity caused it to be a dead letter: and, under the provisions of Act XXIV. of 1843, on proof of belonging to, or even of having belonged to, a gang of professional dacoits, a prisoner may be sentenced to imprisonment or transportation for life. This crime is ordinarily punished by imprisonment, with hard labour, for seven years.

Thuggi is the crime of murder committed by professional robbers, who strangle their victims, usually with a handkerchief, and offer them up as an offering to Kalí. On the discovery of organized bands of these murderers, who, by some masonic sign, known only to the initiated, were recognized by one another from one end of India to the other, the Government of Bengal instituted the most energetic measures for their apprehension. Colonel Sleeman, one of the ablest officers in the Company's Service, was placed at the head of the department for the suppression of Thuggi, and, with the aid of special Joint Magistrates, and the ordinary Police, has almost exterminated them. Numbers have paid the penalty of their crimes with their lives, while hundreds are still imprisoned for

* We fear that, even in England, such *castes* are to be found.

life. Their descendants have been taken under the special protection of Government, and are being taught various trades, such as tent and carpet making, &c.; and it is firmly hoped that they will learn to regard the crimes of their ancestors with that horror and repugnance, which is naturally aroused by the contemplation of them.

The conviction of the Thugs was mainly brought about by approvers—men who saved their own lives, by undertaking the conviction of their brother murderers. Their testimony was naturally open to great distrust; yet the circumstantial evidence procured by their means was most conclusive. A slight sketch of the nature of the evidence may be interesting. Supposing a party was apprehended at Agra, and confessed to having belonged to a gang of Thugs, he was asked if he would save his life by denouncing his companions. If he consented, sentence of imprisonment was passed against him: and he then gave a full account of his cold-blooded atrocities. If any of those whom he denounced as his companions, had been already convicted, the Magistrates in charge of them were desired to take their depositions; which were then submitted to the head of the department, for comparison with one another. Parties deposing to the same crime may have been some at Allahabad, some at Patna, and some at Chittagong, and yet their depositions agreed in every important particular. The dates and place of occurrence, the ceremonies observed by the party on going forth, and the numbers concerned, were detailed with such exact minuteness, as to leave no doubt of the truth of the depositions; and these were often confirmed by the discovery of property, or of human bones, in the spots indicated by the informers.

These depositions were acted upon; the accomplices named in them arrested; and, on learning the evidence against them, they, with few exceptions, at once confessed their guilt.

This crime has decreased: but the exertions of the Thuggí department ought never to cease, till every Thug be extirpated.

Satí, or the burning of Hindu widows in India with the dead bodies of their husbands, is the next crime we have enumerated, as peculiar to India. With the history of Satí, we have nothing to do: it is a subject that would form an interesting article of itself. We have only to consider it as a crime, which it was declared by law to be in the year 1829, by that enlightened Statesman, Lord William Bentinck: and we have ever considered the prohibition of Satí as the noblest act that has been performed, since the Government of India has

been ours. The law prohibiting it is singularly mild; and yet it would appear to have been effectual. There is only one case of Sati recorded in the decisions of the Nizamut Adawlut, but other convictions may have taken place before the Courts of Session; although of these, even rumour is silent. The law declares that all persons aiding and abetting a Sati where the sacrifice is voluntary, shall be deemed guilty of culpable homicide, and be punished discretionally by fine, or imprisonment, or both, with, or without, labour. Where compulsion may have been used, or the woman may have been labouring under stupefaction, parties assisting at the Sati, shall be deemed guilty of murder, and shall be liable to suffer death. Since Sati was declared a crime, the practice, so utterly repugnant to human nature, has become unpopular, and must speedily cease; and, on the next revision of the criminal laws of India, a special statute for its suppression will be deemed unnecessary.

Slavery, or an absolute power over the person and fortune of a slave, very generally existed throughout India. Both the Hindu and Muhammedan laws recognise slavery; and chapters have been devoted in them to the exposition of the various modes, in which one person may become the slave of another. The British Government however has exercised its declared prerogative of modifying the laws, and has, from time to time, passed such regulations on this subject, as the condition of society would admit of. In 1811, a law was passed prohibiting the importation of slaves from foreign countries into the British territories; and by Regulation III. of 1832, the buying or selling, as a slave, any person brought from one district to another, was declared punishable. Ten years later, the death blow to slavery was struck without a murmur. By Act V. of 1843, claims to slaves were declared to be inadmissible in any Court. Slaves themselves are competent to acquire and inherit property, and any act which would be a penal offence, if done to a freeman, was made equally an offence, if done to a person on the ground that such person was a slave. The buying or selling any person, as a slave, is declared punishable by us, by fine and imprisonment: but we observe that, lately, parties convicted of carrying about girls, and attempting to sell them for the purposes of prostitution, were sentenced by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut to five years' imprisonment with hard labour.

The last crime we have named as peculiar to India, is that denominated Dharna, which is defined to be the sitting for the purpose of extorting money, or obtaining any interest or right,

whether real, imaginary, or pretended. The law against it would be a very delightful one to distressed people in England, and would effectually frustrate every species of the tormentor, designated Dun, provided a combination were entered into against them: for the sitting at the door of the house of a party, other than that from whom a claim is endeavoured to be forced, is no Dharna; so that, without the assistance of the neighbours, a dun could not be displaced. The commission of this crime, disagreeable as it is in itself to either party, has led to loss of life, and the infliction of the punishment for culpable homicide. One party, we learn from the reported cases of the Nizamut Adawlut, sat Dharna over an old man, in so effectual a manner, as to cause his death by starvation: while, on the other hand, a party of mendicants buried their companion up to his chin in the earth, and left him there, in the vain hope that their claim would be recognised. Unaccustomed to the cold earth, he languished and died; and his friends were sentenced to imprisonment for five years.

Female infanticide might perhaps have been with propriety included in the catalogue of crimes peculiar to India; but, as it is not unknown in England, and the motives are the same, we have thought it better to omit it. Any reader desirous of becoming acquainted with the peculiarities attending the crime, may indulge his curiosity by perusing an article on the subject, which appeared in an early number of this Review.

We will now proceed to notice briefly the punishments inflicted for crimes common to both countries. And first, of crimes against the person.

The crime of murder, when fully and clearly established, is usually punished by death: but, where any extenuating circumstances are to be found, or where the motive leading to the crime has not been clearly and satisfactorily explained, the criminals are punished with imprisonment or transportation for life; or with imprisonment, with hard labour (for life), in the jail at Alipore. Women are sometimes sentenced capitally for murder, or to imprisonment with hard labour for life; but are never sentenced to transportation beyond seas.

We have heard tales of great barbarity, in days gone by, having been occasionally practised in carrying the sentence of the law into execution; such as strangling the criminal on the ground, or hamstringing him before death—a precaution taken by the executioner to prevent the ghost of the criminal haunting him: and, it was not till the year 1829, that the Magistrate of Midnapore, at this time one of the Judges of the Sudder

Court, brought the subject to the notice of the superior authorities, in the following extracts of a letter to the Court of Nizamut Adawlut:—

“In almost every district the gallows is constructed in a manner peculiar to it, and the mode of executing differs from that in others. In this district, the gallows is formed by two perpendicular poles, and a cross bar, from which is suspended the rope; a rude ladder is placed against the cross bar, which the criminal and executioner ascend; and the noose is tied round the former's neck: the latter then descends, and draws away the ladder. The scene is altogether most shocking; the trembling ascent of the poor wretch, and the slow withdrawing of the ladder enhance and prolong his sufferings, and horrify the humane feelings. It has occurred to me, that a moveable and portable gallows might be constructed, with a board, as a platform for the criminal to stand upon, which should drop on a bolt being knocked out at each end of it.

“I have further to observe, that, in some districts, the executioners are in the habit of hamstringing criminals, or rather of cutting the tendons behind the ancles, even before life is extinct. On this point, therefore, the orders of the Nizamut are likewise much needed.”

The Court immediately took up the question; and, on the fifth of April, not only directed a gallows to be erected at every station, agreeably to the Judge's suggestion, but forwarded to every Magistrate a very neatly lithographed picture of a criminal about to be executed, taken from the original painting forwarded to them by the Magistrate of Midnapore.

Three years later, the exposure of bodies in chains or gibbets was prohibited, and the Magistrates were directed to give them up to their relatives when claimed, or to bury or burn them when unclaimed, according to the custom of the caste to which they belonged.

In the year 1844, Magistrates were forbidden to bestow money or new clothes on condemned criminals before they are led to execution, because “such donations and indulgences are calculated to detract from the force and effect of the solemn warning which the adjudgment of the last penalty of the law is designed and intended to convey.”

This prohibition has very much tended to bring hanging into disrepute; but the Magistrates are compelled to be careful that the order is not evaded. Dressed as if going to a wedding, decorated with garlands and flowers, and preceded by a band

of music, the condemned criminals offered themselves, if Hindús, as victims to Kali, and thus turned the last penalty of the law into a religious ceremony. Numbers of the Thugs, executed at Saugor in former years, joyously leapt from the gallows, secure under these circumstances, as they imagined, of everlasting happiness, while the plaudits of the crowd, assembled to witness and share in the sacrifice, were resounding in their ears.

The execution now generally takes place in some conspicuous place in the town adjacent to the jail; to which the criminal is conducted with a long procession, and with as much decorum as such an occasion will admit of.

In former times, in England, the victims of the law were similarly conducted up the streets of London to Tyburn, which was then expressly set apart for this purpose, partly because it was adapted to the accommodation of a large number of persons, and partly because it was at a distance from the residence of the better classes, whose sensibilities might be affected by so disagreeable an exhibition; but they are now executed in front of the jail. Whether the change has been attended with the benefits contemplated, is much to be doubted. The mental agony of the criminal is certainly abbreviated; but it may be questioned whether the abolishing of the procession does not weaken the effect proposed.

We are not of those who would abolish capital punishment altogether, because the example is lost upon the crowd collected to witness it: for it is not upon them that the anguish of the criminal is expected to take effect. They are nearly all of them hardened and inured to crime, and only rush to witness an execution, because it is a scene which produces temporary excitement. They too often sympathise with the misery of the criminal, and lose sight of his crime—or capriciously exhibit a vindictive satisfaction at the expiation of the offence. Where in their opinion the crime is venial, feelings of irritation and resentment against the Government are excited in their breasts; and, in the indulgence of them, the misery of the criminal, and his crime, are both alike forgotten. Upon the whole then, with scarcely an exception, no beneficial effect is produced by the exhibition of a public execution.

But the great plea of the advocates for the abolition of capital punishment, is, that the suddenly cutting short the life of a criminal shuts him out from all hopes of mercy; and that, if left to reflect upon his crime, he would be led to regard it with

horror, and sue for pardon to his offended Maker with such unwearying perseverance, that he would be sure to obtain it. It is much to be doubted, however, if the discipline of a jail, especially of an Indian one, is calculated to induce serious contemplation. The mind is much more likely to become day by day more hardened by contact with crime, and at length deadened to every religious feeling. Were our jails so arranged, as to allow of private discipline, and a proper classification of prisoners, this argument against capital punishment might have weight ; but, as things are, it has none.

A true history of the crime and folly of a Prison in Bengal would furnish examples almost sufficient to clog the morbid appetite of an English Public for all that is horrible, wonderful, and almost incredible. There are many, who, on looking back to the motives of their crimes, can scarcely trace the steps by which they were tempted. There are many, who, conscious of their innocence, consume their lives in indignant fretfulness at the undeserved imprisonment they are forced to submit to, and who are half worn out by the restless desire to clear themselves. And if this be so, is a jail a place to produce penitence? Removed from the opportunities of performing the religious ceremonies enjoined by their creeds, and expelled from their castes, the natives of India become utterly depraved: and, of the thousands annually incarcerated, not one is ever reformed. The Government of India is so well aware of this fact, that, as we noted in a former part of this article, corporal punishment has been re-introduced, being deemed expedient, until adequate improvement in prison discipline can be effected.

The punishment of murder in India has, we gather from the selected reports of the Nizamut, been apportioned with much discrimination.

The crime of homicide, as distinguished from murder, is classed under five heads, in accordance with the Muhammedan law ; accidental, compulsory, erroneous, justifiable, and culpable. Accidental homicide is by the Muhammedan law, punishable by Diyut; and we observe that one person, who killed a man in the dark, mistaking him for a dog, and another, who killed a man while firing at a wild beast, were declared by the Law Officers liable to punishment; but were acquitted by the Sudder Judges.

Homicide by compulsion, or where a person kills another by order of his master, or other persons under menaces which in-

duce a fear of death, is not justifiable under the Muhammedan law, but the penalty of *Kisas* is transferred from the compelled to the compeller, while the person compelled is liable to discretionary punishment.

Erroneous homicide, or where a person deliberately intending to murder one person, accidentally kills another, is not held liable to "*Kisas*" under the Muhammedan law, but to discretionary punishment by '*Diyut*,' and has been declared punishable, under the Regulations of Government, in the same manner as if the criminal act had been done upon the person intended to be killed.

Homicide, under the Muhammedan law, is justifiable in cases of adultery, when there is no other means of prevention: but according to Abú Hunifah, the offending party must be caught in the act, or under such circumstances,—such as being found in the house,—as may lead to the inference that the crime is about to be committed. The Sudder Judges have not invariably allowed the Muhammedan law its full scope; but have, where there have been peculiar circumstances of aggravation on the part of the accused, sentenced him to imprisonment for a short period. A special Regulation however was passed in 1822, to set aside the justificatory plea admitted in such cases by the Muhammedan law; and the crime is now punished according to the equitable principles of the English law. *

Culpable homicide is ordinarily punishable by imprisonment, with labour, for the period of seven years; but, in cases of aggravation, for fourteen years. Thus, where torture was applied to a party, to extort a confession of theft, which ended in the death of the person maltreated, the prisoners were convicted of aggravated culpable homicide, and were sentenced to imprisonment for terms, varying from fourteen to two years, according to their respective degrees of guilt.

With the exception of the crime of adultery, the remaining catalogue of offences against the person requires no comments—the punishment awarded for them being the same as in England, and varying according to the degrees of guilt.

Adultery is punishable as a criminal offence in India, and the parties are liable to imprisonment with hard labour for any period not exceeding seven years. Under the Muhammedan law, persons even who harbour adulterers, are liable to discretionary punishment. The law requires the prosecution to be conducted by the husband, and, should he decline, a public prosecution cannot take place. This law is seldom or never

resorted to by the natives of India, which is surprising, as it affords them a ready legal means of indulging their naturally vindictive feelings. But they prefer a deeper revenge without exposure; and either take the punishment into their own hands, by resorting to effectual measures for preventing a repetition of the offence, or pervert the laws in their favour. They seize the offending party in their house, and, loudly proclaiming him a thief, easily secure his conviction. He has been found in the house attempting to rob the woman of her bracelets: and she unhesitatingly deposes before the magistrate, that, if she had not vigorously resisted him, the robbery would have been effected.

Of offences against property, the crime of burglary alone requires our notice, as differing in some particulars from the same offence in England. According to the English law, burglary is "the offence of breaking into, and entering a dwelling house at night, with the intent to commit a burglary therein." According to the Regulations of the East India Company, it is "the breaking into, or attempting to break into, any house, hut, boat, or other habitation, or into any ware-house, or other building used for the preservation or custody of property, with the intent to steal." Thus if breaking, or the attempt to break, into a house be made, actual entrance into the house, as in English law, is immaterial. The crime may be effected in India, either by day or night, and the house may be either a dwelling house or a ware-house. The intent also must be to steal; so that the breaking into a house with the intent to commit murder or rape is not burglary, though it is so by the laws of England. But though the breaking into a dwelling house, either by day or by night, is equally burglary, the law considers the offence of greater magnitude when committed by night, than when committed by day, and enables the Courts to award an enhanced punishment. By the laws of England, the entering into a house by a door, and afterwards breaking out of it, is burglary; but it is not so in India. In cases of burglary, unattended with violence, or aggravating circumstances, a magistrate is competent to award a punishment not exceeding two years' imprisonment with hard labour, and one year's imprisonment in lieu of stripes. Where the crime is attended with circumstances of aggravation, the case must be committed to the Sessions Judge, who may award a sentence of sixteen years' imprisonment, or banishment. We will glance at the circumstances, which the law declares to be aggravating and render-

ing persons liable to so heavy a punishment. The attempt to commit a murder is a circumstance of aggravation; so is the wounding, burning, or inflicting any corporal injury upon the occupants of the house; so also if the prisoners or any of them have been before convicted of burglary, robbery, or other heinous crime, or appear to be persons of notoriously bad character, provided they have been convicted of some specific offence, or are, at the time of committing the offence, watchmen, guards, or police officers; or if the property stolen exceed the value of one hundred rupees—these are declared by the law circumstances of such aggravation as to take the case out of the hands of the magistrate, and render it imperative upon him to commit the parties to the Sessions Court. These have been specified by the law; but lest circumstances should arise which were unforeseen by its framers, they have wisely left a general discretion to the magistrate of committing parties to the Sessions, whenever they may consider such a measure necessary.

The crime of burglary, when attended with violence, is so similar to the crime of dacoity, or robbery by open violence, that we shall endeavour to point out the distinction, as it is drawn in the reported cases of the Nizamut Adawlut. If the breaking, or attempt to break, be effected with violence, and the house be in actual use, as a habitation for persons or a ware-house for goods, at the time of the attack, and three or more persons be present, the crime committed is dacoity, or robbery by open violence; but if the breaking be effected without violence, though violence subsequently occur, it is only burglary attended with violence. Thus, if three or more persons proceeded in an open manner with torches and broke into a house, or, while breaking into it, used threatening language to the inhabitants, so as intimidate them, the crime committed would be dacoity: but if the same party had quietly broken into the house, and afterwards lighted their torches, and tied up, and maltreated the inhabitants, the crime would be burglary attended with violence. In dacoity, the house must be in actual use: in burglary, in ordinary use as a habitation, or receptacle for property. The punishment however would, in either case, be the same.

There is a vagrant law, somewhat severer than the English law, which we will notice, as it is open to abuse. Our English "Budmash," or incorrigible rogue, may be committed to the house of correction till the next General or Quarter

Sessions of the peace, and then be further imprisoned for any period not exceeding one year, (and not being a female) whipped.

The regulations of the East India Company on this subject deserve all praise, as they endeavour to reclaim such offenders by all the means in their power; and, failing to do so, effectually prevent their ever again annoying society. There is almost delicacy in the mode pointed out by the law, for ascertaining if a suspicious character be really as bad as he appears to be. The law directs a daroga, whenever any one has been denounced to him as a bad character, without any ostensible means of livelihood, to make private inquiries about him in the first instance, and then secondly, if the result be unsatisfactory, to apprehend him, and question him as to his mode of life. If he be unable to give a satisfactory account of himself, the daroga is required to send him to the magistrate, who will demand from him security for his good behaviour for any period not exceeding a year, or, in default, commit him to jail to labor till the year be expired.

When a prisoner is released, who has been confined in jail for six months and upwards, the magistrate is authorised to pay him the sum of five rupees for his immediate necessities, and to have him released in the presence of the head men of his village, who are enjoined to procure for him some means of livelihood, so as to secure his reformation and future good behaviour; and they are further required to give notice to the police should he cease to labour, or obtain his livelihood by other than creditable means. Should the suspected person be brought before the magistrate, and be unable to prove that he is earning an honest livelihood, he may be required to find security for his good behaviour for one year, or in default be committed to jail to hard labour, till that period be expired. A magistrate may, if he sees good reason, require him to furnish security for three years; but he must transmit his proceedings for the revision and sanction of the Session Judges.

Should a person be deemed so incorrigible, as to render his release dangerous to the community, he may be detained for security for an indefinite period: but he must be brought up every third year before the Sessions Judge, who shall determine upon the proceedings placed before him, whether he shall be again remanded to gaol on the same terms as before, or on others more favourable to him.

As the reformation of the criminal and the protection of

the public are alone the objects of this law, it provides that the magistrate may release such prisoner at any time, should he be satisfied that he may do so with safety.

This law seems to be at once just and merciful; yet it is frequently abused. Sometimes persons are unnecessarily required to furnish security: and sometimes the security demanded is too great. The police and the magistrate are always anxious to give it full effect, as the credit of their administration is frequently enhanced through it. We learn from Mr. Speede, that in nine districts all the suspected characters were obliged to sleep every night at the police station, till they should furnish security: the order was, however, speedily rescinded.

The system of jail discipline is, we observe from the Guide Books, excessively lax and ineffective: and it is a well known fact, that the prisoners are secured, not by their guards, but by their excessive attachment to the jail. Many men, who can scarce earn their daily bread by excessively hard toil, on their entrance into the jail, find more food than they can possibly eat already prepared for them; they are clothed and housed more luxuriously than it has ever entered into their imaginations to conceive; while the labor performed by them, is only sufficient to give them appetite, and to induce them to look forward to their dinner with much inward satisfaction. Such ought not to be the case; but until a superintendent of jails shall be allowed, with a European overseer appointed to each jail, no improvement can be expected.

The system of superintendence is at present very anomalous. The Governor of Bengal performs the duties of an inspector, and issues orders direct to the magistrate. The Sessions Judge is required to see that the orders are obeyed; but, if they are not, he has no power to enforce them. He can merely report the circumstances for the orders of the government. The very minutest details are submitted to the Governor of Bengal, who has so little, we suppose, to occupy his attention, that he can find time to taste and prescribe the kind of oil to be used by the prisoners, and to direct the mode in which the prisoners shall be shaved. The kind of beard allowed in jail, we do not learn; but we learn that the shaving is performed by contract; and that consequently every man (beard or no beard) is shaved as often during the month, as His Honor the Governor of Bengal will permit.

The subject we are writing upon is inexhaustible; and much has been previously in the pages of this *Review* written

upon it: but the length of this article warns us to bring our rambling observations to a close, and prevents our bringing into prominent notice, step, by step, the various improvements made in the criminal laws of India, and the system of administering them. The changes have been gradual, and occasionally merely experimental: and when on trial, they have been found inexpedient, they have been immediately abandoned.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

I.—*The Poetry of the Dutts.*

WE only echo the remark of a local writer, when we say that there is nothing poetical in "the dumpy name of Dutt." It is one less adapted, even than that of poor Amos Cottle, "to fill the speaking trump of future fame," as it sounds more like the short thick tout of preparation, than one of those long-drawn flourishes, with which the noisy goddess heralds her favorites. Yet it contains as many letters as that of Pope; it is quite as musical and nearly of the same character as that of Scott. All it wants is the charm of association. Had it ever been borne by a great poet, we should never have discovered that it was not poetical. And if a number of small poets could do for it as much as a single great one, we should even now have had to mention it more respectfully. We have reckoned up *five* Hindoo Dutts, who write English verses, and very passable verses too; but as yet they have not been able to separate their patronymic from the train of common-place ideas of burly babús and dingy bazars, by which it is appropriately attended. Who shall venture to say, however, that some not very remote generation may recognise as much of music in the name of Dutt, as we now hear in that of Pope or Moore?

We have said that there are at least five Dutts, who write passable verses. Four of them live and sing in Calcutta; and the fifth, though now doomed to reside at 'benighted' Madras, like Ovid on the shores of the Black Sea, is also a native of Bengal. They are all young men, and, if we mistake not, those residing in Calcutta are all of one family, sons and nephews of the highly respectable Russomoy Dutt, Secretary to the Hindu College Committee, and a Commissioner of the Court of Requests. Of course, they must be reckoned of the class, celebrated, or stigmatised, as "Young Bengal;" but, we believe, they are all quiet unobtrusive members of that section of the class, which does real credit to its teachers.

Two of these Dutts have published small pamphlets of poetry—of pieces, which have first met the public eye in the columns of the newspapers, to which the performances of the others have been, we believe, hitherto exclusively confined. Our purpose being to direct attention to effusions, noticeable as well from their intrinsic worthiness, as from the circumstances of their origin, rather than to criticise them minutely, we shall not waste, on comment and analysis, the space, which may be more usefully devoted to extract and illustration. For a foreigner and an Asiatic, writing English verses in a language picked up at school, a general correctness of expression and composition

constitutes a claim to praise; and this claim all the Dutts possess. In this respect, as in some others, they might fearlessly compete with most of our enthusiastic young gentlemen, who qualify for the Poet's Corner of Westminster Abbey, in the Poet's Corner of our home and colonial newspapers. Indeed, he would be an acute critic, who, from internal evidence alone, could discover that their verses were elaborated under a turban, and not under a hat, or that the initial D, appended to them, stood for Dutt, and not for Dobbs. Perhaps we might go even further, and assert that the versification of these young Hindús is distinguished by a grace and strength, which are rarely seen in that of our small English bards, and which would in some measure atone for the scarcity of new, striking, or profound thoughts. There is also in their style and tone a vigour, an energy, which, exhibited by a soft lethargic Hindú, is not a little remarkable.

The first in the field of poetic fame was Govind Chundra and, to our thinking, he is the best of the band. Early last year he put forth a small pamphlet, containing "Specimens from a volume of verses nearly ready for the press:" but, we believe, the promised volume has not yet seen the light. Its publication was made greatly dependent on the favourable reception of this pilot-pamphlet; and, as the public would not favourably receive the poetry even of an unknown Byron, we may regret, but cannot be surprised at, the non-appearance of our too prudent poet's book. The specimens before us, however, most of which had already appeared in print, enable us to judge of what the volume would have been. They are the scattered fragments of precious metal lying on the surface, that tell the richness of the vein below. In them we have the effusions of a truly poetical mind, though not of a great poet. They want the torrent flow of some of the other Dutts; but they possess that calm transparency, which reflects the quiet beauties of the heaven and earth. Their tone is tender and serious, as best befits the gentle and serious thoughts, which it expresses. We know not if Govind Chundra professes himself a Christian; but certainly, if his verses are to be regarded as the true index of his heart, he ought to do so. Let it not be supposed however, that we are introducing the reader to a mere rhyming theologian—one who writes sermons in verse; Govind Chundra's religion is that of every-day life, and mixed up with all its every-day feelings. Nor are there wanting in his effusions, thoughts, which no poet need be ashamed to utter,—gems unlooked for, which almost startle us by their unexpected beauty. Take for example the following, which occurs in the lamentation of a love-lorn Moslem girl:—

My heart is like a desert wide—its only palm is dead :
 The only bird, that cheered with song its solitude, is fled ;
 The only fount, that raised in it its limpid column high,
 Is choked and filled with barren weeds, and dry, alas ! how dry !

Here is a picture less striking, perhaps, but not less beautiful, sketched during a "Night on the Ganges."

How pleasant now, at ease reclined, to mark
The sombre shadows of each varying tree.
The mangoe here, with countless leaves adorned,
Casts densest shade, and, there, the towering palm
Mirrors its length. The scented Bábúl next,
With fragrant yellow flowers and leaves diffuse,
Bends o'er the wave to see its image fair.
One mass of green the trees far off appear,
And cast no shadows on the flood below.
The ample Ghát its thousand pillars rears,
In the dim moonshine looking vast and pale,
Untenanted and cold, sublimely grand ;
And the high temple, with its graceful arch,
And faint discovered spire, that upwards points,
Shaded by moonlight, like a phantom, looms
Adjacent.

Our poet seems partial to the sonnet: there are no less than twenty-four in his little pamphlet of forty-two small pages, and very tolerable specimens of that form of verse some of them are. Here is one, as a sample:—

GOUR.

I gazed upon the ruins, wrapt in thought :
Sudden, they melted to my dreaming sight,
And in their place rose moated castles bright ;
Like the great temple without workmen wrought ;
The scene with deepest interest was fraught ;
Banners unfurled like meteors mocked the light ;
And burnished armour red reflections caught ;
As sentries slowly paced the ramparts white.
The streets were peopled with a motley throng :
Brave men, and bashful women half afraid,—
Huge elephants, forward urged by mace and thong,
And snorting steeds in trappings rich arrayed,
In one continuous tide were borne along,
While martial music at a distance played.

And here another:—

TIME.

How oft, oh Time ! men thoughtlessly reprove
Thine even course, and call thee swift or slow ;
The restive school-boy, who from school would go,
The youth, that longs impatient for his love,
Miscal thee laggard, whom no tears may move
Nor soft words melt. The sage with locks of snow
Thinks thee too rapid ; on thy onward flow
He looks and weeps, while dreams, which fancy wove
In the fresh season of his youthful prime,
Fade into air. For me, I mark thy way
Placid and smooth, and bless thee ancient Time !
Nor call thee slow, nor wish thy course to stay.
As, hid in shady nook, I " build the rhyme,"
Or, listless, under cloistering branches stray !

We must close our illustrations of Govind Chundra's verses with the following, which, as the composition of a young Hindú, possesses an interest beyond any which its intrinsic excellence can give it.

LINES WRITTEN ON THE FLY LEAF OF MY BIBLE.

I sought for Fame : by day and night,
 I struggled, that my name might be,
 Emblazoned forth in types of light,
 And wafted o'er the pathless sea.
 But sunken cheek, and vision dim,
 Were all I got by seeking him.
 I sought for wealth. The lust of gold
 Sucked my best feelings, scared my heart,
 Destroyed those aspirations bold
 That formed my nature's "better part ;"
 And, at the last, though seeming fair,
 The prize, I clutched, was empty air.
 I sought for Power ; the loftiest steep,
 The topmost heights I strove to scale,
 Nor dark abysses, yawning deep
 Around me, could my courage quail.
 But bolder ones, with swifter pace,
 Outstript me in the eager race.
 I sought for Love. His heavenly flame
 Lit for a time my cheerless way ;
 But, when it fled—my path became
 More gloomy for the transient day.
 Death spread above his sable pall,
 And turned my fondest hopes to gall.
 I sought for Health : the changeful girl,
 The more I followed, farther fled,
 Where the streamlet's billows curl,
 And wild flowers burst, she hid her head.
 I prayed her to return again,
 My prayers were breathed,—but all in vain !
 What shall I seek now ? All I sought
 Eluded, shunned, my neryeless grasp ;
 What shall I seek ? Oh sinful thought
 While still this volume I can clasp !

Another of the Dutts has left that nursery of fledgling bards, the newspaper 'poet's corner,' and come out in all the dignity of a book of his own, which, very small though it be, gives him a claim to rank second in our brief chronicle. This is M. M. S. Dutt, a native of Bengal, as his name avouches, an ex-student of Bishop's College, and, a Native Christian, now residing at Madras. He also has put forth a pamphlet of verse, containing a metrical tale, founded on a passage in the half-fabulous history of India, and called *The Captive Ladie* ; which is followed by a fragment of blank-verse, called *Visions of the Past*. The writer, in his preface, apologises by anticipation for such of the imperfections of the work, as may be attributed to carelessness, on the plea that it was written in haste for the columns of a newspaper, and amidst all the distractions of want and sorrow, which now, we believe, no longer beset him. He is less fertile in

poetic thought than Govind Chundra, but, on the other hand, perhaps excels him in force of diction, and music of rhyme and rythm. His principal poem, *The Captive Ladie*, is a rather ambitious imitation of the style, which the example of Scott and Moore and Byron, and the "fatal facility" of the octosyllabic verse, have rendered rather too popular with our aspiring bards. Of his success we will let the reader judge for himself, by the aid of a few brief extracts, conveying, what we regard as, fair, if not somewhat too favourable, specimens of his strains. But first we must cull two or three stanzas from a dedicatory address "To——,"—the poet's wife we presume—and which, if it expresses, as we have no reason to suppose it does not, the real feelings of the writer, presents the Hindú poet to his English readers in a character, which they are all unused to attribute to his countrymen, even that of a fond affectionate husband :—

Oh ! beautiful as Inspiration, when
 She fills the Poet's breast—her fairy shrine,
 Woo'd by melodious worship ! welcome then !
 Tho' ours the home of Want, I ne'er repine :
 Art thou not there, e'en thou, a priceless gem and mine ?

Life hath its dreams to beautify its scene,
 And sun-light for its desert ; but there be
 None softer in its store—of brighter sheen—
 Than Love—than gentle Love : and thou to me
 Art that sweet dream, mine own ! in glad reality.

Though bitter be the echo of the tale
 Of my youth's wither'd spring, I sigh not now ;
 For I am as a tree, when some sweet gale
 Doth sweep away the sere leaves from each bough,
 And wake far greener charms to re-adorn its brow.

Here is an extract from the poem itself : —

" 'Tis night—oh ! how I hate her smile,
 Which lights the horrors of this isle,
 Where, like lone captives, we must sigh
 O'er arms that rust and idly lie—
 Far from the scenes, where oft the brave
 Will meet thee, glory ! or a grave—
 Far from the scenes, where revels gay
 Will chase the darkest cares away—
 Far from the scenes, where maiden bright
 Will steal to list, at fall of night,
 Her lover's lute and roundelay,
 And like a viewless spirit shower
 Her dewy wreaths on leaf and flow'r,
 Love's token—and then swiftly fade,
 And vanish like an airy shade !

And here another of a different character :

A prouder scene the fiery sun
 Had never—never shone upon !
 Like golden clouds, that on the breast
 Of yonder Heavens love to rest,

Unnumber'd hosts in bright array
 Glitter'd beneath the noon-tide ray :
 A thousand flags wav'd on the air,
 Like bright-wing'd birds disporting there ;
 A thousand spears flash'd in the light,
 In dazzling splendour—high and bright ;
 The warrior-steed, so fierce and proud,
 Neigh'd in wild fury—shrill and loud ;
 The jewell'd elephant too stood
 In solemn pride and quiet mood ;
 And in the glittering pomp of war
 The mail-clad hero in his car.
 For nations on that glorious day
 Met there from regions far away—
 The mightiest on this earth that be
 In all the pride of Chivalrie,
 To celebrate thy feast—proud Victory !

“ And all around the dazzled eye,
 Met scenes of gayest revelrie:
 For, here beneath the perfum'd shade,
 By some bright silken awning made,
 Midst rose and lily scatter'd 'round,
 'That blush'd as if on fairy ground,
 Bright maidens—fair as those above—
 Sang—softly—for they sang of Love ;
 How fondly, in the moon-lit bow'r,
 When midnight came with star and flow'r,
 Young Krishna with his maidens fair
 Rov'd joyously and sported there—
 Or, on the Jumna's holy stream
 Where star-light came to sleep and dream,
 From his light skiff, that sped along,
 His soft reed breath'd the gayest song,
 Which swelling on the fitful sweep
 Of the lone night-wind's sigh—so deep—
 Wing'd ravishment where'er it fell—
 Love's accents in their airy spell !

The fragment, entitled *Visions of the Past*, is introduced by the following sonnet, which is not altogether devoid of poetic feeling and beauty:—

I sat me by a shrine, and heard a strain,
 Sweet as thy whispers, cedar'd Lebanon !
 Which lull the weary pilgrim, when the sun
 Seeks in wide ocean's gem-lit, vast domain,
 His nightly haunt : it sunk, then swell'd again,
 High to the throne of Israel's Holy one,
 Nor swell'd its vestal symphony in vain ;—
 Echo'd by sainted spirits He hath won !
 The bridal song of her the spouse below :
 I wept !—How oft, O world ! thy harlot-smile
 Hath woo'd me from the fount, whose waters flow
 In beauty, which dark Death will ne'er defile :
 I wept !—A Prodigal once weeping sought
 His Father's breast,—and found love unforgot !

The fragment itself is a sort of vision of Eden, and our first parents therein, and seems formed on the model of Byron's beautiful *Dream*.

We can afford only one short extract from it, as we find that we are engrossing more space than we can claim for the subject :

I look'd, it came that fulgent vision bright ;
 A fleet of light upon a crystal sea !
 And as it came, the shadowy beings, which thron'd
 And hung around that bow'r of loveliness,
 Like misty curtains, fled speed-wing'd and fast.
 —As when, Bengala ! on thy sultry plains,
 Beneath the pillar'd and high arched shade
 Of some proud Banyan—slumberous haunt and cool—
 Echo in mimic accents 'mong the flocks,
 Couch'd there in noon-tide rest and soft repose,
 Repeats the deafening and deep-thunder'd roar
 Of him—the royal wanderer of thy woods !
 They fled—that darksome crew, and as they fled
 I saw that bow'r of beauty—but how chang'd—
 How chang'd, alas ! from primal loveliness !
 As if some desolation-breathing blast
 Had wing'd in blighting sweeps its dark career
 Over its fairy beauty—withering all !
 But where were they, the gentle beings and fair,
 I erst beheld within that blushing bow'r,
 Pent in each other's arms in balmy rest ?
 Methought I saw them stand with pallid brow
 Eclips'd—as when from out the starless realm
 Of the dark Grave—by Fancy fondly woo'd
 In midnight resurrection, the pale shade
 Of what was once ador'd and beautiful,
 Stands by the mourner's pillow—silently !
 But as they saw that airy vision bright,
 They fled like Guilt behind a leafy tree.
 I stood as one entranced, and sight and sense
 Slumber'd in deep and dark oblivion.

Shoshi Chundra Dutt, who shall stand third on our list, has not, that we know, aspired to the dignity of a volume to himself; but he has contributed rather copiously to the literary columns of the local newspapers. Of late however, he, together indeed with most of the bards of his name, seems to have withdrawn from dalliance with the Muses. Possibly, in his case, the dry study of English Law, in which we believe he is engaged, has absorbed all the spirit of poetry and romance, which enlivened the more genial pursuits of earlier years. His effusions are characterised by a peculiar boldness and vigour of rythm, which conceal, in a great measure, the deficiency of higher poetical qualities, where they exist. We cannot afford room for more than an extract from one of his longer lyrics, but we think it justifies our belief, that the Ganges, with all its natural grandeur, and all its sublime associations, is not unworthily sung by one of its sons.

The waves are dashing proudly down
 Along thy sounding shore ;
 Lashing, with all the storm of power,
 The craggy base of mountain tower,
 Of mosque, and pagod hoar,
 That darkly o'er thy waters frown ;

As if their moody spirit's sway
Could hush thy wild and boisterous play !

But reckless yet of gloomy eye.
As heedless too of smile,
Through various climes, with regal sweep,
Rolls on thy current dark and deep,
Nor even stoops to wile
The blooming fruits, and flowerets shy,
That lightly bend to reach thy wave,
Their beauteous breasts therein to lave.

Unconscious roll the surges down,
But not unconscious thou,
Dread spirit of the roaring flood !
For ages worshipped as a God,
And worshipped even now,—
Worshipped, and not by serf or clown ;
For sages of the mightiest fame
Have paid their homage to thy name.

Can'st thou forget the glorious past ?
When, mighty as a God,
With hands and heart unfettered yet,
And eyes with slavish tears unwet,
Each sable warrior trod
Thy sacred shore ; before the blast
Of Moslem conquest hurried by—
Ere yet the Mogul spear was nigh.

Thine was glory's brightest ray,
When the land with glory teemed ;
The fairest wreath the poet won,
The praise of every daring done,
On thee reflected beamed :
When glory's light had passed away,
Thine were India's wrongs and pain,
Despite that brow of proud disdain.

O'er crumbled thrones thy waters glide,
Through scenes of blood and woe,
And crown and kingdom, might and sway,
The victor's, and the poet's bay,
Ignobly sleep below ;
Sole remnant of our ancient pride,
Thy waves survive the wreck of time,
And wanton free, as in their prime.

We are tempted to give a specimen of a different style :—

HYMN TO THE DEITY.

O Thou ! of this great universe the lord,
Whatever be Thy name !
Whose throne is far above the mountains brow,
Whither may never pierce our mortal sight,
In mystic gloom, or radiant blaze of light,
Lord of these works ! but far transcendant Thou !

From pole to pole, and from the earth to heaven,
 In all the spheres that burn !
 Thy name is glorious, as it e'er should be,
 For all creation at Thy will was made,
 The giant mountain, and the wild cascade,
 And the hoarse billows of the roaring sea.

And every place, Thy hallowed presence owns,
 Spirit of purity !
 Where winter's chilly blasts perpetual reign,
 And on the barren shores no verdure smiles,
 The Polar Sea, and Zembla's frozen isle,
 As well as summer's fertile wide domain.

Through boundless space, the stars harmonious roll !
 Each sparkling gem a world,
 A wandering ray of thy resplendent state,
 A fragment of thy mystic vast design,
 Whose limits human pride may ne'er confine,
 Lord of all Goodness ! Thou art wond'rous great !

Number Four is Hurchundra Dutt. He has within the last two years written many fugitive pieces of spirited and pleasing verse, many of them having, for their subjects, scenes and incidents in the history of his country, or the social and domestic life of his countrymen. Here is one of a series of "Oriental Lyrics," discontinued but too soon. We give it rather for its convenient dimensions, than because we regard it as a favourable illustration of the powers of its author :

THE RAJPUTNI BRIDE.

She comes, she comes, and in her hand
 The *Champac* wreath she brings,
 The fretted, sounding roof on high
 With thrilling music rings ;
 And warriors, dressed in green and gold,
 Of high renown and bearing bold,
 To her their homage pay ;
 And as she moves with queen-like grace,
 The blushes deepen on her face ;
 For 'tis her bridal day.

Her bridal day ! from far and near
 The gallant princes came,
 With hearts, where flattering hope beat high,
 And burnt love's transient flame.
 Assembled in that hall of state,
 Where slaves in gorgeous liv'ries wait
 Their biddings to obey.
 With nodding plumes the suitors stand,
 Expectant each to win her hand,
 And bear the prize away.

None yet could tell what favored neck
 That bridal wreath would wear ;
 What gallant heart had won the heart
 Of one so young and fair.

The thin white veil that o'er her streamed
 Was slow withdrawn ;—the jewels gleamed
 That decked her raven hair :—
 Was there a youth then in the hall
 Who would not give his wealth, his all
 With her life's joy to share ?

The music ceased,—and all around
 A hurried glance she cast,
 When from the palace gate there rose
 A bugle's shrilly blast.
 Unmindful still the suitors came
 With hearts where burnt love's transient flame
 To win the lovely bride,
 The host who stood beside the throne,
 To hear the sound did start alone,
 Then thought the wind had sighed.

A moment and beside the bride
 Her true love brave was seen ;
 Why cometh he in soldier's guise
 To wed his " beauty's queen ?"
 The garland round his neck is thrown,
 And bride and bridegroom both are gone
 Across the moors away.
 In vain the guards on their chargers spring,
 And swear the youth in chains to bring,
 Or in fair fight to slay.

The followign is not a bad imitation of those 'pretty' love verses, which pass muster in our golden and silken albums and annuals, for very fine poetry :—

CANZONET.

When stars above are beaming,
 And firefly lamps are gleaming,
 And happier men are dreaming,
 I think my love of thee.
 And when the morning shineth,
 And clouds with silver lineth,
 This heart of mine repineth
 For thee my love—~~for~~ thee.

So when alone thou'rt roaming,
 Beneath the star of gloaming,
 Where brooklets clear are foaming
 Oh ! then remember me.
 Or when bright hopes have faded,
 And all thy joys are shaded,
 And cares have thee invaded,
 Oh ! think my love of me.

The fifth and last on our list of poetical Dutts is Gris Chundra. He has not published much, or it has escaped our notice ; but what little he has committed to type, proves that he had no need to be ashamed of a competition for the bays with the other poets, who bear the same patronymic. Let the reader determine his standing among

them on the authority of the following, which is the last of his effusions, that we have seen :—

ABSENCE.

I think of thee, I think of thee,
 When glows the east with day ;
 When o'er the wide extended lea,
 The perfumed breezes stray ;
 When sunlight laughs upon each stream,
 And lines each leafy trec,
 I wander 'neath the morning beam,
 And think; my love, of thee.

At noon, when high the summer sun,
 Is blazing in the sky,
 Pensive, and thoughtful and alone,
 In listless mood I lie ;
 And think of happy by-gone years,
 And things once dear to me,
 Of boyhood's thrilling hopes and fears,
 And thee, my love, and thee.

When softly shining from afar,
 As ev'ning throws her veil,
 With gradual swim the evening star,
 Comes o'er the rocky dale ;
 When moonbeams wander o'er each stream,
 Each fairy guarded hill,
 Or on the ocean darkly gleam,
 My thoughts are with thee still.

When half the busy world's at rest,
 When silence reigns profound,
 And nought on Nature's silent breast,
 Disturbs the calm around ;
 When low I lie in slumber warm,
 From worldly troubles free,
 In dreams I see thy fairy form,
 And converse hold with thee.

We think the reader will agree with us in regarding it as a noticeable circumstance, that no less than five Hindus of one family, or one name, should be able to compose English verses, of which these last are not at all too favourable a specimen. It is a fact, that suggests many serious and yet gratifying reflections, on its causes, and their other and more momentous effects—on the education of the natives of India in the literature and science of the West, and its consequences. The poetry of these Dutts may not rank very high in the scale of excellence, and the power of making such verses may not be so generally diffused among the educated Hindoos, as might, perhaps, be inferred from its so prominent development in one family; but at any rate, the verses are good enough to show, that the native mind is capable of sentiment, vigour, and refinement; and we can vouch for the fact that Bengal has many other indigenous bards, worthy to rank with those, whose works we have here celebrated.

II.—*Oriental Christian Biography; containing Biographical Sketches of distinguished Christians, who have lived and died in the East. Compiled by W. H. Carey. Nos. I.—IV. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1849.*

THIS is, so far as we know, the first introduction amongst us of a mode of publication that has become so common elsewhere, under the designation of the 'serial method.' The nature of the work before us is much better suited to such a mode of issue than is that of those works which are generally put forth in this way; as the shortness of the several sketches enables the author to comprise many of them in each part, and to arrange them so that each part shall be complete in itself. The work promises to be one of great interest; and we anticipate much gratification from reviewing it at length on its completion; meanwhile, we restrict ourselves to a very brief notice, and to a cordial recommendation of the book to a larger "share of public patronage" than is usually accorded to the products of our local press.

The plan of the work is as simple as may be. The biographical notices are very brief, but contain a clear account of all the matters of interest that are known respecting the several subjects. The materials are drawn from every accessible quarter, and are condensed with great care. The selection of the subjects has been made on the principles of the largest Protestant Catholicity. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Wesleyans and Congregationalists, Baptists and Pædobaptists, are here memorialised in the same pages, even as they do now rest from their labours in the same Paradise, and behold the face of the same Lord, whom, under somewhat different forms, and with somewhat different rites, they served in the same spirit while on earth. Clergy, dignified and undignified, established and non-established;—laity titled and untitled, high and low, rich and poor, young and old, civil and military;—European, American and Asiatic, all find an impartial record in these pages. And the impartiality is not confined to the selection of subjects for notice; it is equally exhibited in the execution of the notices themselves. There appears nothing of a sectarian tendency in the work; and we understand that the author, in order to guard against even the unconscious deviations from catholicity, into which his own conscientious views might betray him, submits every sheet of his work, as it passes through the press, to the rigorous censorship of a friend, belonging to a different section of the Christian church. Thus is secured one of the greatest excellencies, that can characterize such a work; and thus is there every prospect of realizing one of the best objects that could be aimed at,—that, namely, of inducing Christians to love all their fellow Christians more cordially. We are persuaded that many bigoted Churchmen, and many bigoted Dissenters, will be astonished to find so much good in the characters of members of their opposite "persuasions," as is evinced by these sketches; and we trust that while they are led to

regard the memory of the dead with an affection, undiluted by any thoughts of their peculiarities of sentiment on minor points of doctrine or order, they will be insensibly induced to extend to the living, who share in these peculiarities, the same affection that they have been led to feel towards the memories of their predecessors.

The arrangement of the lives is purely Sibylline. The design of this, as the author explains in an advertisement, is to introduce as much variety as possible into the several *brochures*. This could not be done, it is evident, by a chronological order, nor by a denominational order, nor by any order that we can think of, unless either an alphabetical arrangement, or the perfect want of all order that has been adopted : and we think, upon the whole, that the way chosen is the best ; only we think facilities might have been afforded, by a double system of paging, for giving to the purchaser the option of binding the work, according to one, or other, of the arrangements, that we have hinted at. It is promised, however, that the inconveniences incidental to the present plan shall be remedied in another way, viz. by alphabetical and chronological Indices ; the latter of which will accommodate the work to the purposes of those, who wish to trace the aspect of affairs in successive periods ; while the former will make it easy of reference to those, who wish to consult it respecting any individual, whose memoir is contained in it. These indices, we have no doubt, will render the book, when complete, no less convenient as a work of reference, than the subscribers must find it agreeable, during the course of its publication, as a work for perusal.

Although we will not suffer ourselves to be betrayed into any thing like a review of the work in its present imperfect state, we must permit ourselves to give utterance to one feeling, that has been strongly called forth by the perusal of that portion of it, which is now before us. It is no new sentiment, but one that the perusal of all Christian biography tends to confirm,—the exquisite adaptation of our holy faith to mankind as such, without reference to the peculiarities of mental constitution and of social position, that distinguish men from each other. The extremes of rank and station, and the extremes of natural talent and mental acquirement, are equally capable of being blessed by its influence, and equally dependent upon its guidance through life, and its comfort and support in death. In the first No. alone, we have an account of the very learned Bishop Middleton, who found the most fitting and most honouring employment of his great talents and acquirements, in the elucidation of a very small, but very important, peculiarity in the language of the New Testament ;—and, almost side by side, we have an account of one Golam Ali, who uncouthly, but sincerely, expresses his love to his Saviour and Lord, in such terms as these ;—“ I love orange—it is sweet ; but Jesus Christ more sweet,—I love Jesus Christ.” No one will be disposed to smile at this language, who knows that the learned prelate and the illiterate lascar must equally enter the kingdom of heaven

as little children. When babes and sucklings praise the Lord, they must praise him in the language of babes; yet is it out of their mouths, that praise is perfected.

We anticipate a large sale for this work, both in India and in England; and very glad shall we be if our hearty commendation shall tend in any degree to promote this end. We cordially recommend it to our readers.

As a fair specimen of the work we select at random a portion of the notice of Charles Grant—a brick from the building:

“In the Session of 1807, on a motion for papers relative to the conduct of the British Government towards the Poligars, Mr. Grant traced the Vellore mutiny to the wish of the Mohammedans for the restoration of the sons of Tippoo Sultan to power. Whatever might be the remoter causes, the immediate occasion was, clearly, some injudicious military regulations, which tended to obliterate the fondly cherished distinctions of caste among the native soldiers. It certainly did not originate, directly or remotely, in the conduct of the missionaries, whom Mr. Grant, on every occasion, was among the foremost to defend from the unjust imputations, with which they have been too often assailed.

In the revenue administration of India, he supported a system, which invested with proprietary rights and personal immunities the native landholders and cultivators; a system which originated under the paternal government of Lord Cornwallis. The interest which Mr. Grant took in the jurisprudence of India always appeared to be proportioned to the influence which, in his opinion, the due administration of justice would have upon the moral and intellectual condition of the natives. Few persons were better qualified, by personal observation and extensive enquiry, to appreciate the difficulties which lay in the way of any rapid amelioration in the state of a people sunk, as the natives of India are, in inveterate prejudices and habits, rivetted upon them by the ceaseless exertions of their superior orders or castes. But it was inconsistent with Mr. Grant's consciousness of the superiority and divine authority of Christianity to concede, either to Mohammedanism or Hindooism, a perpetual existence. Hence the pleasure with which he regarded every prudent attempt to engraft principles of British jurisprudence on the Asiatic stock; and hence the decision and zeal which he evinced upon all questions connected with the superstitions or morals of India.

The negotiations between the Court of Directors and his Majesty's Ministers for the renewal by charter of the Company's commercial privileges, which commenced in 1808, when Mr. Grant was Deputy Chairman, called forth an extraordinary display of the powers of his mind.

In advocating the intellectual and moral wants of India, he had to encounter difficulties as unexpected as they were extraordinary, partly occasioned by the fears, and partly by the most surprising prejudices in favour of Hindoo idolatry, which were entertained by Europeans connected with India, some of whom came forward avowedly to oppose missionary exertions, in pamphlets which bear their names. The one party maintained the purity of Asiatic morals, and the harmlessness of the Hindoo character; and the other, the danger of interfering with Hindoo prejudices. The controversy, to which this subject gave rise, was, in its issue, eminently promotive of the interests of truth; and it prepared the way for those extensive moral and religious exertions for India, which have so greatly distinguished the last few years; and which God, in his providence, has conspicuously blessed for the benefit of that vast peninsula and its dependencies.

With a view to dispel the fears and remove the prejudices of the enemies to missionary efforts, many important documents were produced and laid on the table of the House of Commons, chiefly at the instance of Mr. Grant; such as proofs of the prevalence of infanticide in different parts of India, of the impu-

rities and atrocities of Juggernaut, and of the great extent of the worship of that idol ; of the habitual falsehood and dishonesty of the Hindoos ; and on the other hand, of the long undisturbed existence of Christianity in some parts of India. Lastly, Mr. Grant's own tract, entitled " Observations on the general state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, with respect to morals, and on the means of improving it." This valuable paper was called for by the House of Commons, laid on its table, and ordered to be printed for the use of the members, on the 5th of June, 1813 : but it has never been published.

In entering into the measures which Great Britain might adopt for the removal of these evils, and the improvement of the state of society in India, Mr. Grant referred to the introduction of the English language, as a circumstance arising almost necessarily out of the connection of Englishmen with that country ; and which rendered extremely easy, if it did not carry along with it, the introduction of much of their useful literature, and particularly the sacred scriptures. Towards the last measure, with many more direct means of improvement, such as schools and missions, he considered it incumbent on the Court of Directors to manifest at least a friendly aspect, and with respect to education, a co-operation. Mr. Grant fully answered the several objections which had been made to interfere with the religion of Hindoostan, and, in concluding this valuable paper, he made a powerful appeal to the British authorities in behalf of India.

In 1813, the Act of Parliament, commonly called the Charter Act, obtained the Royal assent. This statute, the fruit of much and laborious discussion, effected some considerable changes in the East India Company's commercial privileges, in which Mr. Grant could not concur ; but, on the other hand, it contained three important modifications of the law, which were in perfect accordance with the sentiments and reasoning which he held, and the attainment of which ought in justice to be ascribed, in an eminent degree, to his zeal and exertions.

The first of these was an augmentation of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of British India, and the institution of a Bishop's See at Calcutta ; the second, the privilege granted to European teachers of Christian morals, or missionaries, of enjoying a regulated access to the natives of India ; and the last, the annual appropriation of the sum of one lakh of rupees for the general promotion of education among them. " Thank God," devoutly exclaimed Mr. Wilson, in his interesting funeral sermon, to which the subsequent part of this memoir is chiefly indebted, " Thank God, he lived to see the great object of his wishes and efforts in some measure accomplished,—the question of Christianity in the East gained.—an ecclesiastical establishment in British India formed and fostered by the state,—the number and efficiency of the ministers of our church stationed in that country greatly increased,—the Christian missionary protected in his peaceful and honourable labours on the shores of the Ganges,—and a force of Christian principles and feelings on the subject raised and established, both in India and at home, which, we may humbly but firmly hope, will never be successfully resisted."

The House of Commons, in which Mr. Grant sat for about seventeen years, namely, from 1802 to 1819, (being two years for the town, and fifteen for the county of Inverness,) repeatedly elected him on committees, some of which were not connected with Indian affairs.

Amidst the multiplicity of his occupations, his parliamentary constituents, and his native county enjoyed a large share of his anxious attention. At the date of his election to a seat in Parliament, the Highlands of Scotland were, as regards the means of internal communication, in a state of almost primitive destitution. Adequately to supply these deficiencies, in a country so poor, so extensive, so thinly peopled, and abounding with physical obstacles, was an undertaking too gigantic for the effects of local combination. Such being the undeniable condition of the Highlands, Government resolved to undertake various magnificent works, which, now in a state of completion, add greatly to the convenience

and welfare of the country. The Caledonian Canal was the first which was commenced. The Act for cutting the Caledonian Canal was followed by another for the formation of Highland roads and bridges. Mr. Grant, it is understood, was among the first projectors of this measure, and for a period of twenty years, he strenuously exerted himself to advance it. Among other measures of local improvement in his native country in which Mr. Grant co-operated, one of the latest efforts of his public life was the promotion of the Act for building and endowing churches in the extensive parishes of the Highlands. The establishment, formed of late years in Edinburgh and in Inverness, for the extension of education in the Highlands, constantly found him a warm and efficient friend.

Although Mr. Grant ever considered the affairs of India as his peculiar province, and as a sufficient occupation for his mind, he allowed himself to have some other public engagements, but chiefly in connection with religious or benevolent objects.

The decision of his character respecting religion enabled him often to surmount such opposition to his benevolent projects, as would have overturned the purposes of many other men. But Mr. Grant, to the last moment of his life, retained and illustrated in his conduct, the religious principles and philanthropic views which he had imbibed in India.

The great subjects of Christian benevolence were ever present to his understanding and near his heart, and appeared to have a powerful influence upon his actions, leading him in the prosecution of his multifarious occupations, to travel in paths into which the ordinary details of business would never have led him. Under some aspect or other they were almost constantly before him, and are believed to have occupied his close attention within a few days, and probably within a few hours, of his decease."

With this long extract we take our leave of Mr. Carey, repeating our best wishes for the success of his work.

III.—1. *A Dictionary, English and Sindhi. By Capt. G. Stack. Bombay. 1849.*

2. *A Grammar of the Sindhi language. By Capt. G. Stack. Printed by order of the Government of Bombay. Bombay. 1849.*

It is sometimes not easy to decide whether the speech of a people, or of the inhabitants of a district of country, can be properly called a distinct language, belonging to a particular class, or merely a dialect of one more extensively spoken. In the use of the terms, language, and dialect, there is often a considerable degree of vagueness. It has never been determined, at what stage of divergency the peculiarities in the speech of any tribe, or nation of mankind, have become so great, that those, by whom they are used, can no longer be said to speak dialects of the same language, but rather languages of a cognate character, or sprung from the same original stem.

In India, as well as in Europe, there are several classes of languages, differing very considerably from each other. In some of these there are again various dialects, differing so widely from each other, as to occasion their being often regarded as entirely distinct languages

But the transition from the one to the other, in some of the districts where they are spoken, is in many instances so gradual, that it is almost impossible accurately to mark their respective limits, or to determine where the dialect has become so changed, as to warrant its being classed as a different language.

Thus in the case of the Hindui—the great vernacular language of North Western India—its dialects are so numerous, and in some instances diverge so far from each other, that several of them have been occasionally classed as distinct languages; while others of them melt so gradually into languages universally considered independent, that it is almost impossible to determine the real limits of the general language, to which they belong.

On the lower Ganges, the Hindui dialects almost imperceptibly merge in the Bengáli; along the skirts of the eastern Himalaya, in the Nepáleso; on the north west, in the Panjábi; and on the west and south west, in the Sindhi and Marathi, &c. At the same time, within the acknowledged limits of the Hindui, not only are there many dialects, differing greatly from each other,—but even languages, especially those of the aboriginal, or hill, tribes, so entirely different in their character, as to warrant the conclusion that their origin must have been altogether distinct. In the absence also of a vernacular literature—formed on any standards of taste, generally acknowledged, and capable of giving a comparatively settled character to the language, whether spoken or written,—peculiarities of dialect have gone on constantly increasing, till in many instances the natives of one part of the country have almost ceased to be intelligible to those of another; yet most of the words, employed by either party, are from the same Sanskrit origin, though greatly disguised by peculiarities of pronunciation. Hence it is, that the Hindus of different provinces can often communicate better with each other, through the medium of the Urdu—the lingua Franca—originating with the Muhammedans, than by means of their own Hindui, of which they speak dialects so widely different from each other.

The conquest of Sindh has brought us into contact with another branch of the Hindu languages, with which we had been previously comparatively unacquainted. Whether it is altogether entitled to rank as a separate language, or must take the more humble place of a dialect, we shall not take upon us to determine. We cannot, however, but express our obligations to the gallant Officer, who, with so much labour and ability, has presented the public with a Dictionary and Grammar, of the language of Sindh. The obligation is enhanced, by its having been conferred so soon after the country had become a British possession. These works cannot fail to be valuable, as a contribution to Indian philology, as well as to those, whose public duties may require an acquaintance with the language of Sindh.

In looking over the English and Sindhi Dictionary before us we find that the greater portion of the words is of Sanskrit origin.

In one column, for instance, there are given, as Sindhi equivalents for 22 English words, 18 Sanskrit, 10 Persian and Arabic (used also in Urdu), and twelve words of doubtful origin ; some of which, however, if not most, are not peculiar to Sindhi, as they are found in other dialects of Hindui, but especially in poetical compositions, such as the metrical versions of the Mahábhárat and the Ramáyan. In another column, we find under 26 English words, 29 Sanscrit, 13 Persian and Arabic, with only 9 words, which may be classed as indigenous to Sindh ; though we have no doubt, that, on a closer examination than we have been able to give, this small number of words, apparently peculiar to Sindh, might be greatly reduced, by showing that some of them are aboriginal words to be found also in other dialects, or Sanskrit words greatly corrupted in orthography and pronunciation, and probably somewhat altered in signification.

Though it would seem probable, that not a few of the vocables of the Sindhi language, or dialect, may have been derived from some aboriginal language, now extinct, and that the peculiarities of its grammatical structure may have sprung from the same source, it is evident that, in its present state, it is closely allied to the Hindui and Mahratta—if it may not be claimed as a dialect of either the one, or the other, of these widely spread languages. The large number of Persian words, found in it, is easily accounted for by the geographical position of the country, and the prevalence of Muhammedanism. It evidently however differs more from the Hindui (as now usually written in prose works) in its Grammar, than it does in its actual words : though in the Brij Bhásha, and other Hindui dialects, seldom written, except in verse, we find many of the same grammatical forms. The Grammar of prose Hindui has, however, been undergoing a gradual approximation to that of the Urdu, in which it is not improbable that the language itself may be ultimately absorbed ; while its poetry, for the most part, continues to be written in the dialects of Brij, and central India generally, and to retain many grammatical forms, much nearer to those exhibited in the Sindhi Grammar before us, than is likely to be supposed by those, whose Hindui studies have been chiefly confined to its prose compositions.

Our present limits will not admit of any attempt to analyze the works before us, or to do any thing like justice to their merits. We trust the author will be able to continue, and to extend, his researches. If, in addition to his English and Sindhi Dictionary, he would prepare one in Sindhi and English, he would lay the public, and especially future residents in Sindh, under increased obligation.

IV.—*Chapters on Missions in India. By the Rev. H. Fox, B. A., late Church Missionary in Masulipatam. London. Seeleys. 1848.*

THE amiable author of this little volume was cut off by the hand of death at an early age, when he was entering on a career of distinguished usefulness. We will not say, in the sceptical tone of a late bard,

“The spoiler came, and all thy promise fair
Has sought the grave, to sleep for ever there.”

Death has been to him a removal to a higher state of being, and he has left a bright example behind. We trust his mantle may fall on many, and induce talent and mental calibre of a high order to be consecrated to the conversion of the Heathen. He was for five years a pupil of Dr. Arnold's at Rugby, where he felt the first inclination towards devoting himself as a Missionary; and let us hope “that the rich endowments and the high literary advantages of our great educational establishments, may yet make them nurseries for the evangelization of the world.” Mr. F. graduated at Wadham College, Oxford: and, hearing of the openings presented for a Telugú Mission, he embarked, with the Rev. T. Noble of Cambridge, for India in 1841. His first duty was the study of the Telugú language; after the acquirement of which, he entered on his favourite department of labour, “conversational preaching in the bazars, thoroughfares, and villages.” His health soon broke down, and he was obliged to return to England, where he remained only seven months, as nothing could detain him from his beloved work in the land of his adoption. Again he was forced back—but only to die. His career closed in 1848.

These Chapters on Missions are very valuable, and written in an interesting tone. In treating of the *Duties of the Church*, the author observes, “a church, which is content with labouring at home, working merely among its own members, resembles a mass of fuel, in which the fire is smouldering, but not burning; which sends forth smoke, not heat; which is not indeed actually and altogether unlit, but which in no degree answers the purpose of him who instituted it.” He then treats of the duties of England, in particular with reference to India (a country as large as Europe, not including Russia), and the sphere opened to her in the Madras Presidency. There are the Telugús, or Gentús, comprising ten millions of people, on the coast, and inland from Ganjam to Pulicat: a Church Mission was established among them in 1841. There are the Tamulians, reaching from Pulicat to Cape Comorin, amounting to eight millions, with forty Church Missionaries. There are the Canarese in the Mysore district, and the Malayalims (nearly one million,) along the Malabar Coast. The Madras Presidency contains a population of 11,000 Europeans, and 30,000,000 na-

tives. Mr. Fox gives the following illustration of the condition of the peasantry :—

“ While staying in the Choultry (a halting place for the heat of the day), I had abundance of company in a set of palanquin bearers, and in a number of cooly men, (i. e. hired labourers), who took up their quarters, and laid down their loads in the verandah. When I had had enough of reading, and they of sleeping, I had a long conversation with two of them. The coolies were engaged as carriers ; on my talking with them about their occupations, they said that they were small farmers, and that their proper business was cultivation, but that in preference, whenever they could, they went as carriers ; they were now carrying on their shoulders bales of coarse cottons, from some merchant at Palcole, to another at Masulipatam, a distance of 45 miles : for this they each receive one rupee (two shillings) ; the value of each man's burden varying from 30 to 40 rupees (£3 to £4) ; the journey they accomplish in four days. When I asked them, why they preferred this carrier's work to cultivating the ground, they said that in this work they got their whole hire to themselves ; but that in cultivation, after paying all proper dues and rent, the Tahsildar's peons (petty officers, of the rank of constables) unjustly exacted from them at the rate of one anna on the rupee (that is, one sixteenth). “ But why do you give it to them, if it is unjust ? ” “ If we do not give it, they beat us.” “ If so, why do you not go and complain to the Tahsildar ? ” (He is the native collector and magistrate of a small district). “ It is he that sets his peons on, and encourages them to do it.” “ Go to the English Collector then, and complain to him.” “ We can't do that ; he lives 40 miles off, and the Tahsildar would stop us on the way, and drive us back.” “ But can't you go, without letting any one know what your purpose is ? ” “ Yes we can do that ; but what is the result ? the Collector writes to the Tahsildar to enquire of him about our complaint, and he will write back to say that he has beaten us because we would not pay our rent, or some such story as that ; and then we come back again with nothing for our pains ; perhaps we get another beating for making the complaint, and get turned out of our bit of land.”

After referring to the intercourse of Europeans with the natives, and the social condition and appearance of the country, Mr. F. treats of the power of caste, which is stronger in Madras than in the Bengal Presidency, though in the latter we require many more servants on account of caste, than in the former. Mr. F. writes, “ If a Brahman, parched by thirst, is compelled to ask for a draught of water of a man of lower caste than himself, he may drink it without being polluted, if only he pours a few drops of milk into it, or mixes a small piece of cowdung with it. * * * A very serious disturbance, accompanied with loss of life, occurred about eight or nine years ago, between the members of two very low castes, because the one party had poured four vessels of water over a dead body, whose funeral rites they were performing, whereas their caste did not allow them to pour more than three. * * * A Pariah may not live in the town or village occupied by families of the upper caste : at a short distance from the outskirts of their habitations, is a separate village of mean huts, called Málapátam, or Pariacherry, or Pariah-town, where this lowest class of all live. * * * On one occasion I sought to purchase, or rent, from a native, a large Hindoo house in the centre of a respectable neighbourhood in a large town, for the purpose of inhabiting it. The neighbours were

in the greatest alarm; my Pariah servants, they said, would not only have to be passing frequently through the street, a thing, which stricter custom, as retained in the villages, would not allow, but they would be spending the day, perhaps sometimes the night, within the large enclosure round the house; the whole atmosphere would be impregnated with Pariah-ism, and the locality be polluted. The owner, who was a Brahman, and lived sixty miles distant, would not let me have the house. * * * On one occasion, a Brahman, of high caste, and reputation for learning, was sitting beside me. I saw him suddenly lift his bare foot from the floor, and, looking at it with horror, immediately rise. He went outside the door, and carefully wiped it. I enquired if a scorpion had stung him, or an ant bitten him; he said, no, but that he had inadvertently put his toe upon a grain of boiled rice, which had fallen from the table, and was lying on the floor; and, that when he went home, he must purify himself. The rice had been cooked by a Pariah, and it had formed part of the meal of an Englishman. No one saw the pollution but I and the Brahman himself, and I have no idea that he would trouble himself about his purification."

Mr. Fox gives, we think, too low a view of the state of learning among the Hindus. He was too short a time in the country to be able to pronounce a correct judgment on the subject. There is a superstitious practice mentioned, which we have not heard of in Bengal. "The moon is also an object of worship: it is supposed to be a male deity: when the new moon first appears, the beholders lift up their hands towards it in adoration. Sometimes a person will take a thread from the cloth they wear for dress, roll it up in their fingers, and, throwing it towards the moon, salute the luminary with the words, 'O moon, take away my old clothes, and give me new ones.'" He makes mention of the village Goddesses, among which is the Goddess of cholera and small pox. We have not heard, whether a God called Dukhin Ray, who is worshipped here in the Sunderbunds, as a protector against torrents and tigers, is an object of adoration in Madras: but snakes are worshipped there. "There is a day, late in the year, when the women, especially Brahman women, go out early in the morning, carrying with them boiled rice, curds, milk, and such dainties; they hasten to the mud heaps, which mark the white ant's nests; for in these almost universally a snake has taken up its abode: and, with prayers and praises addressed to the reptile, they pour out their presents before the hole, where they suppose it is secreted." He gives several illustrations of ignorance among the Hindus, but makes one very just remark on this subject:—

"The acquaintance, on the part of the natives, with European habits, inventions and knowledge, is about on a par with the acquaintance of most Europeans in India, with the habits and belief of the Hindus. The one know no more than they did, before Europeans were seen in the country: a large proportion of the latter possess as little real knowledge of the subject, as if they had never left England."

He mentions one of the Hindu miracles :—

“ At Tiripati, one of the most sacred temples, and the most favourite resort of pilgrims in all South India, is the shrine and golden image of Venkateshwara, one of the forms of Vishnu. About fifteen miles off among the hills, is a smaller temple, where there resides the wife of this god. Every evening the priests of this latter temple, previous to closing the doors for the night, place within the goddess-house an enormous pair of shoes, and the usual supplies of betel leaf and nut. In the morning, on opening the door, they find the betel leaf and its accompaniments consumed, the new shoes removed, and another pair considerably worn put in their place. The cause, which they assign, is this : the god walks over every evening all the way from Tiripati to see his wife ; he of course chews betel-leaf all night, and, having considerably injured his shoes on the stony mountain-tracks which he has traversed, leaves them behind him, and returns before cock-crow, wearing the new shoes, which the piety of his worshippers had prepared for him.”

Mr. Fox draws, we think, like Ward in his “Hindus,” too dark a picture of the native character. He adduces indeed many instances of depravity ; but we could quote as bad from the records of the London Police. However we rejoice to see, that he makes the following admission :—

“ And here I have pleasure in remembering instances of many virtues which have come before my notice. I have seen husbands affectionately attached to their wives, parents dotingly fond of their children, young men paying due respect to their fathers : I have occasionally met with honesty, open dealing, and honourable bearing : I have seen friends walking together, who were friends indeed : I have seen hearty good will and kindness, gratitude and attachment to those from whom they have received kindness. Whoever is willing and ready to love the poor Hindus, in spite of their faults and moral degradation, will soon find much in them to love. Their Maker's image is sadly defaced, but it is there. They are steeped in crime and vice as well as in sin ; but they are those for whom Christ endured bitter agony on the cross, and among them are many whom he will bring to his glorious light, and who shall be bright jewels in his eternal crown. We cannot but love those whom Christ has loved ; and I feel pleasure in looking to Masulipatam as a place where I not only have very dear and valued christian friends and fellow countrymen, but where there are not a few, whose faces are dark, yet whom I can love almost as brothers. I would that some others of my countrymen could be persuaded to do the same, and to go forth to do God's work among them.”

The following are thoroughly Hindu similies ;

“ The earth-beetle burrows and lives in the soil ; it is always passing through it, yet it is never contaminated by the dirt, and it preserves its bright shining coat : *therefore*, the soul of man, which is divine, may dwell in the midst of worldly concerns, mix in sin, and yet remain undefiled.”

“ Again, “ Ghee (i. e. prepared butter) and butter are not the same, yet the one is contained in the other ; and air and water are different from each other, yet one of them is produced from the other ; *therefore*, God, or the divine soul, may dwell in a sinful man as a part of him, and yet not be implicated in his sin.”

“ Again, “ Quicksilver will lie in most intimate contact with other substances, but will, under no circumstances, mix with them ; *therefore*, the divine soul lives in most intimate connection with the frame of man, but is not mingled with it.”

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ERRATA IN NO. XXXI.

Page 35, Table 2.

In the 2nd column *for* 2.196 *read* 21.96, and so on throughout.

In the 3rd column *for* 2.681 *read* 26.81.

” ” 2.816 ” 28.16.

” ” 2.433 ” 24.33.

Page 40, line 39, *for* diet, *read* dirt.

Page 58, line 6, *for* station-telegraph, *read* stations, telegraphs.

Page 76, line 3, *for* regulation, *read* regulations.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Decisions of the Sudder Dewaní Adawlut. Calcutta. Military Orphan Press. 1851.*

WE propose to consider the present state of the Anglo-Indian Courts of Justice, more particularly those which have been established under the presidency of Fort William; and to enquire into the reasonableness of that charge of inefficiency, which has lately been brought against them.

Since the publication of the drafts of those enactments, which threaten to deprive British subjects of their cherished privileges, and to place them upon a level with the millions of their fellow-men in India, the cry against the Courts of Hindustan has been raised with more vehemence and perseverance than ever: and those courts, which exercise jurisdiction over a hundred millions of civilized beings, have been represented as places characterised by incompetency and corruption. If this be true, as we believe it to be eminently false, it is indeed highly expedient that the Government should be informed of it, before the expiration of the charter, in order that the Governor General, who cannot, however, be supposed to know much about the matter, should bring the evil prominently forward, and thus afford Her Majesty an opportunity of covering the plains of the Indus, the Ganges and the Nerbudda, with Supreme Courts, with Barristers learned in the law, and with Attorneys, who shall “wander about the country with their blue bags, *not caring six-pence for the Huzzúr.*”

Whether such an importation would supply the alleged desiderata of efficiency and purity, may reasonably be questioned. We think that it would not; and that, on the contrary, many evils would thus be added to the Mofussil judicial system, from which it is now comparatively free.

It is not pretended that the courts of India require no improvement. Every thing human can be improved: but, imperfect as these courts may be, their defects are attributable to the political and social condition of the country; and nearly all of them belong, in an equal degree, to the Queen's Courts of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Let the administration of justice be improved in every possible way; but let us not be run away

with by the supposition, that the inhabitants of the Northern Sircars, or of Rohilkana, would be benefited by the introduction of English law, and English lawyers. The Supreme Court is held in abhorrence by the people of more distant provinces. The word "Warrant," commonly applied by them to every species of process issuing from that terrible tribunal—dim, vast, and distant—bears to their minds a cabalistic meaning: it falls amongst them like a thunderbolt, and they understand it about as much: but they are clearly sensible of the deadly effect which it produces, and they pray to Allah, or to Brahma, to save them from the judicial lightning.

We cannot stop to contrast this picture with the Supreme Courts, such as they were intended to be, when first established.

Who, without the aid of History, would believe that one of the chief duties of the royal Judges, who were first sent out to India, was the protection of the natives from the servants of the Company? Who, judging from what they now see, would believe it? Is it the witness, who is dragged down from the sands of Bhattiana to the Bay of Bengal, because an Englishman cannot be tried out of Calcutta? Is it the victim of constructive inhabitancy? Or is it the native gentleman, who is hunted from place to place by a "warrant," till at length the interference of the Company's servants saves him? No!—defects there are: but, when we have examined them a little more, we shall find that they are not peculiar to the Company's Courts.

With the state of the law itself, we have at present no concern. It will be admitted that the whole bench of English Judges together would experience the greatest difficulty in administering it; but the greater the difficulty, the greater is the credit due to those, who have succeeded in administering it to the satisfaction of the people. The voice of the public, the native public we mean, not the few Europeans of a single city—the millions, not the units;—the voice of India would support the assertion that such success has been obtained; and, if perchance a complaint should be heard, it would be there, where the Courts have been influenced by their hereditary conceptions of English law, where their European ideas of practice, or their European notions of evidence, have led them to extend to Asiatics the principles of a system, which is wholly inapplicable to their condition. The law, however, is not the object of our present attention, but the state of the courts: and in pursuance of this subject, we shall first glance at the complete efficiency of the agency for the decision of civil suits, which we conceive to be a most

important point, and shall then proceed to consider: 1st, the qualifications of the presiding officers; 2ndly, the alleged corruption of the Amlah; and 3rdly, the fitness of the Courts for the trial of Europeans, charged with the commission of criminal offences.

There has not often been in any country a more effective agency, than that which is employed by the British Government of India, for the prompt decision of all civil disputes, and the immediate trial of all criminal offenders. The civil business of the country is entrusted to Múnsiffs, Sudder Amíns, principal Sudder Amíns, and Zillah Judges, who receive and dispose of cases according to their several grades; whilst, at the seat of each Government, is fixed the Sudder Dewaní Adawlut, the highest court of civil and criminal jurisdiction, which, in addition to its judicial duties, exercises a visitatorial authority over all the subordinate Courts. In these Courts, except the last, arrears are unknown. The local jurisdictions of the Múnsiffs have been carefully adjusted with reference to the expected income of cases, and to the convenience of having these rural Courts fixed in the vicinity of Mofussil treasuries (*tahsilis*). These local jurisdictions are altered, whenever any apparently permanent alteration occurs in the ordinary proportion of the income of suits at the several Múnsiffis. A Court of this grade is abolished in one part of the country, and re-established in another, when the Sudder Dewaní Adawlut see fit to make the arrangement; and, as the total number of Múnsiffs' courts throughout the country is at present sufficient for transacting the sum total of civil business, the strength of the judicial agency is easily and speedily adjusted to the demands of each part of the country.

The Sudder Amíns' courts have generally very light files; and they are most useful in relieving the Múnsiff's files, whenever, from temporary causes, an accumulation has there taken place.

The principal Sudder Amíns' Courts can hardly be considered as quite distinct from the Courts of the Zillah Judges, though the functions of each are quite separate: but it is foreign to our purpose to enter into particulars on this dry part of our subject, more than is necessary to show the efficiency of the judicial agency employed. The courts of the principal Sudder Amíns are very seldom overwhelmed with business; and, whenever they are, an additional principal Sudder Amín is appointed. The heaviest work of a Zillah Judge is the hearing of Múnsiff's appeals; and this class of cases he can make over to the principal Sudder Amíns. Thus, if the Judge is

pressed, he relieves his files by transferring suits; and, if the principal Sudder Amín is pressed, an additional officer is appointed. Here then, as in the case of the Múnsiffs' courts, no arrears can accrue; and the principal Sudder Amíns are moved to any part of the country where their services may be required, just as the Múnsiffs are moved. A more efficient agency, so far as strength is concerned, can hardly be conceived; and no one will deny to this underrated judicial system the merit of affording speedy justice.

We do not enter upon the integrity of the native Judges. It is a subject full of interest, one upon which the most conflicting opinions are entertained, and one of greater importance, perhaps, than even those subjects which now occupy our attention. The integrity of the Múnsiffs and Sudder Amíns is not what is alluded to by those who complain of the "corruption" of the Anglo-Indian Courts: the corruption complained of is in the accepting and *demanding* of gratuities by the Amlah, in consideration of which they are supposed to exercise an influence over the Court, though no one seems to know *how*. When the word "corruption" is used in these pages, it is to be understood in this sense.

1st—The qualification of the Judges themselves is the *cheval de bataille* of those, who think somewhat worse of Mofussil Courts than we do. The Government officers, it is said, have had no professional education; therefore are they unfit. They are not independent; therefore are they unfit. They are under the influence of corrupt officials; therefore are they unfit. Now to all malcontents we will be very liberal. We will admit a great deal more than they can prove; which is exceedingly generous on our part, and we expect them to be grateful.

Be it granted then, that the civil servants of Government, being nominated by favour from amongst the educated classes, cannot possess more than the average ability of that class. The Judges of the Queen's Courts are precisely in the same predicament. *They* cannot possess more than the average talent of the educated classes; and yet no outcry is raised against them. We find no fault with Her Majesty's Judges; but when people are making speeches and drawing up petitions, in order to save themselves from the much abused Mofussil Judges, men are apt to enquire, "what makes the mighty differ?" In support of the extravagant opinion, that the difference is not so great as Town Hall oratory would lead us to suppose, we will merely refer to the speech delivered some little time ago by Lord Brougham, in the House of Lords, on the subject of Colonial Appeals. We will not be as ungracious as His Lordship

was, nor quote passages, which might be unpleasant to others, however strongly they support our views. Enough will be found there, by those who look for it, to satisfy any man, that, in the opinion of the Ex-Chancellor, the Colonial Judges do not rise in natural talent above the average of educated men.

But, it is urged, they receive a legal education, and thus become far more fitted for the discharge of judicial functions, than men who have not enjoyed that advantage. That a knowledge of the origin, history, and principles of the civil law, of the canon law, and of the common and statute laws of England—an acquaintance with the systems adopted by modern nations—a familiarity with the natural rights of persons and of things, and a habit of discussing and solving difficult legal questions, are valuable qualifications in a Judge, is most true. But these are qualifications, which unprofessional men frequently possess, and the acquirement whereof, to a certain extent, is indispensable to every one, who aspires to the character of a well-informed man. There are many well-informed men amongst the civil servants of the Government. It is the knowledge of the technical part of law, and particularly of English law, founded, as it is, on the feudal system and the authoritative modifications thereof, which it is so difficult to acquire. Let any man (not being a lawyer) open the commonest law book we have; let him take (perhaps the most valuable, as well as the commonest) Blackstone's Commentaries, and read a few pages in half a dozen places in the two first volumes. If he do not get a lively idea of the sort of knowledge given by a professional education, and a mortal disgust to the process of acquiring the same, we will never pretend to direct his studies again. But if he should rise from the perusal (as we prophesy he will) vexed, confused, puzzled,* and wondering whether his own stupidity, or the unintelligibility of the book, is the cause of his supervening headache, then we expect him to join us in declaring, that the professional education of an English lawyer is not indispensable to the discharge of judicial functions, in a land where men are not yet reconciled to the difference between law and justice, and where they conduct their legal proceedings in the same language, as that which they employ for ordinary purposes.

In one point, however, there is certainly a very great inferiority on the part of the Anglo-Indian Courts. They have no bar: and they require an able bar, even more than the royal Courts. Those only, who have had practical experience, can appreciate the value of able Counsel, well up in their cases—

* "The puzzled reader thinks himself the dunce."—*Pope*.

especially its value to the Judge, more particularly in Courts where the proceedings are conducted in a foreign language, and where it is not yet well understood how much all parties are benefited by adherence to the rules of pleading. The hours that are lost in Indian Courts, whilst the Judge himself wades through voluminous and ill-written documents, in search of the *points at issue*, which the Vakils are unable or unwilling to lay before him, would astonish an English lawyer. The wear and tear of body and mind, in the months of May or June, depend very much upon the ability of the Pleader; and memory or imagination may suggest to many the sensation of increased weight, when a fresh case has been called on, and the announcement made, that the greatest block-head at the bar has the privilege of conducting it. Some able men there certainly are at the Indian bar; and there is probably a variety of talent amongst the Barristers of the Supreme Court also; but the two extremes of ability and inability are far more widely separated in the Indian, than in the English, Courts. The ablest Vakils get the cases that pay best, not the most difficult cases;—and the Judge has, consequently, the least assistance where he requires the most. It has often been observed that, in England, an able, clear-headed and well-educated man would be competent to decide any cause whatever, although he had never entered a Court, or opened Coke upon Lyttleton, provided that the cause was conducted by thoroughly competent Counsel. It might give him a good deal of trouble, and occupy five or six days, instead of one; but he could do it at last, as well as his more practised and more learned brethren. Nothing of this kind obtains in the Anglo-Indian Courts. Here the Judge has to do all the work himself: and the desultory conversations which are thus occasioned, even before the trial commences, are almost inconsistent with European ideas of the dignity of the bench, and are in open defiance of Lord Brougham's precept, that, until the trial is concluded, a Judge should be "seen, not heard."* Yet more;—not contented with failing in their own part of the duty, these incompetent Vakils often interfere with the Judge's performance of it for them; and, rather than confess their ignorance of the mere facts of a case, they give a wrong answer, and thus inevitably mislead the court, until the error is discovered at a subsequent stage of the proceedings.

It is just within the sphere of possibility, that Queen's, as well as Company's, Judges may have had some personal experience of the nature described; but it is not to be denied, that the bar in

* See his character of Sir William Grant.

the Queen's Courts is immeasurably superior to the bar in the Company's Courts, and the advantage to the Judge is proportionate. The remedy is not so easily found: but a great step has been taken by Act I. of 1846, which authorizes every Barrister of the Royal Courts to plead in the Courts of Sudder Dewaní Adawlut.

It may be admitted then, that Indian Judges are ignorant of the technicalities of English law, and that they have very little opportunity of learning anything from the pleaders. Nevertheless, they are by no means deficient in legal education of that sort, which is of real importance; and, if they learn nothing from Pleaders, they have learned much from that book which is open to all. From his early youth, the civil servant, who will be one day placed on the bench, is incessantly and laboriously engaged in fitting himself for his future duties. As he works his way through the subordinate grades of office, he becomes intimately acquainted with the affairs of men. He learns the various peculiarities of commercial transactions in India; and, far more difficult task, he becomes familiar with the complicated rights and tenures of the agricultural community. No man ought to be a Judge, who has not been a Collector. The *kacheri*, in which the assistant decides a case of assault, or listens to a summary suit for rent; the tent, that most efficient and popular of all Indian Courts, in which the settlement officer studies and adjusts the proprietary rights of acquiescent millions; the office, in which the Magistrate and Collector for many successive years manage districts as large as Yorkshire—these are the schools, in which the Indian Judges study law. There is no other school in which it is taught; nor are the students inattentive to their studies. Whatever may be said, it is a fact that ought to be acknowledged, that (taking them as a whole) a more zealous, able, and hard-working body of public servants is nowhere to be found. Day after day, and all day long, are these men to be seen still performing their onerous duties, through the almost insupportable, dry, burning heats of May, and the more dangerous hot damps of August. They labour not in vain. They learn the language, the customs, the feelings, the character, and the *law* of the people: and thus they become, not merely fit to be Judges in the land, but literally the only class of men, who *are* fit to be judges in the land. And shall these men be pronounced useless—shall they lose that best reward of meritorious exertions, the praise of good men, because they cannot explain the nature of a bill of discovery, or discourse upon the statutes of Mortmain?

Amongst other grounds of disqualification alleged against Indian

Judges, it has often been asserted that they are not independent. If this merely implies that the Judges are not by law independent, and therefore that evil consequences *might* ensue, we have little to say upon the subject; but if the Judges are accused of not being *practically* independent, nay, of being even "sycophantic and servile," whilst in the same breath, the Government itself is charged with making them so, we are persuaded that the charge is wholly incorrect. The Judges are Britons, as "free-born," and as proud of their national character, as any Englishman in India. They have not, by coming to India, lost the characteristics of English gentlemen, any more than the merchants, the lawyers, or the indigo planters: nor would they consent to hold judicial office for one day, if the Government attempted to dictate to them. Those, who assert that the Judges are not practically independent, are not, perhaps, so well informed as they might be in regard to the constitution of the civil service, and the principles upon which offices are distributed and held. A Civilian cannot, indeed, resign his appointment at once, and retire to his country seat; but he can quit any office, or avoid any office, if he think that he is not permitted, or that he would not be permitted, conscientiously to discharge the duties thereof. Such recusancy, if respectfully conducted, does not involve loss of the service. It may involve stoppage of promotion; but we feel certain that there is not a single European Judge in the three presidencies, who would not accept an inferior appointment, rather than allow the Government to interfere with him in the exercise of his *purely judicial* functions. Even supposing then that the Government could be so absurd as to desire to interfere, the consequences to the Judge, of resisting such interference, would not be ruinous: there would be no sufficient inducement to succumb to power: the necessity would not be strong enough: and experience warrants our concluding that, under such circumstances, the weakest man will behave like a martyr. As to the grosser parts of the charge, we defy any one to adduce a single instance, in which the behaviour of a Judge has been "sycophantic" or "servile," while we could, at a moment's notice, quote half a dozen, which would prove the very reverse.

The Indian Judges are practically as independent as the Judges at home are. Even the latter are not altogether irresponsible; and, if they were incompetent or corrupt, the fact would very soon be brought before the Houses of Parliament. If Mr. Courtenay Smith was pleased to reject the security of Government, and thus destroy all confidence on the part of the people towards their rulers, we cannot consider that the Go-

vernment interfered with the independence of the Judge, when they found fault with his eccentric proceeding.* Yet, even in this instance, the judicial order would have been respected, and other means taken to get rid of it, had there been reason to believe that the order had been seriously and conscientiously recorded. Our own idea is, that it was a joke!—rather a bad joke, it must be confessed. Every one, who knew the Judge, believed it to be so; and it is said that, when some members of the House of Commons prepared to defend the independence of the bench, Mr. Courtenay Smith wisely declined their assistance, being apprehensive of “carrying the joke too far.”

If, again, Mr. Lewin did that which tended to rouse the Hindu population against the Government, we cannot blame that Government, for defending itself against the consequences of Mr. Lewin’s dangerous language. We do not, by any means, undertake the task of defending the proceedings of the Marquis of Tweeddale on that occasion. *Judge Lewin* was right enough, and probably might have defied the most noble Governor, had not *Mr. Lewin* addressed the Hindus indiscreetly. Judges who act in this way, would hardly find themselves independent, in one sense of the word, even in England; nor are they in that sense independent here. Does any one suppose that the Judges themselves would not remonstrate and memorialize incessantly, if they felt that they were often treated in such a manner as to make them sycophantic and servile? Are the personal characters of the gentlemen, who now occupy the Sudder bench at the several presidencies, no safeguard against this monstrous tyranny of the Government? We have seen what Madras Judges will do, if necessary: and there are men equally independent, and equally determined at the other presidencies. Are such men as Mr. Welby Jackson and Mr. John Colvin at Calcutta, Mr. LeGeyt at Bombay, or Mr. Henry Lushington at Agra, servile sycophants? No:—the Government and the Judges understand their relative position perfectly: the judges are *practically* independent: and, if any of our readers should still be incredulous, we beg to refer them to the record offices of the four Courts of Sudder Dewani Adawlut. When they have completed the perusal of the contents of those Archives, and not before,—we shall be happy to resume with them the subject of the independence of the Anglo-Indian Judges.

The next objections raised against the Company’s Courts

* The security was tendered, we believe, in the shape of Company’s Paper in the usual course of a civil suit: and its rejection evidently tended to destroy all mercantile credit.—ED.

are, that the Amlah are corrupt, and that underhand influences are in constant operation. How far the first of these accusations is true, we shall presently discuss; but the second is too vague to deserve a serious answer. As in the matter of independence, so on this subject, we say, that if no more is intended than that parties, concerned in suits, use every endeavor to bring their names and their interests to the favourable notice of the Judge, we are disposed to admit it; and further to maintain, that the attempt is made in Calcutta and in England quite to the same extent, though the Judges and the Public are more ignorant of what is going on: but, if it is intended to say, that the Anglo-Indian Judges *are* influenced in any way, we must take leave to demur. We do not believe it. The source of this idea, that the Judges are influenced by considerations not actually pleaded, lies very deep; and we shall return to the subject when we come to speak of the nature of evidence in this country. At present let us attend to our friends the Amlah, and enquire to what extent they are guilty of that corruption, which is so constantly laid to their charge.

The practice of accepting voluntary presents, as is well known, is not held to be disgraceful by the native community. The act, if committed by an officer of a court, is criminal, both according to English law and according to Anglo-Indian practice. All the native officials (we do not include any grade of native Judges), or very nearly all, take these presents, or bribes, whenever they can get them; and, if they did no more than this, the evil would not be intolerable. The stream of voluntary donation does not, however, flow so copiously as is desired; and a villainous system of extortion has been organized, which has hitherto baffled the energetic efforts of the ablest men to put it down. The amount of legal knowledge possessed by a Welsh squire or a Scotch farmer, may be a fair measure of the learning possessed on the same subject in India by a Goruckpore Zemindar, or a Mafidar of Delhi. Although the Zemindar and Mafidar think otherwise, all are in the hands of others, whenever they are compelled to have recourse to the Civil Court. The first class who profit by the sad necessity, are the agents, or Moktars, of the unfortunate litigants. These men are sometimes members of the litigant's family, sometimes family servants, sometimes employed for the occasion, sometimes professional, and sometimes acting in conjunction with the professional Moktars, or Attorneys, who do not leave the vicinity of the Court. They manage the case, appoint Counsel, and fee the Amlah. All parties unite in drawing money from that mysterious spot, "where the cause of action arose;"

and even the Pleaders, being now, by law, allowed to get as much as they can, are accused of becoming channels of communication between the Moktars and the Amlah, and of not taking the trouble for nothing. The circumstance of their being now authorized to take any amount of remuneration peculiarly fits them for this office, and presents a formidable obstacle to the progress of those, who endeavor to trace to their ultimate destination the sums which are forwarded from the Mofussil. Agents, Pleaders and Amlah are all of one mind: they do not think that they are acting infamously: they are in very little danger of being discovered; and, whatever may be the particular degree of guilt of any one individual, it is universally admitted, that the whole firm together have reaped as rich a harvest, as if they had been members of a Calcutta mercantile establishment, or had held office under the Supreme Court.

The whole of this combination, however, has for its object solely the extracting of money from the pockets of the suitors. The trial itself is a distinct affair; in the conduct of which, the Pleaders, however exacting they may have been previously, are not accused of sacrificing the interests of their clients. We anticipate the comments, that, when men once accept unauthorized emoluments, they will not be very scrupulous as to the nature of the return; and that, if the Amlah made no return, or if the adversary's Vakíl made none for them, the supplies would soon be stopped. This is a very natural and a very English idea, and it is, no doubt, true in many instances; but it forms no part of the remarkable system, which we are attempting to describe. The characteristic of that system is, that the natives do not consider it disgraceful; whereas nothing would, in their opinion, be more disgraceful, than the sale of justice, or the betrayal of his client's cause by a Vakíl. If the Vakíls should be treacherous, of course the Court is helpless: but under no other circumstances is it in the power of all the conspirators together to affect the judgment of the Court. The system flourishes most, where the cases and the decrees are of the highest value: and the Courts of Sudder Dewaní Adawlut must therefore consent to appropriate these remarks chiefly to themselves. We maintain then, that however large a sum may have been paid by the litigants, however crafty may be the agents, however willing to mislead may be the Amlah, it is not in the power of them all put together, to affect the decision in the slightest degree, unless the Vakíls themselves are either treacherous, or grossly incompetent. The contrary has been asserted; and, if it would not lead to a mass of uninteresting detail, we could illustrate the subject, and, as we think, strengthen our own position, by enumerating and discussing the

several devices, by which it has been supposed possible that the pleaders might influence the Court. Of course a state of things may be imagined in which our assertion would be incorrect; but these are extreme cases, and do not bear upon the general question. It is not many years since we heard of a Judge in England so deaf, that he could not hear the Counsel; and the somnolency of the British bench is matter of story.

Then *why*, it will naturally be asked, do the suitors continue to pay money, when experience must have shown them that they pay it in vain? Experience has *not* shown them that they pay it in vain. They know that they pay, and one party knows that he wins. This would of itself be quite sufficient to perpetuate their folly, even if nothing else contributed to deceive the suitors. The hopes of gain, however, on the part of the receivers and payers, are sustained by more plausible arguments. In a very numerous class of cases, the Vakils know pretty well how the decision will be; and the same must be the case in England. In these they prophesy with confidence and success, and the state of the law in regard to special appeals, which are rejected in great numbers, facilitates in a remarkable degree this lucrative prediction. The unanimous opinion of several lawyers will not prevent the suit, as it does in England. The litigants distrust their legal advisers, and put much faith in perjury and forgery; so that they frequently persist in defending an untenable position, and enable the Vakíl of the opposite party to forestal the result with positive certainty. On such money-bearing occasions, the agent writes to the principal, who is sure to win, a coaxing, threatening letter, of which some amusing specimens have lately been brought to light—the gist of the matter being, that, if a certain sum of money be sent, the Amlah have promised to give their aid, and that success will then be certain. It is certain all along; but the victim knows nothing of this. He is engaged with his *rubbi* or his *khuríf* collections, or he is reading the Koran, or he is encroaching upon his neighbour's land; and the whole knowledge, which he possesses of the progress of his law-suit, is derived from the "*khutts*" (letters) of his agent. But the agents do not always wait for such favorable opportunities. They keep constantly urging their principals to send more money for "*khurcha*" (law-expenses); and the application is invariably accompanied by the assurance, that, unless the money be sent, the suit will be lost. They are believed. If the money is not sent, and the suit is lost, the misfortune is attributed to the want of "*khurcha*;" if the money is sent, and the suit is gained, the party believes that he has purchased the decree. Sometimes *hoondees* are sent, the payment of which is condi-

tional upon the successful issue of the suit: sometimes the money is to be paid in proportion to the advantage gained: various are the forms of extortion, but one general feature belongs to all. The court officials combine to persuade suitors that money is required; and, when it comes, they divide it in proportions, which depend on circumstances. When any stir is made, the whole blame is thrown on the agents. In many cases it is very possible that these may be the only persons in fault; as also it is very possible that they may be altogether blameless.

There is no doubt, as to the *fact*, that money flows in this way towards the Sudder Courts. *That* is proved by the admissions of the payers, and by the unexplained remittances—the number and amount of which may be ascertained by any one, who has access to the files of the Courts and to the books of the bankers; but it is very difficult to obtain legal proof as to the actual recipient. The following circumstances occurred within our own knowledge; and with them, we shall close our observations upon the *futility* of “khurcha” payments.

A. had a suit in the Court of Sudder Dewani Adawlut at Agra, in which he was the respondent, having obtained a decree in the Zillah Court. A. sent his relative B. to Agra as his agent. When the cause was about to be called on for decision, A. received a letter from B., assuring him in the usual manner, that, if A. did not immediately send Rs. 2,000 for “khurcha,” the decree, which A. had obtained, would be reversed. A. procured the *hoondie*; but, before dispatching it, he thought of consulting C. Now C. was one of the ablest men in India; and though a native, possessed moral courage as well as ability. He folded up the *hoondie*, and looked into the case: and, having satisfied himself, he assured A. that his decree could not be reversed, *because* there were no grounds, whatever, for reversing it. “If the money be not sent,” exclaimed A., “I shall lose ‘my cause.’” C. remonstrated in vain; till, at last, seeing no hope of otherwise saving his friend’s money, he unfolded the *hoondie* again, and *tore it up*. In due course arrived the news that the decree had been confirmed. “This is well,” observed C.; “but had it turned out otherwise, A. would have believed that I had colluded with the other party, and would have ‘remained my enemy for life.’”*

From the moment, in which it becomes known that such a system of corruption does actually exist, it is the duty of every public servant to exert himself to the utmost for the purpose of putting an end to it: and men naturally look for complaints

* C. is a Syud and a Tuhsildar: and if any one, having read this little story, wishes to make him a Deputy Collector, it will not be difficult to find him.

and prosecutions, for dismissals from office, and for sentences of Criminal Courts. Few appear: and, when they do, it is generally found that the complainants are acting from malicious, or revengeful, motives. That corruption exists, is not denied, except by individuals: but it is not that species of corruption, which raises indignation in the mind. The agent, the pleader, and the ministerial officer unite in extracting money: but, as we have endeavoured to show above, it by no means follows that they therefore betray the interests of their employer, or that any attempt to mislead the Court is made by the Amlah. On the contrary, the harvest having been reaped, or being ready for the sickle, they proceed to the business of the trial itself, as soberly as if they were all honest men. The plan is a safe one. They thus secure the good opinion of their official superiors, the European Judges; and, as for the payers in the provinces, they know by experience, that they have little to fear from their enquiries, or from their murmurs. The extortion practised is legal extortion—but not what the word at first conveys to the mind. Legal extortion is the receipt of any benefit, to which the receiver is not entitled, or before he is entitled to it, in virtue of the office which the receiver holds. The natives see very little criminality in this. The consequence is, that offences of this description are not considered disgraceful; prosecutions by private individuals are rare;* and the character of the Courts is silently and seriously injured. The bench itself is therefore the proper quarter, from which prosecutions should issue; and occasionally its interference has been salutary. But the Judges have no leisure for a systematic crusade against the enemy. They are the very persons, whom all try most anxiously to deceive. They are necessarily impressed with a favourable opinion of those, who invariably behave well in their presence; and there is a natural aversion to the mixing up of judicial and visitatorial functions, which leads many men to refuse to *seek for charges* against their official subordinates. Some few individuals disbelieve in a general system of corruption; and some men, conscientious and weak, are willing to enquire, but are deterred from launching into that sea of trouble by the dangerous rocks and shoals, which lie directly in their course, and which threaten, not only failure in the enterprise, but actual shipwreck and utter ruin.

Still corruption exists: mild perhaps in its nature, and diffi-

* So rare are they, that they may be said to be unknown. Nor is this to be wondered at, since the law allows of an action for defamation against any one, who brings forward charges of corruption, which are not proved. The principle is sound. But those, who know India, will smile at the idea of some small Zemindar attacking the Amlah and Vakils of the Sudder Dewani Adawlut.

cult to reach : yet a slur upon the administration of justice, and demanding the attention of those, who defend, and would improve, it. Such attention it has lately received—at least in one quarter—not indeed from the unwilling or the weak, but from vigorous and resolute minds, which fear the storm as little as the calm :—and, although we maintain that, with all their defects, the Company's Courts are far more efficient than the “free-born Britons” will allow them to be, we feel it incumbent upon us not to pass over in silence the praiseworthy proceedings against corruption, which have lately been taken in the N. W. Provinces.

The Sudder Court at Agra has, for some time, enjoyed rather a bad character in respect of that peculiar species of corruption, which we have been discussing. The Judges of the Court have been men of fair ability, large experience, and unimpeachable character; but they were overwhelmed with work; and amongst them have possibly been some, who deny that corruption ever existed at all. They did little to check an evil, which some of them believed to be imaginary. But, whatever the deniers may assert, the cry in some parts of the country became loud and constant : the acceptance of presents had grown into the demand of them, and the demand had been enforced by significant threats: even the natives began to complain, and to prefer their complaints to the local authorities; till at last a public officer rose up to defend the cause of the people, and to offer his services in removing the stain of *ministerial* corruption from the highest civil and criminal Tribunal in the country. This daring intruder upon the slumbers of the Sudder was John Cracroft Wilson, the magistrate of Moradabad. He announced to that Court, that their Amlah were corrupt: and he offered to *prove* it. He specified cases, and he enumerated proofs. His witnesses were bankers, native gentlemen, and the Amlah themselves. He offered to go to Agra; and he *did* go to Agra. He presented himself at the door of the Court's consultation chamber, and was admitted: there he repeated and explained all that he had written, and strove to rouse the Court to cordial co-operation.

“ The Bench so wise,
 “ Lift up their eyes,
 “ Half-wakened by the din, man !”

It is foreign to our purpose, though there is more to be said upon the subject than is dreamed of in any man's philosophy, to follow Mr. Wilson through his dangerous course. Suffice it, that, although vigorously and effectively supported by the Government, the rocks and shoals, above hinted at, proved to be more hidden and more treacherous, than could have been sus-

pected. Their existence was traditionally known ; but none of them were down in the chart : and the whole skill of pilot and seamen was required to conduct the good ship into a safe port. Whether that port has yet been obtained, we do not exactly know ; but it is known to the public, that numerous cases were committed by Mr. Wilson to the Sessions Court, and that convictions were obtained in every one of them. It is true that some of the sentences were subsequently reversed in appeal ; but the Court which tries the case, is the Sessions Court ; and the convictions of that Court are very little impugned by the fact, that some of them are occasionally reversed by the Nizamut Adawlut. The appeal to the Sudder in criminal trials is necessary ; and there will not be one dissenting voice upon this subject amongst practical men. Nevertheless, in nineteen cases out of twenty, the right of appeal is abused : and, *as a general rule*, subject of course to exceptions, the guilt or innocence of the prisoner is determined in the minds of men by the finding in the Sessions Court. In the Irish state trials, every body knew that the prisoners were guilty, although the craft of the lawyers enabled them to defy the majesty of the law : nor is it matter of surprise, that such able, wealthy, and influential men as the Amlah and Vakils of the S. D. A., should have exerted themselves with effect at Agra, though they were unable to escape conviction in the Sessions Court of Moradabad. In that Court success had been complete : and since we have mentioned by name the gentleman, who has been the agent of the Government and of the Sudder, in bringing the malpractices of the officials to light, and since the preparation and commitment of the several cases have been canvassed in no very charitable spirit, we think that the fairest way to all parties will be to subjoin the recorded opinion of the Judge on the course pursued by Mr. Wilson :

“ On the whole, I think it but fair to the magistrate here to
 ‘ record my opinion, that a most impudent attempt has been
 ‘ made by the prisoners to exculpate themselves by inculpating
 ‘ him, who had been instrumental in bringing their misdeeds to
 ‘ light, and who, whatever petty indiscretions he may in over
 ‘ zeal have committed, has, in my humble opinion, performed a
 ‘ great public good, and merits all praise for his energy and
 ‘ ability.”

Here the learned Judge gives us a glance at one of those rocks we spoke of : but we must leave details, albeit interesting in their nature. All we desire to show is, that if, as alleged, the Amlah are corrupt, there are energy, determination, moral courage, and ability on the part of the Government, and some of its officers, wherewith to root out the evil. The Morada-

bad trials have attracted much attention in the North-western Provinces, and have been the means of bringing the Agra court more prominently forward, than the courts of the other Presidencies. There is, however, nothing peculiar in the condition of the Agra court, except the peculiarity of having discovered and checked the evil. The blame attaches to the people, not to the court. It is their national character and idiocratical estimate of this particular vice, which enable ministerial corruption, of the nature described, to creep into our Courts of law. Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, King's Courts and Company's Courts of all grades, are similarly circumstanced; and, whenever in Bengal, or in the Deccan, in the Carnatic, or in Tank Square, another J. C. Wilson shall appear, the knaves of those localities will receive the same reward, as that which has lately been conferred upon their brethren in the North Western Provinces.

To these Anglo-Indian Courts the few Englishmen of Calcutta object to become amenable. The Courts, they say, are not good enough for them. In discussing this part of our subject, it will be impossible to avoid some comparison between the Queen's and Company's Courts in India. The question indeed almost resolves itself into one of the respective merits of the two Courts. We freely admit that the Judges of England are far superior to the Judges of the Mofussil Courts. No comparison is attempted between them; and we are most willing to grant, that men, equally able with the ablest of England, may have sat, and possibly are now sitting upon the bench of the Royal Courts in this country. With this we have nothing to do. Our concern is with the *average* ability possessed by these learned men: and this, we have already endeavoured to show, cannot, in the existing state of things, be greater than the *average* ability of the educated classes. We had much rather be tried, *in England*, by one of the Judges of the land, than anywhere by a Company's Judge, or by a Judge of the Supreme Courts; but that is all. If we were accused unjustly of having committed a murder at Delhi, we might hesitate between the learned and the talented Judge of England, and the experienced Judge of India. We should not hesitate at all between the Indian Judge, and the Judge of the Royal Courts. We should infinitely prefer the former. This is in reality the point at issue, since all that the discontented can hope for is, to remain amenable to the Supreme Court, as it is: and this Court, as it is, cannot ascertain the truth so well as the Mofussil Courts of the Company. We pass over the inalienable, indefeasible, and indestructible rights of free-born

Britons, as we conceive that amusing subject of Town Hall oratory to have no more to do with the matter, than the game-laws have with the prohibition of Sâtis; and we proceed to the more important considerations of language, evidence, counsel, and juries,—all of which most materially affect the efficiency of Courts, civil or criminal.

In the first place then, the Judges of the Supreme Courts do not understand the language, in which the evidence of the witnesses is delivered. The evil of such a state of things is palpable; and it would be waste of time to enumerate objections, which must suggest themselves to every body. Every word, uttered by the prisoner, or by a witness, has to be interpreted to the Judge, who thus becomes very little better than a Judge of appeal, poring over written depositions: nay, he is not so good;—for the Royal Judge does not understand the words used by a witness, until they have been translated into English, whereas, the Company's Appeal Judge has before him, in writing at least, the very words used by the deponent. If a European British subject be accused of committing a crime at Meerut or Lahore, he and the witnesses are sent to Calcutta. They might as well be sent to England! Men, accustomed to the weighing of evidence, well know how difficult it sometimes is to fix a witness's meaning, although he stands before them, speaks their own language, and has the same ideas, the same feelings, the same turn of mind, the same religion, and the same customs with themselves. How must that difficulty be increased, when the examiner and the examined have nothing in common! The deposition loses a great deal by translation, and much more by the Judge's want of familiarity with the habits and prejudices, and above all, the superstitions of the deponent; till, by the time the result rests on the minds of the Judge and the Jury, it bears very little resemblance to that result, which the witness intended to place there. There is something almost shocking in the picture of a Supreme Court criminal trial. The Judge, in crimson and white, not understanding one word uttered by the prisoner, or the witnesses; the green table below, crowded with black gowns, all equally well informed in the particulars under consideration; a Jury, who may know a little more of the language, but are still more unable to weigh with delicacy the evidence of a Mofussil witness; an interpreter, mechanically performing his daily task, and utterly unmindful of all those niceties of diction, tone, and manner, which enable a more acute observer to distinguish truth from falsehood; and lastly, when the accused is a native, a prisoner totally unable to comprehend what it is all about, wondering, staring, helpless,

and resigned—until the interpreter, or some one else, informs him, that the trial is over, and that he is presently to be hanged!*

How those, who advocate the general introduction of the English language, propose to overcome these difficulties, let them show. It is not denied that many important advantages would flow from the use of English, the language of the Judges: but if it be not also the language of the prisoner and of the witnesses, we see not how those scenes are to be avoided, which can be fitly described only by two words of very opposite meaning—scenes which are at once dreadful and ludicrous. The Persian was never in use in the Indian Courts, as English is in use in the Supreme Courts. Persian was not the language of the Court; it was only the language of the *record*. The witnesses were examined in Hindustani: the Judge spoke Hindustani: nobody translated to him the words of the witnesses, except, indeed, as bystanders in England sometimes translate the words of a Yorkshire or Somersetshire ploughman.† The Nazir and other ministerial officers, present at the trial, all spoke Hindustani. There was none of that undefined alarm, which must overwhelm a prisoner in the Supreme Court. Yet, even this state of things was pronounced objectionable; and a language, utterly unfit for the purpose, without the aid of Persian or Arabic, became the language of the record, as well as the language of the Court, simply because it was the language of the people. May it not then be taken as granted, that any European British subject, in his right senses, and charged with an offence which he has not committed, would prefer being tried by a Judge, who understands the language of the witnesses? This advantage would be given to him by the act, which has not yet passed into law.

But the chief superiority of the Indian Courts over the Queen's Courts consists in their greater power of appreciating evidence. If there were nothing else to be said in their favour,

* At the risk of telling an old story, and for the benefit of those, who may not have heard it, we venture to put into an unpretending note, a little dialogue said to have taken place in one of Her Majesty's Supreme Courts.

Interpreter.—"Prisoner at the Bar, how will you be tried?"

Prisoner.—"Ap ma bap."

Judge.—"What does he say?"

Interpreter.—"My Lord—he says he'll be tried by "*God and his country*."

"Ap ma bap" literally means "you are my mother and father." It is an idiomatic phrase, implying "just as you please;"—"whatever you think fit," by which the stupid or indifferent reply to any thing, which they do not, or care not to understand.

† We ourselves, many years ago, heard a respectable old lady inform Mr. Justice Bayley that she "had had a swimmer for luncheon." It turned out that she had *not* eaten either Leander, Lord Byron, or Pesce Cola:—but we quite forget what she *had* eaten.

this one great merit would place them immeasurably above any other Courts of any other form or constitution. The Judges of the Supreme Courts are able men, learned in the law. They are fully competent to the duties of their office. They are as conscientious and unprejudiced as Judges can be, and no "free-born Briton" needs fear to see any one of them seated on the bench, if he should have the misfortune to be unjustly accused of crime—at Exeter, or at Hertford: but, if he is to be tried in India, it would be far safer for him to prefer his plea of "Not Guilty" to a Company's Judge. If the crime is supposed to have been perpetrated in one of the few cities, in which European British subjects bear some proportion, however small, to the mass of the people, the Queen's Court, with its European ideas, is so far more fitted to perform what is required of it; but, if the crime is supposed to have been committed in Sylhet or in Aurungabad, where the proportion above mentioned is infinitesimally small, then, we repeat it, the innocent man would have a better chance of escape from conspiracy and falsehood, if a Company's Judge tried him, than if he were arraigned before Sir Lawrence Peel, with Mr. Theodore Dickens for his Counsel.

Talent cannot supply the want of experience in a Judge—especially in a Criminal Judge—especially in India: but experience will very often supply the want of talent all the world over. Now, nothing but very long experience can enable any man to appreciate Indian evidence: and such experience the Queen's Judges do not possess. Doubtless, they have heard native witnesses examined in great numbers; they have some intercourse with natives: they have daily opportunities of learning something from the conversation of others: thus they are far more competent to the task than Lord Brougham or Lord Campbell would be: but, as the Queen's Judges in India would be found, for this all-important purpose, superior to the Judges at home, so, and for the same reason, are the Company's Judges superior to all others. The sort of experience demanded is that which is acquired in those schools, where, as above described, the Company's servants study law:—the *hacheri* of the Assistant Magistrate, the tent and the mangoe tope of the settlement officer. The latter is the only Court in India, in which the truth is ordinarily spoken: and the future Judge, as he contemplates the phenomenon, learns to discriminate and acquires a power of detecting falsehood, which it is almost impossible to analyse.

The extreme difficulty of acquiring any skill in this occult science, and the extreme danger of exercising it, led our ances-

tors to the adoption of the grand principle, that "all evidence must be assumed to be true:"—a principle than which none can be more unsound, or more certain to mislead, in India. So far from holding all evidence to be true, until it is shown to be false, the very first thing, which an Indian Judge does, is to enquire how far circumstances support the direct evidence. No one knows better than he does the value of the aphorism "circumstances cannot lie;" and no one knows so well as he does, that men can and do lie. In almost all cases, Civil or Criminal, the Indian Judge has to determine, not whether any alleged fact or set of facts has been proved, but which of two conflicting *proved* facts, or set of facts, is the true one. So very easy is it for a prisoner to obtain proof of any thing he chooses to assert in defence, that a very able and conscientious Magistrate, not a boy Magistrate, but one of twenty years standing, on one occasion, gravely placed on record, his surprise that "in India *any* amount of proof should have been held sufficient to establish an *alibi*." The extent, to which perjury and forgery are practised in India, surpasses any thing that a European mind can conceive. The annual reports of the district Judges incessantly acknowledge and lament this melancholy truth, and suggest various remedies. The state of the law is unsatisfactory; and fresh enactments have repeatedly been urged upon the legislature. Act I. of 1848 was an attempt to aid the executive in the prosecution of forgery: it has failed; and an act to amend it is now before the Legislative Council. The crime of perjury too, though so very common, is not by any means easily dealt with. The peculiar modes of thought and expression, which distinguish the Asiatic from the European, are so difficult to understand thoroughly, that it has been thought inadvisable to give any functionary, below the rank of a Judge, the power of punishing perjury. It is scarcely necessary to explain that Magistrates and their assistants possess judicial powers to a certain extent. The prevalence of perjury, and the difficulty of procuring convictions in the Sessions Court, have frequently suggested the propriety of investing Magistrates with authority to punish "prevarication," as a contempt. It is, however, so certain, that natives can always be made to contradict themselves—that zealous young officers often do unintentionally make them contradict themselves—and that these contradictions are not always "deliberate and malicious,"—so certain is all this, that, independently of the obvious objection to placing such arbitrary authority in inexperienced hands, it has been judged safer to keep the law as it now stands.

In illustration of these remarks, we will mention a case which

lately occurred. A. B. and C. were own brothers, and according to B. and C., they were all three joint sharers in a landed estate, inherited from their ancestors. A. admitted the relationship, but denied that B. and C. had ever been in possession: that is to say, he pleaded the statute of limitation. B. and C. brought witnesses to prove that they had been in possession of their shares within the period prescribed by law. This is a very common form of action in some parts of the country—the point at issue being simply, whether B. and C. had been in possession at a particular time. D., one of the witnesses produced by B. and C., deposed distinctly to the fact of their possession: whereupon a Moktar forthwith denounced the witness as perjured; and from the record was presently produced a *previous* deposition, in which D. had, with equal distinctness, declared upon oath, that A. was the proprietor of the disputed property, and that he, A., had held “sole possession” at the time referred to. This looked very like perjury, and so it was actually considered by some authorities: nor did the short space of time, which had elapsed between the first and second depositions, admit of any probability that the memory of the witness had failed him. D. charged with the perjury, admitted the contradiction, but vehemently protested that he had never intended to depose falsely. The case here reminds us of the trial of Kit Nubbles, in the Old Curiosity Shop, where Mr. Richard Swiveller is made to give evidence, which injures, instead of benefitting, the prisoner, because he could not explain, or because the Court would not let him explain, what he meant to say. Our witness D. could no more set things to rights than Mr. Richard Swiveller. The Sampson Brass of the occasion triumphantly pointed to the contradiction; and D. was convicted. Yet D. was not guilty. A more careful examination of the papers, and a more intimate knowledge of D.’s position in life, showed that, on the former occasion, he had spoken *as a Puttīdar*, on the latter *as a Proprietor*. The *Lumberdar*, or manager of a puttī, is frequently spoken of by the Agricultural population as the party in possession; nor are the rights of the co-parceners at all compromised thereby. In the village in question, there were several puttīs. When D. said that A. was “sole possessor” of his puttī, he meant that the proprietors of the other puttīs had nothing to do with A.’s puttī;—in other words, that the puttīs of the village were separate:—and, when he subsequently said that A. was “not sole possessor” of his puttī, he meant that they were other sharers (*sharik*) besides A., and that A. was only the *Lumberdar*. The case appears clear enough here: but, had the

officer, before whom it first came, been acquainted with the nature of a Bhyachara community, D. would not have been found guilty of perjury. We will venture to assert that this functionary never made a settlement under Reg. 7, of 1822. D. was eventually released.

This single instance, however, which has been adduced to show the *sort* of law, which an Indian Judge ought to have studied, cannot save the people at large from the heavy charge of habitual falsehood. We wish it could. To prevent mistakes, we shall quote another case, remarkable on account of the number of false-swearers, and the certainty that perjury had been committed by them all. Similar cases are occurring every day.

Some years ago, A., a wealthy Talúkdar of the Ganges Doab, was accused of murdering B., by deliberately firing a loaded gun at him, whilst an affray was going on in the village. A. pleaded an "alibi." The numbers may not be exactly correct, but the record is extant, and that will show that twenty-five or thirty witnesses swore on the trial, that they had seen A. deliberately take aim at B. and shoot him, whilst forty or fifty more, amongst whom, alas! were several *respectable* men, swore, that at that time A. was twenty miles off. Both parties swore falsely. The truth was perfectly well known at the time to the whole district, in Court and out of Court, including the Judge and the Jury. A. did *not* fire a gun at B. or at anybody else; and A. was *not* twenty miles off. He was at the village in his own house, which he never left, lest he should be accused, as he was: but whether from his retreat he encouraged or checked the affray, is known only to his own party. What is to be done with a people in such a state as this? To us it seems wonderful, that any social system at all should exist, whilst such wholesale perjury pollutes the land. What is the use of laws, and tribunals, and councils? Of what avail are the painful meditations of honest statesmen? What matters it, whether Persian or English be the language of the Courts, whether Queen's Judges or Company's Judges occupy the bench?—nay more, of what value are even the integrity and experience of the Judges, when all, *all* can be neutralized, nullified, annihilated, by this most pestilent vice? Here is the real defect—here is the real sin of Oriental Judicature. Moral education is the only remedy: not that education, which teaches Bengalis to read Milton, nor even that which will teach the natives to read Putwaris' papers and check an Amín's account, but that which shall teach them the abstract beauty of truth, the usefulness of truth, the absolute necessity of truth, to the well

being of every civilized society*—we should have said to the *existence* of civilized society, did not the contrary stare us in the face. The fault is the fault of the nation, not of the Courts; and those are most competent to deal with it, who are best acquainted with the national peculiarities.

The consequence of this fearful abounding of perjury and forgery is startling. The common principles of evidence, having been found inapplicable to the state of society, have been to a great extent set aside; and recourse has been had to other, and, as it would be thought in England, more objectionable means of ascertaining the truth. Direct and indirect proof have changed places. An item of circumstantial evidence is of more value than an eye-witness. Probability goes beyond proof. Certain classes commit perjury and forgery more than others, and more freely upon some, than upon other, subjects. A Brahmin, in easy circumstances, may lie less than a Chumar; and the member of a Puttídarí community, if left to himself, will be less likely to forge than a Kayat. He is, indeed, less able to do so. The higher castes have shame, whether they have morality or not: but the lower classes have no fear of being found out; and, if they should be, the discovery brings with it no disagreeable social consequences. A Rajput, who has some respect for truth, will, nevertheless, lie about land: and, in the matter of an affray between two villages, all that the Judge and Jury need know is to which village the witness belongs. The rest is a matter of course.

In all this there is nothing new. The numerous eastern anecdotes, which relate the discovery of truth by some clever trick on the part of the Kazí, indicate most clearly the want of veracity on the part of the people, and the necessity in which the Judge found himself placed of applying to something more trustworthy than ordinary evidence. Hence too, the predilection for confessions, which police officers, in defiance of all orders to the contrary, still glory in obtaining, as the only proof which will fully satisfy the Court. The impossibility of trusting common evidence, drives the Courts, as well as the Kazís, to seek for some other guide: and, if the substitute be not good, it is at any rate better than that for which it has been substituted. In Civil suits the Múnsiffs decide as

* A moral system will never bear with any force upon the mind of the masses without a religious sanction; and nothing but a true religion will make a people truthful and upright. The time is coming, when Government will be driven by necessity, either to give India religious education, or give over education into the hands of those, who *can* make it religious. The plea in England for a mere secular education is, that the parents may teach the children religion at home. Will that plea avail here?—ED.

much as possible in defiance of the *misl*, knowing well that truth is seldom there; and any one may ascertain this for himself, who will take the trouble, *first* to win the confidence of these native Judges, and *then* to question them. They cannot do this to any great extent, in consequence of our system of appeal. A decree must not be opposed to the evidence; and *Munsiffs* frequently give decisions, opposed to their own convictions, because they know that any other decision must necessarily be reversed in appeal. In short, *Kazis*, *Munsiffs* and Judges, look beyond the record, when they are called upon to determine a disputed fact. Information, obtained out of Court, will thus have an influence, which it would not otherwise possess: the public voice will have some weight, however little: and here we get a glimmering of the real character of that "undue influence," about which so much has been said, and so little understood. It is not undue influence, but very due influence indeed; and, if our view of the matter be correct, it is infinitely more *due*, than the orthodox influence of notorious falsehood.

It would be very satisfactory here to examine how far the abolition of oaths, in the Indian Courts, has contributed to the prevalence of perjury and to the success of forgery; but it is scarcely within the sphere of our present enquiry. It is a fact that, with the exception of a few well-meaning enthusiasts, the Judges have unanimously condemned Act 5 of 1840, which substituted a declaration for an oath. Sudder Courts have forwarded these remonstrances to Government, and have strongly advocated the repeal of the law. Let the Government say, why the remonstrance has been in vain. The harm done by that enactment is the same, whether Anglo-Indian Courts or Royal Courts are established throughout the country; and the subject is therefore distinct from the comparative fitness of the Company's Courts; nor have we time now to enter upon the discussion. Our object has been to give some insight into that state of society, which has made circumstantial evidence preferable to direct evidence in a great majority of cases*:—and, to return to the point at issue, we again ask, whether a Judge, who has been studying this state of society for twenty or thirty years, is not more likely to come to the right decision, than a judge of the Supreme Court, aided or impeded by his Calcutta Jury.

* In trials for *Murder*, the natives of upper India lie less: nay, they frequently speak the truth. Many men thus will swear away a man's liberty, who hesitate to swear away his life. The Perjury, which is of course the same in both cases, does not enter into the question. In lower Bengal, we regret to say, that, when passions are once raised, Landlord and Tenant stick at no perjury, whether it affect fame, lands, or life itself.

The inferiority of the Bar is an admitted defect in the Anglo-Indian Courts: but already the barristers of the Supreme Courts are authorized to plead in the Sudder Courts; and nothing would be easier than to authorize them to plead in the district Courts also. The obstacle to the improvement of the native bar is want of money: for the fees in the highest courts will not support more than a few men of first-rate ability. British subjects, however, European or native, would not be worse off in this respect than their brethren of Calcutta or Madras, since it is said that even there lawyers do not plead gratis. In Calcutta, they certainly do not, as many persons know: and this want of means is, in fact, the real difficulty, so far as criminal trials are concerned, even as the law now stands.

If any Barrister or Attorney chose to present himself in any Criminal Court of the country, as Moktar, or Counsel for the prisoner, and showed a disposition to conduct himself soberly and discreetly, willing to give to the Court the assistance of his learning or sagacity, and confining himself to the duties, which properly belong to him—if such a person should present himself as Counsel for a prisoner, he would be cordially welcomed, and attentively heard. But if he went there, presuming on his European birth and professional privilege; if he arrogated to himself an authority to which he had no claim; if he could not refrain from showing how little he cared for the Huzzúr; or if he insulted the Judge on the bench—then, indeed, he might meet with a very different reception. He would possibly enough be fined for the first offence, and turned out of Court for the second.

We cannot close our remarks on the condition of the Anglo-Indian Courts, without noticing the Juries. The state of the jury law is one of the objections raised against the Courts: and it is urged that a Jury, whose verdict is not final, cannot be regarded as a Jury at all. Such a court, it is said, is not one in which an Englishman ought to be tried. These objectors do not go on to say what alterations they would like. They do not propose to place native Juries upon the same footing with English Juries; nor do they do anything, except find fault. These men cannot be aware of the difficulties by which the subject is surrounded, or of the pains and attention which have already been bestowed upon it. The introduction of trial by Jury into India is one of the most delicate operations, which the Government can be called upon to perform: and in the introduction of those measures, which must precede the full establishment of the system, it is impossible that the interests of a few persons should be allowed to interfere with that which

is considered good for the millions. It seems that no great inconvenience would be felt from the insertion of a clause in favour of European British subjects, by which they would not be liable to be tried by a native Jury; although the institution of Juries, with the powers and duties of English Juries and no other powers and duties, would do away with the whole benefit now derived from them in India. As Juries are now constituted, we are disposed to agree with those who deny that they are Juries at all; and we think that the objections raised are mainly attributable to the mistaken notion that they resemble British Juries. They are widely different; and it has been questioned whether they are not of more use, than those which they are supposed to resemble. The peculiarities of India—the various tribes and classes into which its population is divided, each having customs, opinions, habits, and religious prejudices of its own—are so numerous and so different from each other, and all are so different from what we see in European society, that a life of labour has been found insufficient to render the Company's Judges thoroughly familiar with them. Therefore the Courts were authorized by Reg. 6, of 1832, to avail themselves of the assistance of respectable natives. If the experience and local knowledge of the Indian Judges give them any advantage over the Royal Judges, that advantage is greatly increased by a law, which enables them to call the natives themselves to aid in the investigations. The present Jurors resemble assistant Judges: they detect falsehood with far greater certainty than any Judge can; they frequently suggest very pertinent questions; and the Judge has the opportunity of looking upon the case, as the natives look upon it, without being compelled to adopt their views. This sort of assistance could not be so well afforded by the English dealers of Meerut or Cawnpore, or by the clerks in the public offices. It could not be afforded by them at all; and it would be a grievous mistake to substitute a *bonâ fide* jury of these persons, for the respectable natives, who now assist the Judge. The hypothesis is, that an Englishman is accused of an offence which he has not committed: that he is to be tried by an Englishman sitting as judge; and that the witnesses brought against him are natives. Under these circumstances, we are convinced, that the advice and suggestions of a few intelligent native gentlemen would be far more conducive to justice, than the *verdict* of twelve English shop-keepers. Do not call them Juries; and every one will admit their usefulness:—and all men, of all breeds and countries, will allow some merit in a judicial system, which aims at uniting the integrity and information

of the European Judge to the acuteness and local knowledge of the native community.

Whether it would be safe to allow Juries to find the facts, as they do in England, is a distinct question. We follow many abler men in thinking that the natives *can* find the facts of a case better than the Court can; but it is doubtful, whether they could be safely trusted with the power. They do not as yet thoroughly understand the duties of a Jury, properly so called. They give way to kind feelings, and have no idea that they are doing wrong. They favour a Brahmin. They take it for granted that a Gújur is a cattle stealer, and that a Mewattí is a dacoit. And, however correct these preconceptions may ordinarily be, they are altogether opposed to the simple finding of facts. The present system enables the Judge to avail himself of their ability to find facts, unwarped by their prejudices or pre-posessions; and, though we do not go so far as to say that improvement is not required, we feel sure that no better system could, *by mere legislation*, be at the present time introduced into India.

Taking then a general view of the whole subject, the Anglo-Indian Courts appear to be as good as can reasonably be expected, and not wholly unfit for the trial of Europeans charged with criminal offences. They are located all over the country, so that the offender would be promptly tried where the offence was committed: the language of the prisoner, (supposing him to be a European) is known to the Judge, as well as the language of the witnesses; the qualifications of the Judge, *for the purposes of a criminal trial*, are not inferior to the qualifications of those, who, in the existing state of the law, sit in judgment upon European British subjects; their practical independence is equal: their experience is far greater, and of a kind infinitely more valuable; the corruption, so much talked of, is the fault of the people, not of the Courts, and it pervades all the tribunals of India alike: there is nothing to prevent any prisoner employing English counsel, if he can pay for it: whilst the greater power of appreciating evidence, and the assistance of natives, give to the Anglo-Indian Courts a positive superiority over all the other Courts of Hindustan.

The very small number of those, who object to becoming amenable to the Anglo-Indian Courts, is rendered still more glaring by the fact that, a numerous class of European British subjects have not offered one syllable in remonstrance. The Civil and Military servants of the Government—there are some thousands of them—see no objection to the proposed enactments. Do the inhabitants of Calcutta imagine that these

classes are silent only, because they are connected with the Government? If so, they give us a fresh instance of that ignorance of India, with which they are so commonly charged. The rules of military discipline would not interfere with a matter of this nature: still less are the civilians tongue-tied; and is it to be supposed that they have to a man, resigned all their "inalienable, &c." rights, though they would run no risk in asserting them? The reason is as clear as spring water. These classes are well informed as to the real state of the Anglo-Indian Courts.

The Sudder Courts, moreover, are always consulted previous to the passing of a new law. We will not undertake to say that much attention is paid to their advice: but the opportunity of placing their sentiments upon record is invariably afforded them: and we wish it were in our power to produce the correspondence on the present occasion. The Judges of the four Sudder Courts may be allowed to be better acquainted, than any body else with the tribunals, in which they themselves have so long presided. They might be arraigned before these very Courts; and, in giving their opinion on the proposed enactment, they must have felt that they were almost representatives of the civil service. It would be most interesting, if we could learn what these men said: for, if they all remonstrated against being made amenable to the Mofussil Courts, it would go very far to shake our confidence in the opinion which we have formed: and, if they did not, we should attach even less importance than we now do to the grumbling of Calcutta.

And are the subjects of other European nations to be held as nothing? They have been long subject to the Anglo-Indian Courts: and no inconvenience has been felt. If the Courts are not fit for Englishmen, neither are they fit for Frenchmen, or Germans, or Americans; and common sense and common humanity demand that these classes also should be provided with Courts. Their case is much harder than the case of Englishmen. He has at least a Judge of his own nation, sitting on the bench, and speaking the same language with himself; whilst the unfortunate Frenchman has no one to sympathize with him: Judge, Jury, and witnesses are all foreigners to him. And, if he had the Code Napoleon in his pocket, there is very great probability that the Court would be unable to read it.

It has been said that the Criminal law, administered in the Anglo-Indian Courts, authorizes severe sentences. If the extreme limit of the powers of the Court be referred to, this is to a certain extent true; but it is by no means true that

severe sentences are ordinarily passed. There is a wide discretion left with the Magistrates and the Judges; and it is very doubtful whether this be a good or an evil. Where the minds of the Judges are unwarped by religious or political prejudices, it is, perhaps, better for the people that this discretion should be left with them; though it is not clear that the advantage thus gained in peaceful times will counterbalance the disadvantage which would be, or at least might be, and certainly has been, felt in times of national disturbance. There is no fear of this kind in India, as the Government is now constituted. The functionaries of this country are, from education and experience, necessarily liberal in all their sentiments. They have so little in common with the mass of the people, that there is nothing to bias their judgment, or to work upon their feelings. The tendency therefore will always be to the side of leniency, such being the natural impulse which humanity would communicate; and in effect, the full punishment warranted by law is scarcely ever inflicted. Our concern, be it remembered, is not with the law, but with the Courts. It is remarkable that, in one of the few instances in which the Legislature has interfered with the discretion ordinarily entrusted to the Sessions Court, they have, by the consent of all parties, committed an error. The *minimum* punishment of perjury is three years imprisonment; the Sessions Judge cannot award less: yet so peculiar are the cases of perjury in this country, and so frequently is a wretched and ignorant *chumar* made the tool and the victim of his more wealthy master, that the sentences for three years are incessantly referred to the Nizamut Adawlut for mitigation—a recommendation, which is invariably complied with.

The system of Criminal Appeals too seems to have been constructed with special reference to the mitigation of sentences. An appeal lies from the Assistant to the Magistrate: from the Magistrate to the Sessions Judge: from the Sessions Judge to the Nizamut Adawlut. These authorities may acquit the appellant, or may mitigate the sentence passed upon him; but not even the Nizamut Adawlut can “enhance the punishment, or pass sentence on a party acquitted by the Court below.”

There is also another light, in which the lenient character of the Indian criminal administration may be contemplated with satisfaction. The regulation law, the Muhammadan law, and the law of England, as well as the laws of most civilised nations, condemn the murderer to suffer death: but all Codes are not equally precise in explaining what constitutes “wilful murder.” There are fine-drawn distinctions and verbose principles enough

to be found in the Muhammadan law ; but the Anglo-Indian Courts are nevertheless constantly obliged to apply for assistance to the better digested and more intelligible principles of English law, though they are not necessarily guided thereby. They draw from English law their answer to the question, What constitutes wilful murder? and agreeably thereto, the *intent to kill* is held to be a necessary element in the crime : but here they stop ; and when the common law goes on to define “implied intent” and to subject it to the same penalty with “express intent,” then they interpose their discretionary authority, and judge for themselves. The “express” intent to kill is in Anglo-Indian practice generally followed by a capital sentence ; but there are many cases in which the Judges of Westminster would hold the intent to be “implied,” and in which the Indian Judges would reject that inference. An instance will perhaps illustrate our meaning.

Many years ago, in Scotland, two friends agreed to watch a grave and protect it from expected violation. They sat up at night armed with guns. Hearing a noise in the burial ground, they proceeded in different directions, to ascertain the cause. Presently, one of the two came upon a man close by the grave ; misled by the darkness of the night, and influenced by his preconceptions, he fired upon him. The stranger fell dead. It was his own friend ! The unfortunate survivor was tried for “wilful murder.” In conformity with the law, as laid down by Lord Mackenzie, he was found guilty, and was by that Judge *left for execution*. In Indian Courts, the prisoner’s life, in such a case, would not be in danger. Considerations, obvious enough to minds untainted by legal subtleties, but to which Lord Mackenzie could pay no attention, would be allowed to have weight with a judge of Meerut or of Patna ; and the highest crime, of which the accused could be convicted, would be “aggravated culpable homicide.” Let every man determine for himself by which law he would rather be tried. In our estimation, “Ap ma bap” is a more lenient Judge than “God and my country.”

We consider it of very little consequence at present, whether the Black Acts become law, or not. The only one of the four, which could not be dispensed with, without endangering the peace of the country and bringing the authorities into universal contempt, has been passed : and we see no good ground for objecting to the other three, unless it be that some time hence they will give the Government officers a great deal of trouble. These enactments, or other similar to them, must be passed sooner or later ; for it is absurd to suppose that a sepa-

rate system can be permanently maintained merely to gratify a few individuals. These persons complain of the courts of the country, but their complaints are too vague and indiscriminate: and we hope that we have succeeded in placing the subject before the public in a light different from that in which it has been usually contemplated. That men, *selected** for their talents, would be abler Judges than men of average ability, no one will be disposed to deny; but men of such extraordinary powers will not come to India at all. There is some chance of our getting a fair proportion of first-rate men, under the present system: but we should have no chance at all, if we waited till one man had discovered that he could obtain a seat on the judicial bench of England, another that he could make £10,000 a year at the Bar, or a third that he could lead the House of Commons. It is equally true that men, who had studied law, in the enlarged sense of the term, for several years after they had arrived at manhood, would be abler Judges, than men who had learned all their law at Haileybury College; but, independently of the enormous increase in the expence of education, we cannot spare to our future judges the unreturning years of their youth; they cannot be excused the painful drudgery of the assistant's *kacheri*, or the invaluable training of the settlement officer's encampment. The law, which he learns there, is of more importance to him than the law, which he would learn at home: and therefore, until some plan can be devised, which shall give to the civil servants of government the learning of England as well as the experience of India, it will be well to abstain from unjustly depreciating those, who are doing their duty in the station in which it has pleased God to place them. European British subjects cannot be more anxious to improve the Judges, than the Judges are to improve themselves, and their Courts: and, if instead of roaring at Jupiter, they would put their shoulders to the wheel of the Anglo-Indian waggon, they would soon improve the tribunals, and establish a system of judicature, as efficient as is consistent with the peculiar circumstances of British India, and the general imperfections of human nature.

* The weakest point of the present system is, that men are not "selected for their talents" from among those, who *have* come to India. If the Judges of Zillah Courts were selected, as the Judges of the Sudder Courts are, there would be much less ground for the complaints made (and often justly) against Anglo-Indian administration of justice.—Ed.

ART. II.—1. *Military Musings*, by Col. J. S. Hodgson, 12th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry.

2. *A Treatise on the public health, climate, Hygiene, and prevailing diseases of Bengal and the North-west Provinces*, by Kenneth Mackinnon, M. D., Surgeon and Medical Storekeeper, Cawnpore. 1848.

3. *British and Foreign Medico Chirurgical Review*. No. IX. Article on Dr. Mackinnon's *Treatise of Tropical Hygiene*. January. 1850.

4. "*European Soldiers in India*." *Bengal Hurkaru*. 1850.

A SINGLE fact published in the *Quarterly Review*, and afterwards in a little half-crown pamphlet, some few years ago, by that popular writer, Sir, Francis Head, attracted more attention to the subject of railways, than all the scientific volumes that had previously issued from the press. Thousands had been in the habit of travelling by "Rail;" but few were aware, that on every Monday morning throughout the year, on one particular railway, a new engine and tender, costing £1,250, were put upon the line. The fact was an astonishing one, and set men's minds thinking, and calculating, if this occurred on only one railway in the United Kingdom, what must be the enormous expense, and still more enormous incomings, of these undertakings, to enable them to return a profit?

Would it be thought less startling, or of less interest with reference to the subject before us, viz., the mortality of European troop, in this country, to be told, that "the British soldier, who now serves one year in Bengal, encounters as much risk of life, as in three such battles as Waterloo?" It is, as if every private at present serving in H. M.'s regiments at Calcutta, Dinapore, and Allahabad, were called upon three times a year to expose himself to the dangers of such a conflict, in which one in forty of the combatants fell; and this, too, not for one year, but for several. Carry out the calculation still further, by adding the number of men invalided, and the number of those who die on their way home, or soon after reaching England; then multiply the whole by the number of years that European troops have been serving in India, and reckon what has been the amount of mortality in the three presidencies during the last century!

How often has it been our lot, at some of our large military

stations, to hear at early dawn, the dull sound of the muffled drum, and the long drawn notes of the trumpet, followed by the rattling discharge of musketry, announcing that another of our countrymen had been committed to the silent grave; and yet how seldom is the enquiry made as to the aggregate of deaths occurring in our European regiments, or the conviction brought home to us, that there is a fearful amount of unnecessary waste of human life occurring yearly amongst their ranks, immensely exceeding the slaughter of the bloodiest battles recorded in history.

The most valuable and accurate work, that has ever been published on Medico-Military Statistics, is *Tulloch's Parliamentary Returns*: and it is much to be regretted that, out of the voluminous documents at present lying in the offices of H. M. Inspector-General and the Hon'ble Company's Medical Boards at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, a similar abstract has not been prepared by order of Government. Still there have been labourers in the cause, who from time to time have given to the public the benefit of their observations and researches, and have made earnest appeals to "the legislative branch" of the Government, for correction of the evils that exist; and amongst this class are the authors, whose names we have prefixed to this article.

Before going into the subject of Tropical Hygiene, which forms the bulk of Dr. Mackinnon's Treatise, we would collate from the different sources open to us, a few of the most important statistical facts, the correctness of which may be vouched for by the authority under which they were published. They will shew in a clear and tabular form, what the mortality of European soldiers, serving in India, amounts to, and what are the proportional rates of deaths at different stations in different years:—

TABLE I.

Shewing the annual mortality from sickness in every 100 men, both European and Native, of the three armies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, for the last 20 years.

In every 100	Bengal	Bombay.	Madras.
Europeans	7.38	5.078	3.846
Natives	1.79	1.291	2.095

This table is taken from a valuable paper by Col. Sykes, on the "Vital statistics of the Indian army,"* and (it must be remembered) does not include casualties in the field, or while on service, nor yet the mortality from cholera in Scinde. The most striking fact here shewn is, that the loss of life amongst our European soldiery in Bengal, is double of what it is in Madras: or in other words, that whereas 74 out of every 1,000 die annually in Bengal, only 38 in the same number would be the loss in the sister presidency. The causes, by which this difference may be accounted for, we shall notice hereafter.

The next table is extracted from Dr. Martin's work on tropical climates, and exhibits the relative salubrity of several military stations in the Bengal presidency:—

TABLE 2.

STATIONS.	Ratio of admissions per 1,000 of strength.	Ratio of Deaths per 1,000 of strength.
Berhampore	2.196	82.742
Dinapore	2.398	64.261
Fort William	1.883	62.781
Chinsurah	1.930	62.954
Cawnpore	1.599	47.689
Ghazee pore	1.438	36.922
Kurnal	988	2.681
Meerut	1.109	2.816
Agra ..	1.860	2.433

To make this table thoroughly understood, it must be explained that the column of admissions shews the numbers of cases sent into hospital. Thus, it will be observed, on taking the mean of these nine stations, that there are nearly two attacks of disease annually for *every* European soldier in Bengal. These comparative results of locality and climate were obtained from documents, furnished by the Inspector-General and the Medical Board, and extending over a period of ten to twelve years.

Let us, in the next place, ascertain what is the average duration of life amongst the *same class of men*, serving in England and other temperate climates.

* "Statistical Society's Journal."—Vol. X, page 124.

TABLE 3.

STATIONS.	Period of Observation.			Mean Annual Strength.	Annual ratio of mortality per 1,000.	Increase of mortality per 1,000 beyond that of Great Britain.
	Years.	From	To			
<i>Temperate.</i>						
Great Britain	10	1819	1828	46,460	15	
Canada	7	1816	1832	2,975	11	
Malta	8	1824	1831	2,226	15	
Gibraltar	7	1816	1822	3,267	20	5
<i>Tropical.</i>						
Madras	4	1827	1830	11,820	48	33
Bengal	7	1826	1832	8,700	57	42
Windward & Lee- ward Islands }	19	1810	1828	5,768	113	98
Jamaica	19	1810	1828	2,528	155	140

From this statement, which is only one out of many similar calculations of much interest, published by Dr. A. S. Thompson, in his *Prize Thesis* "On the influence of climate," we observe that the ratio of mortality is in every case greater amongst British troops in tropical, than in temperate, climates; and that in India, it is nearly four times, in the Windward and Leeward Islands more than seven times, and in Jamaica ten times greater than what occurs in Great Britain.

Our next point is to ascertain whether all Europeans suffer to the same degree; or whether this great mortality is confined to the ranks of European soldiers. Dr. Hutchinson, the late Secretary to the Medical Board at Calcutta, in the appendix to his work on Indian Jails, says, "The mortality among officers of the British army, serving in tropical climates, is not so high as that of the soldiers. Thus, taking the mean of all the tropical stations, where British troops were employed, the annual ratio of mortality per 1,000, among the officers, is about twenty-nine, whereas, among the soldiers, it is seventy-eight. The comparatively low rate of mortality among the officers serving in tropical climates, compared with that of the private soldiers, shews how the influence of a tropical climate may have its deleterious effects ameliorated by care; and, although we cannot attribute the increased mortality, which occurs among natives of Great Britain, entirely to their habits and condition, it is to be expected that the mortality might be materially diminished by careful attention to the diet, clothing and accommodation."

To this all writers agree. Gibbon, after stating that "the Roman soldiers, from their excellent discipline, maintained health and vigour in all climates," (Asia and Africa being included), adds, "that man is the only animal, which can live and multiply in every country from the Equator to the Poles." Niebuhr, also, who saw all the companions of his travels perish around him, remarks, in his account of Arabia, that, "their diseases arose from their European mode of life, such as eating too much animal food, and exposing themselves to the night air." Colonel Sykes, whose valuable paper on the statistics of the Indian Army we have before quoted, says emphatically, "*The climate of India is less to blame than individuals: for in case foreigners find the people in a country healthy, they should, to a certain extent, conform to the habits of the natives also.*" But a writer of the present day, Dr. Daniel, who was located on the most deadly part of the African coast in charge of H. M. troops, gives actual proof from ocular demonstration of the truth of these remarks. At Rio Formosa, which he visited in 1839, he found two vessels moored a short distance from the mouth of the river, one of which had buried *two entire crews*, within the short space of five months, a solitary person only remaining; the other, which had entered at a much later period, had been similarly deprived of one-half of its men, and the remainder were in such a debilitated condition, as to be incapable of undertaking any active or laborious duty. He concludes thus: "And yet, amid these regions so rife with disease and death, I have known Europeans reside for a number of years in the enjoyment of good health, from the simple secret of moderately conforming to the habits of the natives, as regards diet, exercise, and attention to the due performance of the cutaneous functions."

This brings us to the real object of the present article, viz., How may this dread mortality and sickness be lessened, or avoided? Why do we sit down in a state of stoical apathy, and say, 'It must be so, because it always has been so?' We are confounding the "post hoc" with the "propter hoc." We cannot change the climate, it is true: but we "can mould our obsequious frames to the nature of the skies, under which we sojourn*;" we can study the habits of the natives of the soil among whom we dwell, and "call to our aid those artificial means of prevention and amelioration, which reason may dictate and experience confirm." †

* Dr. James Johnson, on Tropical Climates.

† Ibid.

The causes of disease that produce such fearful loss in the ranks of our European regiments in India, may be classed under two heads: 1st. Those connected with the locality itself, in which the troops are placed, including climate, position, barrack accommodation, ventilation, and drainage; 2ndly. Those over which the individual himself has a control, such as personal habits, occupation, amusements, &c.

We shall briefly show by one or two examples, what has been done by sanatory measures in diminishing the destructive effects of some of our most unhealthy stations in this country.

From a return shewing the mortality at Hong Kong and Tinghæ, we find that, at the latter place, there died, in less than six months, viz., from July 13th to December 31st, 1840, no less than 433 men in three of H. M. regiments. The 18th regiment lost fifty-two, the 26th regiment 238, and the 49th regiment 143. At this rate of mortality, an entire regiment would have been destroyed, as regards numbers, in a twelve month.

		per cent.		In 1,000 Men.
At Hong-Kong in 1842	there died	19	or	190
" 1843	"	22	"	220
" 1844	"	13½	"	135
" 1845	"	8½	"	85
" 1848	"	2½	"	25

Now, during the first three years, the troops were exposed to the malarious influence of the paddy-fields, and were very badly housed. In 1845, their accommodation and position were much improved; and since that time, excellent barracks having been built, and great attention paid to drainage and ventilation, the sickness is not greater than that of a healthy station. At Kurrachí and Bellary, the same results have been produced, by increasing the accommodation and space in barracks. At both of these stations, it was proved beyond a doubt, that, where ten deaths were caused by cholera, a hundred might be attributed to over-crowding. The men, literally, were poisoned by an artificial pestilential atmosphere. This is totally separate from a bad locality; although, where both causes are combined, as at Secunderabad, death mows down its victims with two-fold power. At the latter station, which is the most unhealthy in the Madras presidency, the average mortality among the European troops, for fifteen years previous to 1846-47, has been 75 per 1,000—being nearly double the average of the entire presidency, and more than double the average of the more healthy stations. The men composing the regiment, are crowded into small barracks and narrow verandahs, while the officers

of the same regiment, and the detachment of artillery, who are quartered in more roomy barracks at no great distance, are comparatively healthy and free from disease.

Dr. Burke, the late Inspector-General, speaking of this station, says, "The excess of casualties in H. M. regiment at Secunderabad over that of any corps in the other stations of the presidency, during four years, is 117 men; a loss, therefore, intrinsically of that station, exclusive of officers, women and children. It has been stated that every European soldier landed in India, costs the state £100 sterling; calculating from which, the intrinsic loss of 117 European soldiers by Secunderabad in $4\frac{1}{4}$ years is £11,700 sterling. But, as these 117 men have to be replaced, the doing so will cost another £11,700;—to which must be added the loss in acclimatizing these latter, amounting on the lowest calculation to one-eighth, or £1,462; giving a sum total of £24,862, as the actual loss sustained in $4\frac{1}{4}$ years,* or probably as three lakhs of rupees in five years. But as Secunderabad would appear to have been a station for European troops for at least thirty years, the cost to the state for that period may be estimated at twelve lakhs at least."

So much for the value of fresh and pure air, as a mere question of finance;—but it has often struck us as one of the strangest anomalies, that it should be so little valued and appreciated, by all classes, and in every country and climate. Until the discovery of the circulation of the blood by the great Harvey, it was the universal opinion of both ancients and moderns, that air was the circulating fluid in our veins and arteries. It is too much the habit, in the present day, to fall into an opposite error, and to fancy that it never enters into our animal system at all; or at any rate to act, as if we had such an idea. Who is there, (however poor or straitened his circumstances may be) that would offer his fellow a dirty plate, or a cup of dirty water? A hair, a straw, a mere mote is carefully picked out, before we put the glass to our lips; and yet we, one and all, with strange inconsistency, think nothing of swallowing draughts of dirty air. The particles of dust, that we so carefully wipe from our mouth, or the minute substance, that we detect floating on the surface of our draught, and pause to remove, ere satisfying our thirst, are in themselves harmless; the infinitesimal speck of carbonized matter, that has haply fallen from the fire on our meat,

* We do not quite see the propriety of thus doubling the loss in $4\frac{1}{4}$ years. It would appear that the real pecuniary loss sustained is the expense of bringing out the men, who have died; or £11,700, with a per-centage added for the acclimatizing of the recruits, by whom their places are to be filled up.—Ed.

raises our whole bile, though, in itself, literally wholesome; but poisonous fœtid air, that has been breathed over and over again, until it has become destructive to animal life, we inspire with the most stolid indifference.

A remarkable instance of the poisonous effects, resulting from over-crowding and want of air, is given by Dr. Mackinnon. It proves how the bad reputation of a station may be entirely owing to local causes (not natural or peculiar to the site), which might be easily removed or remedied. In speaking of Dinapore, he tells us, "that the European regiment quartered here, occupies two ranges of buildings extremely hot, confined and ill-ventilated. In May 1847, the 98th regiment lost sixty men: whilst there was *not one* death among the artillery, living within a few yards, but in better barracks."

What ventilation will do for the buildings, drainage and cleanliness will do for the locality; although it is too much the fashion in the present day to "run up" cantonments with every possible despatch, and pay no thought or attention to that great item, drainage. The barracks are built, the officers' bungalows finished, and large pits and hollows in every direction testify to the activity, if not to the prudence, of the architect. The ground thus becomes artificially lowered and sunk. During the dry weather, these excavations become the receptacles of refuse of every description, and after the rains, they are hot-beds of malaria. Those, who know what a large standing camp is in all its *minutiæ*, may do well to pause and consider what a large military station, with its sudder and regimental bazars, its commissariat establishment, hospitals and thousands of camp followers, must become, where no regular system of drainage is laid down and systematically carried out. We, too often, go on the principle of "every man his own doctor," and expect the station to drain itself.

A foreigner would feel no little surprise at the quiet easy way, in which, not only our military stations in this country are *chosen*, but also *abandoned*. While these sheets are being corrected for the press, we learn that the station of Ludiánah is "*done away with*," as the phrase goes. Now Ludiánah and Kurnál were once considered two of the very healthiest stations: but diet, stagnant water, and other removable causes, have, in each case, caused the loss of lakhs of rupees to the public, and much needless expense to individuals, who could ill afford it. At Kurnál, the European barracks were good, but badly placed—close to the canal, which was allowed to overflow and form marshes, in the rushes and grass of which, close to

cantonments, elephants even might have been lost. At Ludianah, the European barracks (except those of the artillery) were, and we believe still are, what is called "temporary," that is, capable of standing for two or three years, and intended to last until they tumble! The floors of the barracks at this station were *lower* than the surface of the ground. If we go a little further, we find the same farce being enacted at Lahore. Something in the shape of drainage had been commenced upon in the cantonment of Anarkulli, when it was determined to abandon it; but nothing was determined, in so vital a matter, for its substitute, Meanmír, which has perfect *seas* between it and the town of Lahore. Condemning a cantonment of only four years' existence, without first establishing a perfect system of drainage and cleaning, is like amputating a man's limb at the hip-joint, for the cure of corns on his feet.

At Peshawur, something is being done: as the gardens and irrigation, immediately surrounding it, were nuisances too flagrant to be winked at. Wuzirabad was built literally in a swamp; and the officers of the force stationed there had to swim, or go in boats to each other, last season; but at Sealkote, (the site selected instead), we are not aware that any thing is being done towards draining it.

These three cases are the more glaring, because sums of money, far beyond any thing ever before heard of, are being expended on "Palaces," thirty feet in height, giving nearly three times the number of cubic feet of space per man, hitherto considered necessary; while the soldiers are intermediately condemned to live for years in ill-ventilated, or non-ventilated, buildings and hovels, that are, certainly, not half as good as the outer verandah of the said "palaces" will be, when they get them. Sixty, seventy and even eighty lakhs of rupees will be the respective sums required for erecting each of the new cantonments at Lahore, Sealkote and Peshawur—years* being required for their completion, and without any security or guarantee, that they will not possibly be condemned by some future Sir Charles, who may, peradventure, ride across the station, some wet morning in 1860, and find his boots wet!

At Kussowli and Subathu, the European barracks are not twelve feet high. They were ordered by Lord Ellenborough (as

* The cantonment of *Umballa* was built by Col. Napier of the Bengal Engineers in two years; and a force of 10,000 men was housed comfortably and commodiously. The station was drained simultaneously, as the earth was dug out for bricks, of which 250 lakhs were made.

an experiment) to be prepared without delay ;* but, though temporary, ten years ago, they have not yet been replaced by others of a better description.

Such are the extremes we go into, when we would do well. The late Commander-in-Chief involved the Government in much needless expense, by rushing into impossibles, and insisting on non-essentials ; so we do not wonder that the Governor General and the much abused Military Board should wince at every extra expense. But it is not even now too late to rectify the error : and we would suggest that, if no other means of supplying funds for draining, baths, ball-courts, gymnasia, and gardens, be available, the height of these monster barracks be reduced to twenty-four feet, and the inner space to 1,200 cubic feet per man.

We will here quote a remarkable instance of what may be done towards lessening the mortality of a station by draining ; and it is not less an instructive example of the useful application of the labour of the soldier.† “ Fort King George, in the island of Tobago, was at one time unhealthy ; it is now, as appears by a comparative view of the sick returns of the army, one of the healthiest quarters in the Windward and Leeward island station. The means, through which it was made so, as not of common application, deserve to be brought under public notice. The fact is strong, but it has not made useful impression upon the official authorities. Fort St. George stood, in 1803, under the lee of a swamp, at a distance of nearly one mile, and at an elevation of 500 feet above the level of it. The exhalations, which arose from the swamp, carried to the height by strong currents of wind, were supposed to be injurious to the health of the garrison. The cause was obvious : and the effect was so destructive at one time, that the commanding officer of the Royal Scots regiment, which then formed the garrison, acting with the impulse of a soldier, determined to drain the swamp by the labour of the men, rather than allow them to be destroyed in detail, by its pernicious exhalations. The fact is authentic, and it is important. It furnishes unequivocal proof, that the European is not less capable of sustaining labour in tropical climates,

* It was generally understood, and we believe given out by Lord Ellenborough himself, that his object, in ordering these barracks to be “*run up without delay*,” was to prevent the possibility of their being objected to by the Court of Directors. It is possible that a similar reason actuated Sir Charles Napier, when he hurried on the foundations and walls of his monster-model barracks in the Punjab.

† “ A view of the formation, discipline and economy of armies,” by Dr. Robert Jackson.

‘ even *severe field labour*, than the African; and it is further
‘ of value, as it shows that most of what relates to the
‘ quarters and accommodation of the military, may be effected
‘ by the military themselves, without expense to the public.
‘ The planters lent the tools in the present case; and the soldiers
‘ of the Royals drained the bog. They did it without reward,
‘ and without injury to their health. Fort King George is
‘ now a healthy station, and is rendered so by the ‘Royals.’
‘ Its future garrison may be supposed to bear a lasting sense of
‘ gratitude to the memory of Lt. Col. MacDonald, who con-
‘ ceived the feasibility of the undertaking from his own good
‘ sense, and executed it at his own responsibility.”

Though much may be done by the means here pointed out, it cannot be denied, that some of our military stations, such as Berhampore, Barrackpore, and Masulipatam, are decidedly unhealthy localities. The former, after a trial of seventy-seven years, and an expenditure of the enormous sum of sixteen millions eight hundred thousand pounds sterling (including capital and interest), was abandoned as a station for European troops by order of Lord William Bentinck, in 1835. The deaths, on an average taken for thirteen years, amounted to 103 in 1,000 men: so that, if to the cost of the buildings, which were unexceptionable, we add the intrinsic loss resulting from the destruction of life, we should arrive to a result of the most startling and fearful nature. Dr. R. Jackson was the first individual who pointed out to Government, the advantage of locating European troops in the interior and mountainous parts of the tropical islands: and “since the adoption of the measure proposed by him of
‘ forming cantonments, on the mountain ranges, the diminu-
‘ tion in the rates of sickness and mortality has been such as to
‘ justify the assertion, that if this measure had been adopted
‘ at the time it was first urged by him, the lives of from 8,000
‘ to 12,000 men would have been saved;—a sufficient lesson, one
‘ would think, to our military authorities, not to *delay* the in-
‘ troduction of improvements, which experienced medical offi-
‘ cers concur in urgently recommending.”*

In the East Indies, the same measure was advocated by Dr. J. R. Martin, and the plan, suggested by him, of calling on military surgeons for notices of the medical topography of the country generally, was adopted and ordered for the three presidencies in November 1845, by the direct act of the Government.

We confess that we see no grounds on which state policy can defend the retaining European troops at Fort William, Dum Dum, Dinapore, and Allahabad, when the range of the

* British and Foreign Medico Chirurgical Review, Vol. IX., January 1850, page 96.

Cossyah hills to the South, and the Himalayas to the North East, present such facilities for locating them in a climate adapted to their constitution; and where they would be a vigorous, hardily-trained body of troops, ready to take the field on any emergency, instead of being, as at present, corps of, which full half the men are either young recruits, invalids, or sick. It has been proved by various returns, that out of every 1,000 British troops in Bengal, 129 men are constantly confined to hospital with sickness; and that for every individual soldier there are registered two attacks of illness in the year: and this, it must be remembered, is only the ratio taken as the average of the whole presidency, whereas, at particular stations, as Fort William, Chinsurah, and Dinapore, the number is much higher.

By a very interesting document lying before us, we learn that of one of H. M. regiments, which arrived in this country, eight years ago, there are now exactly 109 men left. One seventh part only are surviving, after a lapse of seven and half years. At this proportion a regiment would be decimated in a twelve month!

We give the details in the form of a Dr. and Cr. account; and only wish that similar returns were published yearly from every regiment:—

H. M. 98th Regiment, January, 1851.

Periods.	Ser-jeants	Drum-mers.	Rank & File.
Strength of regiment on landing in China, July 1842	37	11	718
Deaths amongst this number, between that period } and February 1844, a space of 18 months }	11	4	417
Strength of regiment on arrival of the Depôt, } February 1844 }	32	7	304
Strength of the Depôt Companies joining service, } in 1844 }	11	5	630
Number of Recruits and Volunteers received be- } tween February 1844, and embarkation from } Chusan for India, in July 1846, a period of two } years and a half..... }	"	1	258
Strength of regiment on landing at Calcutta, in } November 1846..... }	52	18	689
Recruits and Volunteers received since }	1	0	644
Deaths, and Invalided since November 1846, up to } 1st January 1850 }	29	7	403
Number of deaths between 17th February and } 20th November 1849, a period of nine months } (Not marching) }	3	1	83
Number of men <i>now</i> effective who came out to } China with the regiment in July 1842., a pe- } riod of seven and half years..... }	7	1	101

Abstract shewing the Increase and Decrease in H. M. 98th Regiment.

Increase in 7½ years.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File	Decrease in 7½ years.	Serjeants.	Drummers	Rank & File.
Strength on landing	37	11	718	Strength now present...	48	17	858
By joining of Depôt	11	5	630	By Death	71	12	1081
Recruits from England...	1	1	586	Invaliding	13	3	162
Volunteers	0	0	316				
Total...	49	17	2250	Total...	132	32	2101
Total Increase...1,550 men.				Total loss by sickness...1,342			

The number of men, who have taken their discharge, &c., has been purposely omitted from this table, which shows the decrease, by sickness alone, to have been at the rate of 178 men yearly.

Now, this regiment has never enjoyed the advantages of a hill station. Had a certain proportion of the men, selected from amongst the most unhealthy, with due regard to their particular cases, been located for six months at Darjeling, while the regiment was at Dinapore in 1848, or immediately after the corps arrived from China, the result would have been very different. But we totally dissent from the plan on which our "sanatoria" are made use of at present. Instead of sending only the invalids of the season to Darjeling, Mussúri, or Kus-sowli—dragging the poor creatures, many in a state of great suffering and exhaustion, hundreds of miles for the purpose, and locating entire regiments at Dugshae and Subathu—we would earnestly advocate an equal enjoyment of the hill stations by each of the European regiments serving in the Presidency, by letting every corps, cavalry, artillery and infantry, benefit yearly by them to an equal extent as regards numbers, and for a similar period. Thus, if a detachment of from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. from every European corps were marched to the nearest hill station, so as to arrive in the early part of April, and all those not requiring a winter in the hills ordered to rejoin head quarters again in November or December, there could be no dissatisfaction felt on the point of interest or favouritism, and the greatest benefit would result to the greatest number. A seven months' residence in the hills is sufficient for most parties ;—many get tired and "ennuyed" in half that

time ; while to many, the climate is not only not beneficial, but positively injurious. To the larger bulk of a European regiment, if located in good barracks at an ordinarily healthy station in the Upper Provinces, a hill climate is by no means necessary. The men should be selected by the medical and commanding officers of each regiment, with reference to their state of health during the past year, as well as good conduct, and be accompanied by a relative proportion of their own officers, the detachment being commanded by a *selected* one. The only objection, that we have heard offered to this plan of letting *all* the European Regiments benefit to an equal degree yearly by our "sanataria," is that the men would suffer in their drill, or fall off in discipline. With a good selected field-officer to command the depôt, with a good depôt-staff, and with each regimental detachment commanded by a selected officer, we do not see why there should be any falling off in discipline. The argument, if true, would tell both ways; for, if the men from some very "crack" corps did retrograde in their drill, others would improve. All commanding officers of regiments are not so strict, able and considerate, nor are all regimental systems so good, as that individuals and detachments might not even gain by removal for a time, to be placed under different men and different influences. But even admitting that there were temporary deterioration, and that the men returned to their regiments again a little slack in their parade duties, better this, than having to replace them by raw recruits; better that they should appear a little round-shouldered with the rudeness of health, than be stretched out on hospital cots, and carried about in a dying state in "doolies." Better, far better, to be in the hands of the drill serjeant than the doctor!

There is another, and, we suspect, more prevailing reason. Some commanding officers would rather have 1,000 pale-faced *Indians* in their ranks than 800 ruddy *Europeans*. Short-sighted and cruel policy! Neither the "*physique*" nor "*morale*" of the majority of Europeans will stand many consecutive years of exposure in the plains of India. Napoleon and other great commanders carefully watched the *morale* of their soldiers. It is too much neglected in India: and while every doctor will tell his subaltern or centurion neighbour, that he has been too long in India, and that he should go home and take a run on the Continent, or in the Highlands—how few think that European soldiers, with fewer comforts and more exposure, even when not positively prostrated by illness, require *their* change, and *their* stimulus. We are convinced that for ordinary times, and to meet daily wants, the system, we advocate, would save hundreds

of lives and lakhs of rupees: and we could shew that it might possibly save an army, nay even an empire. No one, who saw H. M. 44th regiment marching for Kabul in 1840, and had witnessed the landing of the same corps at Calcutta, less than twenty years before, but will understand our meaning. At Arracan, during the Burmese war, it was as fine a corps as any in the service; at Kabul, it was composed of pale-faced boys, many of them born in the country, and of broken down Indianized old men, who passed the greater part of the year in hospital. The *Morale* was as low as the *Physique*.

We must pass on, however, to points of special Hygiene, over which the European soldier has individually a personal controul. Upon this head Dr. Daniell remarks:—

“Could those causes of disease, which have been hitherto ascribed to climatorial alternations, be more thoroughly investigated, I apprehend, we should discover that no small number were founded on very inconclusive data. It is a well-known fact, that the notorious insalubrity of Africa has frequently served as the scape-goat, on which the blame of those evil consequences (resulting from the reprehensible indulgence of dissipated courses) might be unreservedly thrown, without the risk of their being disputed, or even questioned. When we seriously reflect on the impaired constitution of two thirds of the human beings who frequent these colonies, recklessly indifferent as to the price of life, we require no further argument for the rational explanation of those abnormal states of the system, that so largely swell the amount of victims in these occasional and almost inexplicable pestilences.”

Colonel Sykes is not less explicit:—“I have a strong conviction,” he says, “that much of European disease in India is traceable to over-stimulus; and that the mortality among the European troops will not be lessened, until the European soldier is improved in his habits; until he is made to understand that temperance is for the benefit of his body, libraries for the benefit of his mind, exercise for the benefit of his health, and Savings Banks for the benefit of his purse.”

The excessive use of spirituous liquors, according to the same authority, and according to all experience, is the great cause of sickness and mortality amongst our European troops. In analysing the comparative ratio of deaths between natives and British soldiers, occurring in the three presidencies, (table 1) three points strike us, as remarkable. “In the first place, the great contrast between the rate of mortality of the European and of the native troops, serving together, and exposed to the same morbid causes; secondly, the great difference

‘ between the mortality of the troops serving in the different presidencies; and thirdly, the circumstance, that in the Madras presidency, the rate of mortality is *highest* among the native troops, and *lowest* among the Europeans.”

On the first point, Colonel Sykes remarks;—“ I will not say that the question is absolutely solved by the reply, “ habits of life;” but I will say, reasoning from analogy, that the reply goes a great way to solve it. The European soldier in India is over-stimulated by food, over-stimulated by drink, and under-stimulated in mind and body. He eats a quantity of animal food every day of his life; he drinks a quantity of alcohol every day of his life, to the amount of a bottle of spirits in five days, two drams being served out to him daily; and he has not any mental, and little bodily, exercise. Happily, the pernicious practice has been recently discontinued; but time was, when the European soldier was compelled to take his dram by eight o’clock in the morning, with the thermometer varying from 70° to 90° or more, at different seasons of the year, leaving him in a state of nervous irritation and thirst, which could only be relieved, as he thought, by further potations; indeed, I have been assured within the last few days, by a pensioned artillery staff-serjeant, *who never drank in India, and was only in hospital five days during twenty-one years’ service*, that he has known, out of a detachment of 100 artillery men, no less than eight men in straight jackets at one time, absolutely mad from drink.”

“ Now, animal food, with the assistance of such an auxiliary, and combined with mental vacuity, go far to account for the excess of mortality amongst Europeans.”

The question next arises, why the mortality of the European troops in the Madras presidency should be so much less than that of the others, being about *three fourths* that of the Bombay troops, and but little more than *half* that of the Bengal army. There do not seem to be any such differences in the climatorial diseases, or in the character of the military stations of the three presidencies as are by any means sufficient to account for this discrepancy; and if there were, we should expect them to manifest themselves alike in the native and in the European army.

“ That the reverse is the case (for at Madras, the mortality among the native soldiers is the greatest, but the least among the Europeans) must be admitted to be a cogent argument, if not a complete proof, in favour of the insufficiency of any such account of the discrepancy.”

The following are the causes assigned by Colonel Sykes:—

“ The *Bengal* European army has no supply of porter, but

‘ is furnished with rum, a spirit not so wholesome as arrack.
 ‘ On the other hand, the *Madras* army consumes a large quan-
 ‘ tity of porter, and drinks comparatively little spirit; what it
 ‘ does consume being arrack. The *Bombay* troops have only
 ‘ recently commenced the consumption of porter, and the spirit
 ‘ they drink is understood to be more wholesome than rum,
 ‘ and less so than arrack. “These results,” says Col. Sykes,
 ‘ are certainly not conclusive; but I cannot help associating the
 ‘ increased consumption of malt liquor by the *Madras* Euro-
 ‘ peans, with their comparative healthiness; and the gradations
 ‘ of the mortality in the Bengal and Bombay European troops,
 ‘ as partly influenced by the quality (no doubt, much more by
 ‘ the quantity) of the spirits they respectively consume.

“Now, on the other hand, the excess of mortality in the
 ‘ native army of Madras above that of the Bengal and Bombay
 ‘ troops, is equally attributable to a difference in the habits
 ‘ of the individuals composing it. Of the *Bombay* army,
 ‘ six-eighths consist of Hindus, and considerably more than
 ‘ half of the whole army are Hindustanis. These men
 ‘ never taste meat, fish, or spirituous liquors; but live, I
 ‘ may, from personal observation, venture to say, almost
 ‘ exclusively upon unleavened cakes of wheat, or other ‘Ce-
 ‘ realia,’ baked upon an iron dish, and eaten as soon as cooked.
 ‘ The great majority of the *Bengal* army consists of a similar
 ‘ class of men. The *Madras* army in its constituents is the
 ‘ reverse of the other two. In the cavalry, there are from six
 ‘ to seven Mussulmans to one Hindu, and, in the infantry,
 ‘ there is one Mussulman to every $1\frac{1}{2}$ or $1\frac{3}{4}$ Hindus; but
 ‘ amongst the latter, there is a considerable number of low
 ‘ castes, without prejudices about food, and unrestrained by the
 ‘ prejudices of caste; therefore the majority of the native
 ‘ troops of the *Madras* army can eat and drink like Europeans.

“Thus then we see, that whereas in the *Madras* army, in
 ‘ which the European and native habits most closely assimi-
 ‘ late, the mortality of the former is *less than double* (about
 ‘ thirty-eight to twenty-one) that of the latter; the morta-
 ‘ lity of the Bengal Europeans is *nearly six times* (about seventy-
 ‘ four to thirteen) that of the Bombay natives; the difference
 ‘ bearing such a relation to the greater abstemiousness of the
 ‘ native soldiery, and the larger consumption of spirits by the
 ‘ Europeans, that it is scarcely possible to avoid the inference
 ‘ that they must be connected in the relation of effect and cause.”

Intemperance is, we have no doubt, the exciting cause of
 nine-tenths of the sickness and mortality amongst European
 troops in this country. Men may disguise the fact, pass over
 it as being delicate ground, or deny it altogether by saying,

"it is the climate;"—but the truth remains, "*If you drink, you die!*" If a man, walking on the edge of a precipice, were to act, as if he were in the middle of a grassy plain, and by his own folly were to fall to the bottom of the abyss, no one would say that the precipice killed him; but in India, the *climate*, the *heat*, the *sun*, are the ready scape-goats for man's insane actions.

Two remarkable paragraphs in the public journals, lying before us at the present moment, speak volumes, as to the results of temperance, or the reverse.

"The *Bombay Telegraph* contains some interesting statistics, collected by Dr. W. B. Carpenter, on the longevity of the few private soldiers in the Indian service, who adhere to the principle of temperance, as compared with the great majority, who indulge in the free use of spirituous liquors. In the year 1838, the daily average number of Europeans in hospital, who were members of the Temperance Society, was only 3.65 per cent., while the average of the remainder was 10.20 per cent., or nearly three times as great. In the Cameronian regiment, of which a large proportion became converts to the temperance principle, the number of gallons of spirits diminished from 14,000 gallons a year to 2,516: and in 1838, the amount consumed was 8,242 gallons *less* than the regiment was entitled to draw. The general average for the year 1838 above given, is instructive, as it clearly demonstrates the evil effects of ardent spirits on the frame of the European soldier; and the details of the Cameronian regiment are conclusive, as to the possibility of a regiment maintaining alike its discipline, and its carriage in the field, without the stimulant of large quantities of alcohol."—*Friend of India*, 18th July, 1850.

The second paragraph, that attracts our eye, is an account in one of the Bombay Journals, of a funeral monument erected to the memory of 415 soldiers, women, and children, of the 78th Highlanders, who died in one year in Scinde. It was this fearful mortality, that gave rise to so much discussion, from the sensation that it created at the time, and which has been lately revived in some degree from the part that the late Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier, took in the matter—he being at that time the supreme military authority in Scinde.

It would answer no good purpose to open up the question again, as to the immediate or remote cause of the extraordinary loss of life on that occasion; but, whether it was intemperance on the part of the men, or improvidence and want of judgment on the part of those who ordered them to march in the month of September, still the fact remains the same—recording a loss of life from exposure, which is, we believe, without a parallel.

Returning to our subject, we next make a long extract from the British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review, as testifying not only most favourably, as to the state of H. M. 84th Regiment, but being itself most valuable and suggestive.

The Reviewer (at page 92) says :—

“ Having learned that the 84th regiment of H. M. Foot has, for some time, enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most temperate and best conducted regiments in the European portion of the Indian army; we have consulted the army medical returns, for the purpose of ascertaining, whether its rate of mortality has differed in any marked degree, from the average given above; more especially, since it has been quartered at Secunderabad, which (as we have seen) lies under the bad repute of being one of the most unhealthy stations in the Madras presidency. In the year 1846-7, the average strength of H. M. troops, in the Madras presidency, was 5,963, and the number of deaths was 251, or 4.21 per cent., which is rather above the average mortality in this presidency, as calculated by Colonel Sykes. During the first eight months of this period, the 84th regiment was quartered at Fort St. George, Madras, which is considered a healthy station; it then performed a march of between four and five hundred miles to Secunderabad, in an unusually wet season—the roads (such as they were) being in some parts knee-deep in water; and it took up its quarters at Secunderabad, about two months previously to the date of the medical return (April 1st, 1847).

“ The return of the regiment for this year presents us with the almost unprecedentedly low number of thirteen deaths on an average strength of 1,072 men; the mortality being thus at the rate of only 1.21 per cent. Now, during the same period, the 63rd regiment, which was quartered at Secunderabad up to February 1st, 1847, (or nine months out of the twelve) lost seventy-three men, which was at the rate of 7.88 per cent. for the entire year; whilst the mortality for *all the other* stations in the Madras command was only 3.02 per cent. for the same year. Hence we see, that the mortality of the 84th regiment for the year 1846-7, was only *two-fifths* of that of the average of the *healthier* stations in the Madras presidency, which average its own very low rate contributed to reduce.

“ During the year 1847-8, the total mortality in the Madras presidency was 227 to 6,040 of average strength, or 3.76 per cent: but this reduction, from the preceding year, was not due to any considerable difference in the rate of mortality at the other stations, being almost entirely consequent upon the diminution in the number of deaths at Secunderabad. For the 84th regiment, which remained at that station during the

' whole year, lost in that time, no more than thirty-nine men,
 ' out of an average strength of 1,139, so that its percentage
 ' of mortality was only 3.42; which was below the general aver-
 ' age of the presidency, and *less than half* the average rate
 ' at Secunderabad for fifteen years previously. It seems
 ' impossible to attribute these remarkable results to any
 ' thing but the abstinent habits of the soldiers of this regi-
 ' ment; a large proportion of them being total "abstainers,"
 ' and those, who were not so, being *very moderate* in their
 ' consumption of alcoholic liquors. The influence of the sys-
 ' tem upon their moral health has been no less favorable than
 ' upon their physical. During the year 1846-47, as we learn
 ' from the surgeon's report, there was but a single court-mar-
 ' tial in the entire regiment. On the march to Secunderabad,
 ' which occupied forty-seven days, there was not a single pri-
 ' soner for drunkenness; the officers were surprised to find that
 ' the men marched far better, and with fewer stragglers than
 ' they had ever before known; and it was noticed by eve-
 ' ry one, that the men were unusually cheerful and contented.
 ' What a heavy responsibility have our military authorities
 ' taken upon themselves, in ordering the discontinuance of
 ' Temperance Societies in the army! We have been inform-
 ' ed by a regimental surgeon, recently arrived from India,
 ' that within *one month* after the promulgation of this order,
 ' he had *forty* cases of 'delirium tremens' under his care.
 ' The reason assigned for this measure we understand to be
 ' that nothing like an '*imperium in imperio*' can be permitted
 ' in the army—its systematic organization for military purposes
 ' being (it is considered) interfered with by any other, however
 ' good its design, and however beneficial its effects. We can-
 ' not imagine that the Commander-in-Chief, when he issued
 ' such an order, can have given his attention to the subject, or he
 ' would have seen from such returns, as those we have adduced,
 ' how greatly temperance is to the advantage of military subor-
 ' dination, as well as to the health and general welfare of the
 ' troops. The difficulty would be got over with the greatest
 ' facility, if the officers of the regiment would become the of-
 ' ficers of its Temperance Society, as we understand to have
 ' been the case in the 84th. There would then be no ground
 ' whatever for the apprehension, that the organization of the
 ' Temperance Society could, in any way, interfere with that of
 ' the regiment, and the example of the officers could not but
 ' have the most beneficial effect upon the men, as was abun-
 ' dantly proved in the case just referred to.

" But even if this be not thought practicable, we would
 ' strongly urge (with Dr. Mackinnon) that the use of *beer*
 ' should be substituted as much as possible for that of *spirits*;

every thing is in favor of such a measure. It is well-known that, since the introduction of bitter ale, as the ordinary beverage at the officers' mess table, in place of wine and spirits, the longevity of the officers in the Indian service has so greatly increased, that promotion is no longer expected to be more rapid in that part of the army than in any other. The thing has been already done for the soldiery, to a great extent, in the Madras army, and more partially in the Bombay force; why should it not, we ask, in Bengal?—since there can be no greater practical difficulty in that presidency than has been already overcome in the others. A fact, mentioned by Dr. Mackinnon, tells strongly in favor of the advantages, which might be expected from such a change, as well as in favour of exercise in the open air, as conducive to health. The Indigo-planters at Tirhút, he tells us, lead active lives, enjoy the comforts of good country-houses and generous wholesome diet; but, on the other hand, they are subject to much exposure; and the district cannot be regarded as very favourable to health, since, although comparatively cool, well clad with vegetation, and free from jungle, there are many lagoons or old beds of rivers, and extensive rice-jhils, full of water in the rains, but drying up more or less completely by evaporation. 'For Natives,' say Dr. Mackinnon, 'I do not believe there are many parts of India more unhealthy. But the appearance of the Indigo-planters is that of rude, robust health, very different from that of the Civil Servants residing at the stations in the same district. Many of them are generous livers, as to the luxuries of the table; but as to drink, beer is their favourite beverage—the slightest excess in spirits being always found prejudicial, and a free indulgence, fatal after a time.' The European male population, during the ten years that Dr. Mackinnon resided among them, amounted to an average of 130; and during this period, no more than nineteen deaths occurred among them, which is at the rate of only 1.46 per cent. per annum; and several of these deaths were brought about by diseases, which might probably be attributed to habitual excess in diet, and which would be less likely to occur, if even the moderate stimulus of beer, with that of high seasoned cookery, were dispensed with."

In the concluding paragraph we most cordially agree, and we think that the true solution of the problem lies not in the consumption of beer, but in the avoidance of spirituous liquors, and the advantage of daily exercise in the open air; while the mind is at the same time occupied, not in a business, forced and distasteful, but in pursuits, which embrace both interest and recreation. How widely does this picture differ from that of the European soldier in India!

Another point on which very much of our sickness depends, viz., want of pure and wholesome water, is deserving of special notice.

“It is not to be expected that the habit of water-drinking should become more prevalent among our Indian army, unless good water be provided. We gather from various passages in Dr. Mackinnon’s work, that very little attention is usually paid to this point. It is sometimes raised from wells, and kept in large earthen jars for use; in other instances, it is obtained from tanks, in which rain water is collected. In both cases, however, it almost invariably contains a large impregnation of vegetable and animal matter; so that it very speedily becomes foetid. A very slight degree of trouble is sufficient to correct this evil, at an almost nominal expense; the remedy being simply to keep the reservoirs clean, and to boil the water, and filter it through charcoal. Of the pernicious effects of the habitual use of foul water, there cannot be the least doubt, either theoretically or practically; for whilst theory would show that the continual introduction of putrescent matter into the system, in however small a quantity, must predispose it to be acted on by other morbid causes, even if it do not itself become the exciting cause of diseases, experience demonstrates, that epidemics most prevail where the water-supply is the worst.”

To aggravate all this, the European soldier has animal food, consisting invariably of the same kind, viz., beef eaten twice a day, washed down by draughts of new rum, or bad water, for 365 days in the year without change or variety; and this too, in a tropical climate, without bodily exercise, or mental occupation! Utterly opposed to this is the plan laid down by our great military writer, Dr. R. Jackson.

He says, speaking of abstinence and exercise;—

“The case has been tried, and it has been proved on many occasions, that persons, who live abstemiously, and live chiefly on vegetable and farinaceous foods, which furnish nutriment of a less irritating quality than animal matter, not only escape sickness in tropical climates, but preserve their health in vigour and activity; while those, who live freely and fare sumptuously, die in great numbers. This has been frequently seen in time of war, in the example of prisoners, who, furnished with a measured ration, especially a farinaceous one, chiefly bread and rice, rarely experience sickness.

“Occupation of mind and body, implying exercise to an extent sufficient to act with impression upon animal structure, is preventive of disease, particularly among Europeans in tropical climates. This opinion receives proof and illustration from the example of planters, who are obliged to spend

‘ the greater part of the day in the sun, superintending the
 ‘ field labors of the slave. This class of people, in the West In-
 ‘ dies, may be said to work hard. When actively employed, they
 ‘ are little liable to illness: while soldiers, confined the greater
 ‘ part of their time to barracks, supinely passing their hours
 ‘ in a state of indolence and ease, suffer severely: but soldiers
 ‘ are vigorous and healthy under activity of military service,
 ‘ even in tropical climates—and this without regard to season.”

A direct and well authenticated proof of the value of exercise, nay, even of hard labour, exists in the example of French soldiers in the Island of St. Domingo, previous to the revolution of 1789. These soldiers, Europeans and Natives of France, were employed at that time in forming the great roads and aqueducts, which convey water through the plains for the purpose of irrigating the plantations. They consequently worked in the sun the whole day long, as labourers work in Europe. They sweated and toiled, and were so tanned in colour as scarcely to be distinguished from the Mulattoes. They were brown in colour, it is true, but, it rests on good authority, that they experienced little sickness, while employed in this manner; when confined to the towns, however, and disposed at ease, or idling, and rioting, they suffered sickness, and died in large numbers, like the soldiers of other nations.

We do not advocate the necessity or even advisableness of hard labour; much less that of forced labour. We consider that out-of-doors employment, in which the mind is occupied and interested, furnishes the best safeguard against disease among our European troops in this country. Let the occupation be what it may, still it should harmonize with the taste, or be conducive to the interest of the individual. Put a European on a dusty road, with a musket in his hand, and give the order to march ten miles into cantonments—he looks upon it as an irksome duty, and, from having nothing to break the monotony of the task, the depressing powers of the mind are at work; and he is reported ill on its completion. But change the musket for a fowling-piece; let the pace be uncontrolled, and the direction left to his own choice—he will walk double the distance with a very different result, going over much more difficult ground, and with much more exposure to the sun. Try the experiment in a hundred different ways, the same conclusion will be arrived at in all. We all know that an hour’s gallop on horseback under a burning noon-day-sun, or through the hot wind, is much less exhausting than half the time spent in the saddle at a walking-pace only; and that a game of cricket, played while the thermometer stands at 80°, is felt to be

less fatiguing than a morning parade, in which there is neither violent exertion, nor a high temperature to be endured.

On the marking out of a new cantonment in this country, officers are observed spending their entire day in the open air, watching or superintending the erection of their bungalows, staking out their gardens, planting trees, &c., with almost the same indifference to heat and sun, as if they were in England, and in the enjoyment of better health, sounder sleep, and greater appetite, than when living in their residence with all the comforts and luxuries that art can supply to mitigate the "desagremens" of an Indian climate. And, as with the European officer, so it is with the private soldier. The longest marches on record, and under the greatest exposure to heat of weather, have been made by British troops, without any injury to the health. The change of scene, the interest excited by every rumour that finds its way to the camp, the speculation on coming events, all act as powerful stimulants in counteracting the *otherwise* injurious effects of excessive fatigue and exposure.

And here we think, that Government has not done enough for the European soldier serving in India. In laying out every new cantonment, we would wish to see the "Gymnasium" commenced as soon as the "parade ground;" the cricket-field ordered as well as the "Conjee-house"; the "soldiers' garden" sanctioned as much as the canteen.

It will be a glory to the Marquis of Dalhousie to establish such a system, and to leave behind him, at every station, the means of innocent recreation and exercise to the soldier, European and native. In one station in the Upper Provinces, viz., Lahore, this has been done through the generous exertions of a single individual—Sir Henry Lawrence. A large space of ground, containing several acres, has been laid out strictly as a "soldier's garden;" there are shady walks, "parterres" of flowers, a cricket-field, swimming bath, Gymnasium, Ball-and-Racket-courts, work-shops, skittle-grounds, and a reading room and library; while the beverage, "that cheers, but not inebriates," is retailed at a very low rate on the grounds, to the exclusion of all spirituous liquors.

This, we believe, is the only instance of the kind in India; but we venture to predict that it will be taken as the model for similar establishments, as soon as the truth becomes apparent, that, in order to preserve our European soldiers in good health, and prevent the slow but certain diseases produced by drink, indolence, and dissipation, we must provide something else beyond the parade ground and canteen.

From a list that has been placed at our disposal, we find that one of H. M.'s cavalry regiments, at present serving in India, is composed as follows. The multitude of trades is very great, and the proportion of labourers to artisans and mechanics is about one-fifth of the whole:—

TRADE.	NO.	TRADE.	NO.
Apothecaries	3	Labourers	126
Appraisers	1	Leather dressers	2
Brick-layers	12	Miners	1
Button-makers.....	1	Masons	10
Brush-makers	3	Musicians	2
Bakers	17	Maltsters.....	1
Butchers	17	Mercers	1
Carpenters	20	Mill-Stone-makers	1
Colour-mixers	2	Opticians	1
Chemists.....	1	Porters	3
Cotton-spinners.....	1	Printers	9
Curriers	2	Plumbers	1
Compositors.....	1	Painters	7
Corrector of the Press	1	Paper-makers	2
Confectioners	1	Plasterers	4
Clerks	41	Poulterers	2
Coopers	2	Pewterers	2
Cabinet-makers	3	Paper-stainers	2
Coal-meters	1	Pocket-Book-Makers	1
Carpet-layers.....	2	Rug-makers	1
Carver and Gilders	3	Rope-makers	1
Cigar-makers.....	2	Shoeing-Smiths	2
Cloth-dressers.....	1	Sugar-bakers	1
Cooks.....	3	Spindle-makers	1
Drapers	7	Shoe-makers	23
Dyers.....	2	Servants	40
Edge-Tool-makers	1	Sawyers	4
Engineers	1	Smiths	10
Engine-Fitters	1	Silver-Smiths.....	4
Farriers	16	Saddlers	8
Flax-Spinners	1	Stationers	1
Fishermen	2	Tailors	24
Founders	3	Tanners	6
Farmers	1	Turners	2
Gas-Fitters	3	Tin Plate-workers	1
Grooms	27	Upholsterers	1
Gun-Smiths	1	Watch-makers	2
Gardeners	2	Weavers.....	6
Gilt-Toy-makers	1	Wheel wright.....	1
Grocers	1	Wool-comber	1
Harness-makers	3		
Hatters	2		
Hair dressers	1		
Joiners	4		
Jewellers	3		
Land Surveyors.....	4		
		No previous occupation..	
		Total...	654

What must have been the amount, paid in premiums and apprentice-fees, by the parents of these 646 artisans? And what would it cost Government to obtain the services of a like body of mechanics for the purpose of completing a railroad in the Upper-Provinces, with all its various requirements of machinery, carriages, station-telegraph, &c.? Why should the benefit of these men's early education be lost to the state, as well as to themselves, when we have them on the spot? How much might have been done by the soldiers themselves, during the last two years, at Lahore, Wuzirabad and Peshawur, towards the completion of their own barracks, with positive advantage to all, not only as regards pecuniary emolument, but the much higher points of health and life! On board ship, the European private helps to work the vessel by order of his Commanding Officer, and takes a pull at the "*main brace*" with a hearty good will. On the march he pitches his own tent, or constructs a raft for crossing streams, without being considered to suffer either in character or discipline. It is only in cantonment that he is taught to be a mere marching machine—a parade automaton. Some of the men, in the regiment alluded to it is true, do obtain an addition to their pay by working at their original trades, between the hours of parade and roll-call: and the money, thus gained by their own manual labour, is more likely to be accumulated towards purchasing their discharge or deposited in a Savings Bank, than any surplus derivable from their pay, or "dry batta," which, by a recent excellent order of Government, is allowed to be disbursed daily at the "grog-tub," to all who prefer receiving money to rum.

The expense, however, of each individual's providing his own tools is a serious impediment to the men working at their old trades. This difficulty would be removed, if the officers of each corps would establish and encourage regimental workshops, where, by the division of labour, much larger profits would be accumulated, and the expense of materials and implements could be defrayed by a per centage on the price received for the manufacture.

Half-a-dozen good coachmakers and wheelwrights, who might be found in most European regiments, ought to be able, in a few weeks, to build a buggy that would realize some five or six hundred rupees, if well finished and substantially put together. So with boat-building, cabinet-making, engraving, painting, book-binding, and many other trades—the men would find a ready market for the manufactured articles, especially in the Upper Provinces, where the residents of a station are cut off from the advantages derived by living near Calcutta, Delhi, or Agra.

From a series of Papers, entitled *European soldiers in India*, which appeared in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, during last year, we make the following extract, which touches upon this part of our subject. The writer, who is evidently practically acquainted with the question he discusses, points out, that the experiments, hitherto made for providing occupation for the European soldier in India, have failed, simply from the fact that sufficient attention has not been paid in the first instance to the different habits, tastes, and pursuits of different individuals, and that recreation ceases to be such, if forced. It then becomes, in fact, only another kind of drill.

"Many persons," says he, "who have written in recommendation of certain modes of recreation for European soldiers in India, have simply urged those recreations, which they found most congenial to their own temperaments. Some have urged manual labour and employment, either in gardens, or workshops; some recommend athletic games and field sports, calling into activity all the muscular powers of the body. Some, on the other hand, look more to mental recreations, and recommend theatrical amusements, or musical entertainments of a somewhat similar kind. Some go further still, and, being of a more sober turn, recommend branch libraries and reading clubs, chess, &c. It is seldom, however, that the advocates of any, or all of these various means of recreations, consider that, according to the old proverb, "it is all a matter of taste:" and, as different men are of different opinions, so unless the soldier himself inclines to the species of amusement proposed for him, it is to him not a recreation, but a toil. You cannot make a man love to dig in a garden, or find recreation therein, by putting a spade in his hand, and preaching to him of the value of horticultural pursuits! He may like greens and potatoes well enough, when served up at table; but he may think the labour of procuring them by delving far too great a toil, and thus would rather employ his leisure hours differently, and purchase all his greens in the market. We illustrated this, the other day, by observing that some men might like carpentry-work;—but that for ourselves, especially in warm weather, such as it is at present, we preferred some less heating employment than sawing a two inch plank. Thus it is with all other occupations; the man, who loves the one, will often detest the other. The only method that appears to us divested of innumerable objections, is to leave the soldiers, as much as possible, to their own liberty of choice. Let them take such recreation, as they feel disposed to take, and when and how they like. To do this, they must

‘ have some leisure time allowed them : and their time should
‘ not be cut up with what can never conduce to the good of
‘ service, but must weary every sensible soldier to death ;—we
‘ allude to the endless drills and parades, and all the little ob-
‘ servances of military life, devised more for the purpose of
‘ keeping the men employed, than of instructing them in any
‘ branch of their profession. When officers or soldiers are not
‘ required for actual duty, let them have as much liberty as
‘ possible. Soldiers are treated far too much as children ; treat
‘ them as grown-up men, and they will behave as such. Let
‘ them have every facility for the lawful exercise of all their
‘ talents and mental or bodily powers. Let them, if acquaint-
‘ ed with handicraft trades, pursue those trades, if they feel
‘ inclined to do so, and whenever they are able. Let them,
‘ if fond of gardening, garden ; or if fond of acting, let them
‘ rehearse plays ; if fond of reading, let them read ; but
‘ let them not be driven to any of these so called recrea-
‘ tions, as to a task, because some few of them may chance
‘ to like it. We would always advocate freedom of action,
‘ as far as is consistent with the exigencies of the state. We
‘ would make all officers and soldiers, when on duty, do their
‘ duty ;—and let them, when not on duty, do in all respects
‘ what any other man may do. We might carry out this ar-
‘ gument very much further, but that we fear the time has not
‘ yet come for it. We doubt even, whether we carry with
‘ us, as far as we have now ventured, the favourable opinion of
‘ many of our military readers ; but we feel convinced that,
‘ till soldiers are treated more as human beings, and less
‘ as military puppets, drunkenness and all its train of at-
‘ tendant evils will not be put down. How are we in
‘ India to get rid of the monotony that hangs over Indian
‘ life, and in particular, Indian barrack life, which saps the
‘ energy and spirit of the bravest and most enterprising
‘ men ? When the monotony of the daily drill is added to this,
‘ who can be surprised at the results evolved by it ? Some men
‘ are constitutionally formed to like this kind of monotonous
‘ existence. We feel that this must be the case ; for otherwise the
‘ military advocate for the eternal round of puppet-show parade,
‘ would not be able to point to some model men in his estima-
‘ tion, whose souls are moulded on the pattern of a parade ground,
‘ and who never felt dull care in all their lives. The reason
‘ is plain, that these few exceptions to the rule are in their
‘ proper element ; their mental faculties, such as they are, are in
‘ full occupation ; and healthful exercise they have sufficient of ;
‘ such men are thus placed in the situations physically best

‘ adapted to them. But, neither mentally nor morally, are these
 ‘ men better than their more mercurial companions, who pine
 ‘ for what they are denied, and, in their idle hours of irksome-
 ‘ ness, seek the solace of strong liquors, to the prejudice of dis-
 ‘ cipline and order, and the injury and ruin of their health.
 ‘ Man, whether in the upper or lower walks of life, must, to
 ‘ enjoy happiness, have the means of exercising such mental
 ‘ and bodily functions, as he is endowed with. This is the true
 ‘ philosophy of life; and, without this liberty of action, all other
 ‘ things are positive sources of pain and misery to us. When
 ‘ ignorant men are checked in the natural exercise of their
 ‘ bodily or mental powers, they seek for the means of gratify-
 ‘ ing their lower propensities or appetites; and, liquor being
 ‘ universally cheap in India, it is readily procured by them to
 ‘ their own destruction. Nor are vile and worthless characters
 ‘ wanting to aid the tempter’s work and to stimulate a crav-
 ‘ ing for liquor, in order that they may thereby reap an
 ‘ unhallowed harvest by the illicit sale of the poisonous com-
 ‘ pound.”*

Where it is impossible to provide out-of-doors employment and recreation, all the year round, from the want of proper shelter, afforded by trees, or by the shady side of a high wall or building, it would at least be practicable during the cold season, from October to March, at all stations. We cannot see why European soldiers might not spend their leisure time in (for instance) laying out a public garden, with carriage drives *round*, but not *through*, it;—a work, which would be a lasting benefit to the station, and might be well pointed out to succeeding corps, to serve as a stimulus for further industry and enterprise, in improving upon the original plan. We would, however, go even further than this. We think that, if a Railroad were in the course of being constructed within a reasonable distance of any of our large military stations, at which European soldiers are located, a very large number of volunteers would be found in every regiment, who would feel it a privilege to be allowed to shoulder a pickaxe or spade, and assist in throwing up the embankments of a great national undertaking, that may, in after years, be a far more glorious military monument of what had been achieved by the British soldier in India, than all that has been engraved on marble urn, or mural tablet. A horde of Goths and barbarians may invade and *conquer* a country, but it is only a civilized nation that can *improve* it; and the first great

* *Bengal Hurkaru*, June 17th.

is the opening out of its resources, and making communication perfect, by means of roads, canals, and navigable rivers.

But, until these truths can be impressed upon the minds of those, who have the power and authority to act in remodelling our present defective system of maintaining a gigantic peace-army in idleness and sloth, we must be content to be looked upon as visionaries, and to hear our plan ridiculed as Utopian and impossible. Without the co-operation of the officers of a regiment, we well know that we are undertaking the labour of Sisyphus: and that any scheme—whether for the improvement of the men, or the education of their children—whether it be to procure health or recreation—to establish a “soldier’s garden” or regimental work-shops—will necessarily fall to the ground, if the commandant and his officers take no interest in the matter. It cannot be expected that the men will take the initiative, if ridicule and satire from their superiors are to be brought to bear against them. The French have long set us an example in this matter well worthy of imitation: and Napoleon’s opinion of the value of his corps of Pioneers and Sappers was never lessened, or detracted from, by any of the most brilliant deeds of “the old guard.”

In the native army of this country, where there is all the difficulty of caste and prejudice to be overcome, we find sepoys of as high caste, and as well disposed to fight, in the ranks of the “Sappers* and Miners,” as in any other regiment of the line. These men will “pile arms,” and commence trundling a wheel-barrow, or digging a trench, without feeling that, on that account, they are in the slightest degree less efficient as soldiers, or less honoured by their brothers and relatives in other regiments. And so with our Europeans;—we would by all means scout the idea, that the men of Worcestershire and Kent, the sturdy Hibernian, and long enduring Scot, are only called upon to handle the spade, while engaged in the trenches before an enemy’s fort. Why should field-labour, in which hundreds of our troops have been engaged up to the hour of their enlisting, and the value of which is so universally admitted and felt in all military operations, be no longer practised, because “pipe-clay and drill, say—No?” The miscellaneous duties, that our British sailors are called upon to perform, and *do* perform with alacrity and good will, have never proved an impediment to rigid discipline, on the one hand, or efficient manœuvring of their ships on the other; and yet the Nile and Trafalgar

* We have seen a company of that splendid corps, with thirty-five Brahmins in its ranks, working at a road with hearty good will.

stand out as brightly on the page of history as Waterloo or Badajoz.

We are glad to see this subject taken up in an earnest manner by an officer of many years standing in the service, Lieut. Colonel J. S. Hodgson, of the 12th Bengal N. I., who has recently given to the world, a small pamphlet under the title of *Military Musings*. Many of the author's data and suggestions are the fruits of actual experience during his residence in India; and, from his knowledge how soldiers may be led and governed by energetic men, who will set the example, as well as give the order, his arguments in favour of "Camps of Exercise" being formed every successive cold season, are entitled to more than a mere passing notice. We are convinced that, as a sanatory measure alone, the experiment would be attended with great benefit; and we hope to see it fairly and fully tried. But we shall let Colonel Hodgson speak for himself;—

"That apathy, which characterises the British subject in India, were it the national trait, would speedily bring Great Britain, now the foremost nation of the world, into the same scale with Spain and Portugal.

"The endurance of military toil, in all its forms, is comprehended in a soldier's duties. He should be accustomed to do all those things, which appertain to military service, in tropical, as well as in temperate, climates. His physical capacities are not unequal to their performance. This is a fact which experience has well authenticated.

"The plan of military labour is intended to apply equally to the European soldier: for it would be invidious, and unjust in the extreme, to exempt him from those military toils exacted from the native soldiers.

"The time of the European soldier in India is not sufficiently employed. The numberless courts martial amply substantiate this fact. The crimes are those attendant upon his over-feeding, and almost listless state of existence. Both his mind and his body are left comparatively without exercise. The common drudgeries of the service are all performed by "sepahis." The European soldier is kept in such luxurious indolence, that it merely requires the addition of a palanquin to each soldier's stock of necessaries, to render the picture graphic and complete. In the West Indies, far more work is exacted of him, to the vast improvement of his health and character. British seamen work with equal moral and physical energy in tropical harbours, as in those of more temperate latitude; and the value of such labour and exercise is perceptible in their preservation of health, and cheerful spirits, with a pro-

‘ portionate absence of crime. The exhaustion in India is
 ‘ more a mental, than a physical, prostration : and both are
 ‘ quite susceptible of vigorous preservation by a judicious use
 ‘ of those faculties, which nature has bestowed on man.

“ Many of the early campaigns of the Indian army were
 ‘ made in the rains and hot months ; and yet the troops, both
 ‘ European and Native, kept their health in a remarkable
 ‘ degree. Sickness was almost unknown ; the soldiers had not
 ‘ time to be sick. The battle of Plassey was fought in June :
 ‘ the campaign in Guzerat, extending over a period of six
 ‘ years, was carried on during all seasons of the year : the same
 ‘ may be said of the Mysore campaign from 1790 to 1793.

“ Seringapatam was carried by assault in the month of May.
 ‘ The campaign of 1813, against the Mahrattas, opened in the
 ‘ rainy season, and continued throughout, with the most bril-
 ‘ liant results. The campaign in Java (1811) was carried on
 ‘ with success during the most unhealthy season of the year.
 ‘ These facts, together with a variety of others all equally well
 ‘ authenticated, are conclusive that, so long as the mind and
 ‘ body are kept actively employed, there exists every reasonable
 ‘ hope of the general health of soldiers continuing good and
 ‘ undisturbed—though exposed to all the dangers of a tropical
 ‘ climate during the most inclement seasons of the year. It is
 ‘ more than probable, that the troops, which served in the above
 ‘ enumerated campaigns, would have experienced a far greater
 ‘ mortality, had they been subjected to the slothful effects of a
 ‘ cantonment or barrack life, than they did from actual con-
 ‘ flict with the enemy in the field. Greater objection is antici-
 ‘ pated by the author to his plan from the European than
 ‘ from the Native. The realization of such objects must un-
 ‘ questionably entail personal trouble ; and personal trouble is
 ‘ abhorrent to an extent in this country, which would, if more
 ‘ generally known, excite the derision of our fellow subjects
 ‘ in Europe.

“ There is but a very small portion of energy exerted in
 ‘ resisting the enfeebling effects of *example*—the writer will not
 ‘ say, *climate* ; for he believes that a trifling amount of mental
 ‘ vigour, only properly brought to bear, is always sufficient to
 ‘ modify, if not ward off, its stealthy approach.

“ Common sense cannot acquiesce in the assumption of an
 ‘ impracticability, where no attempt is made to ascertain its
 ‘ feasibility. The exclamation of “ what a bore ! ” appears to be
 ‘ the general anathema, whenever duty is required. Perhaps
 ‘ there is no army, in which less duty is exacted of its officers,
 ‘ than from those of the Native regiments of the Indian army.

“ This system of military labour in time of peace can only be
 ‘ put into energetic and effective train by the cordial zeal
 ‘ and patriotism of the European Officers. Its adoption
 ‘ will give a noble impulse to the native soldier; tend,
 ‘ by the diffusion of a patriotic motive, to strengthen and se-
 ‘ cure the British Empire in the East; and redound to the
 ‘ imperishable honor of the native army of India. Surely
 ‘ these are momentous national considerations, not unworthy
 ‘ the ambition of British officers.

“ In carrying out a system of military labour, distinct camps
 ‘ of exercise might be formed, and separate portions of work
 ‘ allotted to the different divisions, to be effected under the
 ‘ scientific supervision of the proper officers. By this arrange-
 ‘ ment, a spirit of ardour and emulation would obviously be
 ‘ excited and fostered.”

We are fully aware that there would be an outcry raised at first on the bare mention of European soldiers working in a tropical climate. There would be a cry of “ *coolies*,” “ *slaves*,” “ *convicts* :” but the outcry would come from those, who have either paid the subject of the “ mortality of our troops in India,” no attention, or who, from ignorance and prejudice, look upon the very idea of change or improvement, as embodying something revolutionary and destructive. To such we would beg to quote the words of one, whose writings will probably outlive those of most of his co-temporaries, and whose energy and perseverance enabled him to overcome all opposition, because his heart was in the work. Dr. Arnold says :—

“ There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing
 ‘ so unnatural and so convulsive to society, as the strain to
 ‘ keep things *fixed*, when all the world is, by the very law of
 ‘ its creation, in eternal *progress* ; and the cause of all the evils
 ‘ in the world may be traced to that natural, but most deadly
 ‘ error of human indolence and corruption—that our business
 ‘ is to *preserve*, and not to *improve*. It is the ruin of us all
 ‘ alike, individuals, schools, and nations.”

From the returns of six of H. M. regiments, serving in the same presidency, who have arrived in this country within the last eight years, we find that the average of mortality amongst the officers is one in every regiment yearly, and the average number arriving with each regiment was $37\frac{3}{4}$. Taking the aggregate of the whole number in the six regiments, viz., 226, this gives less than three per cent. as the yearly ratio of deaths amongst European officers, which tallies exactly with the number we before quoted from Dr. Hutchinson’s tables “ of 29

in 1,000 for all tropical stations, where British troops are stationed."

With civilians, the average mortality is $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent: but with the European private, the mortality is from five to seven per cent. How is this great difference caused? It is not from exposure: for the habits of our military officers, their fondness for field sports, their visiting the mess house or billiard table at all hours, their attendance at Committees and Courts, cause them to be much more exposed to the climate, than either the civilian in his "*Kasheri*," or the soldier in his barrack. It is not from work or duty; for here the occupant of a barrack is almost wholly exempt, whilst the civilian is more engaged than his military brother. Is not the cause to be found in the absence of employment, or recreation, and the want of variety and novelty? Would not this be the verdict, if the civilian, instead of the military officer, were compelled to experience a twelve months' trial of barrack-life in India. The author of the papers, *On the European soldier*, which we have before quoted, extends the necessity of change and variety, even to the daily rations served out to the troops: while he allows that these are liberal in quantity and of wholesome quality, he insists that the system of admitting no variation, during the twelve months, is a bad one, and productive of much that requires to be corrected. The "*toujours perdrix*" is more easily tolerated by the human stomach in England, than in this country: and every one, who has experienced the horrors of a daily grilled "*Múrghi*," while making a long "*dák*" trip, can imagine, that 365 rations of stewed beef in the year would be by no means an improvement.

The necessity of a variety in the daily meal is now not only admitted, but enforced in all our Indian jails—vegetables either being supplied two days in the week, or rice served out instead of "*atta*," on Sundays. The argument, though quaintly put by the writer, has sound sense to recommend it, and we therefore give it as it stands.

"Our military readers will be aware, that an uniform table of daily rations has been established for the European troops of the three presidencies, being the same at all stations and seasons, and on the same scale, as is allowed for Her Majesty's soldiers in Jamaica, with the addition thereto, of firewood and salt granted gratis. The rations are as follows:—

"One pound of bread per man.

"One pound of meat per man.

"Four ounces of rice per man.

"One and two-seventh ounces of sugar per man.

“ Five ounces of tea amongst every seven men.

“ Three pounds of firewood per man.

“ One chittack of salt per man.

“ It is provided that in every instance, when the actual cost to Government of the rations above specified (fuel being supplied gratis) shall fall short of the actual stoppage of three annas and four pie per day, the soldiers shall be entitled to receive the difference back from Government through the Commissariat. This difference in the month usually amounts to ten annas, and sometimes even to a rupee. Taking a month of thirty days, the cost of a man's rations, supposing that a rupee is returned to him, would be five rupees, five annas, and four pie. These rations are not, however, valued so highly by the men. We have heard that, in the case of a man drawing rations, and messing with other men, entitled to draw “ dry batta,” and who consequently receive no rations, his rations are only taken as an equivalent to four rupees, which shows the value put upon them. Queen's troops, coming from home, like their Indian rations, and consider them to be superior to those served out at home; and recent arrivals will often make no objections to receive supplies, which would be rejected by older stagers in India. There is nothing, therefore, to be objected to, in the scale of rations laid down, nor to the Government system; unless we suppose that an old hand in India could provide himself with a better meal, at a cheaper rate, than is provided by Government. It is not probable, that any one would be able to retail the small quantities of rice, tea, sugar, or salt at a cheaper rate, than they can be supplied by the Commissariat. The same may also be said of the bread, which must be baked in large quantities. We suspect, therefore, that it is the meat, which is considered to lower the general value of the rations; and it is very possible that its invariable nature adds weight to this objection. In Bengal, the meat served out is invariably “ beef,”—not exactly the roast beef of old England, but a very lean and tough representative of it. The ‘lean kine of Pharoah’ would appear fat, in comparison with those which are frequently slaughtered. It is extraordinary, how beef is associated with British soldiers of all times. Learned authorities might be quoted to show, that, from the earliest days, all our great battles have been won per force of British beef. There is a good story told of the Duke of Marlborough's cook, who invited the French Marshal's cook to dine with him, in return for a grand entertainment given by the

‘ Frenchman. This latter had all the extraordinary dishes that
 ‘ his country’s art could invent; the Englishman was unable
 ‘ to excel him in this respect, and placed on the table nothing
 ‘ but a plain sirloin of beef and a plum pudding. “Sir,” said
 ‘ the Frenchman, “this is so uncommon a dish, that I did not
 ‘ expect any thing like it.” “Very likely Monsieur,” replied
 ‘ Mr. Bull; “but this is a dish for an Englishman to be proud
 ‘ of: it has carried my countrymen twice through France already,
 ‘ and I don’t doubt, but that it will do so again.”

‘ “Whatever credence we may give to this story, which is just
 ‘ as likely to have originated in a little quiet satire of the primitive
 ‘ mode of cooking practised by the English, and their
 ‘ contempt for their more scientific opponents in the art of
 ‘ ‘gastronomic,’ the practice of administering to English soldiers
 ‘ pretty severe doses of a tough substance, called beef, has
 ‘ continued to this day. Our readers must not suppose, that
 ‘ the beef is usually roast. A kind of stew with vegetables is
 ‘ the more usual mode of cooking; but we are not inclined to
 ‘ recommend this dish to any one for 365 days of the year.
 ‘ Let our readers, who are inclined to doubt our notions of
 ‘ this matter, try this ration of beef for a year or two continually.
 ‘ Is there no surgeon, or assistant surgeon, of sufficient
 ‘ resolution, to adventure on the task of this experiment, and
 ‘ to try in his own proper person its effects? We can fancy
 ‘ him exclaiming:—

“O dura messorum ilia!”

‘ and forswearing beef for ever after.

‘ “When we really come to consider this question gravely, it
 ‘ must appear, that the constant sameness of this food is injurious
 ‘ to the men: and we know that, in consequence of this opinion, *dry*
 ‘ *batta* is very often much preferred by the old soldier. It is
 ‘ esteemed a privilege to be allowed to draw *dry batta*, instead of
 ‘ receiving rations; and, if we are correctly informed, it has frequently
 ‘ been applied for and refused. Some men considered
 ‘ their ration of beef, as comparatively good for nothing!

‘ “We must not tire the patience of our readers: for, if these articles
 ‘ are to be of any service in pointing out what is objectionable,
 ‘ we feel they must be short and to the point: but we must
 ‘ make room for a little support from our old friend Fergusson.
 ‘ He says, that although our soldiers’ ration is abundant and
 ‘ expensive, yet we seem to have overlooked a great physiological
 ‘ principle, and that is, the natural appetite for change and
 ‘ variety. “It is ever the same; and no man, even if he will,

‘ can be satisfied with this.” His stomach and digestive organs will be heard in their own cause ; and, if they be not attended to, their owner will fly to alcohol in solace of their disappointment.

“ How this unvaried meal has continued so long in vogue, it is difficult to say. Most of those, who have the power to change it, see not its ill effects : and some feel a difficulty in meddling with a part of ‘ a system.’ It is, indeed, a system, which ruins the health of many a poor soldier. We only wonder how they stand it—tough beef and new rum taken daily *ad-libitum* ! What better *recipe* could we have for chronic dysentery ? Could it be worse, if soldiers were contracted for in each regiment, at so much per head, for any available man kept fit for duty, of a given height and weight ? This would give a soldier the same chance as a horse, or an elephant, or an ass, which animals, both in diet, clothes, and exercise, are often more scientifically treated, than our men ! But seriously, would not the Chinese system of paying the doctor, according to the health of the men, be better than the present ? Not that we wish to blame either commanders, or medical officers, for the system of the day : they have found it as it is ; and very few commanding officers have either will or power to change it. They have grown grey with the idea, that soldiers are different animals from civilians ; and, though they may compare soldiers of one nation or one time, with those of another, yet they seldom ever think, that soldiers can either think, eat, dress, or act as other human beings about them.”*

We might extend the subject much further, and furnish melancholy details of the mortality amongst the children of our European soldiery. The same causes, viz., impure air, bad water, improper food, confinement to the barrack, want of amusement or employment, tell with ten-fold power upon the offspring, whether born, under such adverse circumstances, of sickly parents, or experiencing such a change in their habits and mode of life, on arriving in this country.

Taking the returns of two regiments, that reached India last year, we find, that in one there have been born 44 children, of whom, at the end of the fifteenth month, there are only 29 surviving, shewing a loss of 27 per cent. within the *first year*.

In another regiment, 52 children have been born within fourteen months, of whom 32 have died in the same period,

* *Bengal Hurharu*, June 21st, 1850.

giving a ratio of mortality equal to 33 per cent. during the first twelve month of their life in India.

In another case, taking the children born in England or on board ship, who arrived with the regiment in India, eight years ago, out of 159 (the original number) no less than 112 have perished. Of the remaining 47, how few, in all probability, will grow to manhood! Hence we see that, whether we take 100 children imported from England, born of healthy parents, or 100 children born of the same parties within the first year of their arrival in India, still the melancholy result is the same—proving, beyond all doubt or question, the system of barrack life amongst our European soldiery in this country to be totally unfavorable to colonization.

This will be seen still more clearly by the following table, shewing the respective ages of the survivors of 261 children born in one regiment, since landing in India 8 years ago :—

From	7	to	8	Years of age	4	} 113 Surviving.
"	6	to	7	" "	8	
"	5	to	6	" "	13	
"	4	to	5	" "	15	
"	3	to	4	" "	20	
"	2	to	3	" "	15	
Under	2			" "	38	
Died						148
Total in Eight years.....						261 Births

It would be interesting to know what number of children, born of European soldiers in India, ever return to England; and what is the proportion, in a regiment of those, who, under the most favourable circumstances, attain the age of 21. Many of the deaths necessarily must be attributed to the loss of the mother, during infancy or childhood; and it is gratifying to know that there is now an Asylum in the Hills, which, from the admirable care and superintendence exercised over those, whose cause we are pleading—the children and orphans of European soldiers serving in India—affords the best, if not the only true, insurance of life and health, to a large class, who, with claims upon every one of us, have been hitherto sadly forgotten and neglected.

By a late report we observe that the juvenile inmates of the *Lawrence Asylum* amount to 136, of which number nearly

half are under ten years of age, as will be seen in the statement following:—

Sex.	Entire Orphans.	Fatherless.	Motherless.	Having both Parents.	Above 10 y'rs of Age	Under 10 y'rs of Age	Of pure E'n Parentage.	Of Mixed Parentage.	Protestants.	Roman Catholics.	Total number in the Schools.
Boys....	25	24	14	13	37	39	64	12	70	6	76
Girls....	22	18	6	14	29	31	41	19	59	1	60
Totals ..	47	42	20	27	66	70	105	31	129	7	136

When it is remembered that, out of this number, four-fifths have lost either one or both parents, and may therefore reasonably be supposed to have suffered in some degree in their health, for want of that care and attention, which, it is rightly considered, none but a parent can bestow—the value of the Institution, and its admirable locality as a sanatorium, may be judged of, on learning that only *two* deaths have occurred since the commencement in April 1847, and these were cases of children, who had been only “a few weeks in the Asylum, and who arrived in a state of disease.”*

What a far different result is shewn to be the case in the Lower Orphan School of Calcutta, where the deaths are stated to be one in fifteen;† and how is it that the officers of the Company's Service do not advocate its removal to the hills?

It may appear surprising that length of residence does not appear to acclimatize, or confer a greater degree of immunity from disease in India. By returns of the several ages, at which death occurs in this country, it is found, that among the young civilians arriving in India, the ratio per cent. of deaths during the first year's residence may be stated to be 1.95

During the 2nd year's residence	2.35
„ 3rd „ „	2.00
„ 4th „ „	2.20

* Second Report of the Lawrence Asylum for the orphan and other children of European soldiers, serving or having served in India. Sunawur near Kussowlie, 1850.

† Article by H. T. Prinsep, Esq., on the mortality for ages and births of Indo-Britons in the Orphan School, Calcutta, during 40 years.—*Asiatic Society's Journal*, September, 1838.

Here we see that, tracing the same individuals through four successive years of residence, the liability to mortality is on the whole augmenting.

The same result will be arrived at with regard to military officers, who generally reach this country at about the same age—viz., from eighteen to twenty. From perusing the valuable tables furnished in Major Tulloch's Parliamentary Reports, we find that the mortality amongst Ensigns (youths recently arrived) is 23 per 1,000.

Lieuts, at least three years longer resident..... 27 per 1,000
Captains, twelve to thirteen years longer 34 „ „

And so on, in a corresponding proportion with the higher grades. Out of 1,184 deaths among regimental officers of the Bengal army, the following is the proportion occurring annually in each rank, and at each age :—

	Colonels, aver- age age 61.	Lieut. Colo- nels, average age 51.	Majors, aver- age age 40.	Captains, aver- age age 36.	Lieutenants, average age 25 to 30.	Ensigns, aver- age age 18 to 25.
Died annually per 1,000 of each class	59.4	48.4	41.0	34.5	27.5	23.4

The mortality amongst the civil servants for a period of forty-six years—from 1790 to 1836, exhibits almost precisely the same results, viz :—

	Age above 50 and service over 30 years.	Age 40 to 50. Service 25 to 30.	Age 40 to 45. Service 20 to 25.	Age 35 to 40. Service 15 to 20.	Age 25 to 30. Service 5 to 10.
Died annually per 1,000 of each class. }	48.6	36.4	35.4	23.4	20.8

In the six European regiments before alluded to, as serving at present in India, and from which very interesting “returns” afford much valuable information touching the “stations at which located;” the time spent in tents, and on the march, campaign or field service; the number of men invalided, and dead; the recruits that have joined, since the arrival of the regiments in India, and the number now effective of the original strength, the casualties by cholera or other diseases,

&c., &c., we learn, that the average age of the privates is as follows:—

No. of Regiment.		Date of Arrival.		In September, 1851.
In the	1st	Arrival in India	1842	The average age is 32
"	2nd	"	1842	" 26½
"	3rd	"	1846	" 26½
"	4th	"	1846	" 26¾
"	5th	"	1849	" 26¼
"	6th	"	1849	" 24
Mean of the whole number in six regiments is—26.96				

This table shews a very close approximation in each regiment: and, in the first, in which the average age of the men stands as high as thirty-two, it should be explained, that in no other corps has there been such a heavy mortality. Of 1,035, who originally landed with the regiment eight years ago, no less than 649 have died, of whom 400 were cut off within thirteen months only! The youngest seem to have been the principal victims.

We might conclude here, without branching out further into details, though the subject is by no means exhausted; but must find room for one more extract from the *Medico-Chirurgical Review*;—

" We have said enough, we think, to show that among the causes of disease, which tend to keep up a high rate of mortality among the European residents in tropical climates, the greater number are readily preventible, either by the direct remedial measures, which the civil and military authorities have it in their power to apply, or by the individual self-regulation, which they have it greatly in their power to encourage; and we would urge upon them, therefore, in the strongest manner, that wherever the returns show an unusually high rate, not imputable to the transient influence of an epidemic, they enquire into its causes, and endeavour to remedy them, instead of quietly setting it aside as an inevitable result.

" We have seen what has been the efficacy of such remedies at Hong Kong and at Bellary, and we trust soon to have an equally favourable result at Secunderabad. Can nothing be done for Barrackpore, to remedy the fearful mortality to

‘ which every regiment stationed there seems liable? Look at the sad details of this station.

“ The 3rd Native Infantry, stationed for three years at Mynpúri, lost twenty-six men out of an average strength of 753; during three years at Barrackpore, out of an average strength of 865, it lost 283 men.

“ The 57th regiment, when stationed at Benares, lost in three years thirty-five men, out of an average strength of 749; during three years at Barrackpore, out of an average strength of 892, it lost 240 men.

“ The 58th Native Infantry, stationed at Jumaulpore, lost in three years twenty-four men; during the next three years, at Barrackpore, it lost 208 men.” *p. 95.*

Here are three different regiments, which at three remote stations, during a period embracing nine years, only lost an aggregate of eighty-five men out of 2,253; but, when stationed at Barrackpore, the aggregate loss was increased to 731 out of 2,636. The great difference between the stations, in calculating the percentage of mortality, will be best seen by putting it into a Tabular form; thus:—

Regiment.	Where Stationed	Numerical Strength.	Loss in 3 years.	Per centage in 3 years.	Annual per centage of mortality.	Where Stationed	Numerical strength.	Loss in 3 years.	Percentage in 3 years.	Annual per centage of mortality.
3rd	Mynpoorie.	753	26	3	1	Barrackpore...	865	283	27 $\frac{3}{4}$	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
57th	Benares ..	749	35	4 $\frac{2}{3}$	1 $\frac{1}{3}$	Barrackpore...	892	240	27	9
58th	Jumaulpore	751	2	3 $\frac{1}{3}$	1	Barrackpore...	879	208	23 $\frac{3}{4}$	8
	Aggregate..	2253	85		1		2636	731		8 $\frac{3}{4}$

“ We have not the slightest doubt that this fearful rate of mortality is in great part dependent upon removable causes. How heavy a responsibility rests, therefore, upon those, who have not merely every facility for investigating them, but the absolute power of removing them, when discovered. No considerations of expense ought to prevent the recourse to the most efficacious means for the prevention of disease, that it may be possible to devise; since, to say nothing of other considerations, there can be no doubt that, whether the direct pecuniary economy of sanitary reform will prove as great

‘ among a civil population, as its more sanguine advocates maintain, every rupee judiciously laid out in improving the accommodation, drainage, water-supply, &c., of such of our troops, as are posted in tropical stations, will be repaid over and over again—in the diminution of all the expences, consequent upon the continual replacement of such individuals as die, or are invalided—upon the loss of effective force occasioned by the constant presence of a large amount of sickness, and upon the frequent removal from station to station—which last measure is at present required to diminish the destructive effects of the most unhealthy stations upon the troops stationed there, or, at any rate, to distribute them over a large number, and thus to equalize them, instead of letting them fall for any length of time upon one corps. How much has been done in this respect in the navy, is known to every one. The current statement, that three ships may now be kept afloat with the number of men that were formerly required for two, is not, we believe, in the least exaggerated.

“ It was in a great degree through the sagacity of Sir Gilbert Blanc, that those improvements were devised, and through his perseverance, that they were effected, which turned a ship of war from the floating hospital, which it too frequently was, into the healthful residence, which it may now, under judicious management, be considered. Much has been done in the army in the same direction, chiefly owing to the corresponding sagacity and perseverance of Dr. Robert Jackson; but much still remains to be done; and we are certain that, if the military authorities would order an investigation, by competent inquiries, into the condition of every station reputed to be unhealthy, and would seriously set themselves to think, not how *little* they *need* do, but how *much* they *can* do, to remove the causes of disease, which will then be disclosed to them, they will soon be rewarded by such diminution in the amount of sickness and mortality, as shall most amply demonstrate the capacity of the European soldier, for health and longevity in any stations, but such as are located in the midst of pernicious exhalations, whose influence no sagacity or prudence can avert.

“ But here, as in many other instances, we have to complain of the very small degree of attention, which has been too frequently given to medical representations by the civil and military authorities. There is scarcely a page of Dr. Mackinnon’s work, which does not bear testimony to the justice of this complaint.

“ It is not merely of their apathy, that the medical officer

‘ has to complain. It is too frequently the case that the attempt to draw attention to the imperfection of the existing barrack accommodation, sanitary regulation, &c., causes the medical man to be regarded as a troublesome meddler, and becomes a bar to his advancement, instead of being considered (as it most assuredly should be) an evidence of his intelligence and zeal. ‘ It has been suggested to me by a friend,’ says Dr. Mackinnon, ‘ that my remarks, regarding public health and the sanitary regulations existing in this country, are too freely spoken. I cannot think so ; for I describe things as they are ; and it ought not to be displeasing to a great, just and benevolent government to know the truth. In other parts of his work, he gives every credit to the Supreme Government for its desire to promote sanitary improvements, but laments the want of co-operation among the subordinate officials.’—*British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review*.

The authorities, referred to in the preceding paragraph, cannot even shelter themselves under the plea, “ Am I my brother’s keeper ? ” We entreat them to remember, that their position involves responsibilities on this head ; that the commission they hold, and the pay they receive, bind them as honest men to do faithfully the work that is before them. And let those who are labouring in the good cause, and are discouraged and discountenanced, remember that there is a day coming when the faithful steward will be very surely distinguished from the slothful one : and with this assurance let them not “ be weary in well-doing.” Their efforts may seem fruitless ; but let them remember

“ Not all, who seem to fail, have failed indeed ;
 “ Not all, who fail, have therefore toiled in vain.”

The importance of the subject must be our excuse for the length and the frequency of our extracts. We desire not to be original, but to be useful ;—we care not to cry up any set of men or opinions, or to run down others. We are neither exclusively medical, military, nor civil in our views. We simply advocate common sense, and the golden rule of doing as we would be done by. Government and individuals have dearly bought the knowledge, that dissipation and malaria, foul air and foul water, cause death. Let us only benefit by past experience, and, as is the duty of a great government, act *not* impulsively and by starts, but—as sensible men do, when they act for themselves—examine and enquire deliberately and *impartially*, and then act decidedly and honestly. We hope to return to the subject.

ART. III.—*The Times News-paper*: London. 1851.

DEPLORABLE as the ignorance and the indifference of both Houses of Parliament may be upon matters connected with India, and opposed as the views of parties have hitherto always been, when the question of the general administration of the Anglo-Indian empire was under discussion, it is consolatory to reflect, that on two important points there has ever been, and now is, wonderful unanimity of opinion. A Bright may indeed declaim, both truthfully and well, upon the irresponsibility of that indefinite complex mosaic, formed by the India Board, the India House, and the East India Stock proprietors—may show how such a tessellated, discordant, non-organized aggregation of distinct and independent bodies baffles and eludes investigation, and renders responsibility less than nominal—that this want of simplicity of structure and concrete form produces the great fault of the home Indian Government, namely “that you can never place your hands upon it;” that the mover of the question, not perfectly convenient, or perhaps not quite agreeable, to any one of the three constituent (but not co-operative) bodies of the London Indian Government, very quickly finds himself, Sancho like, on the blanket, manned at the corners, not only by “quelques drapiers de Segovie et des Fripiers de Cordoue,” but also by higher functionaries of the East, as well as of the West, who prove, however, both high and low, “tous bons compagnons, et gens deliberez, qui pousséz d’un mesme esprit,” make their unfortunate Sancho cut capers in the air, until they are weary of their amusement; when they charitably replace him, “ou ils l’avoient pris, c’est-à-dire, sur son ane”—that needless secrecy, and objectionable unprofitable mystery are the characteristics of such a system—and, to use his own simile, weary of this game of thimble rig, a Bright may even go the length of saying “Let them get rid of the Board of Controul and the Court of Directors, and have a Government, which would be responsible to Parliament for conducting the affairs of a great country like India.” But he never dreams of demanding either of two things, a representative form of Government for the millions of India, or the transfer of the home branch of the Indian administration to the overworked and inefficient Colonial Office. These are points, in which he agrees with Whig and Tory; neither of whom, whether in or out of office, have ever advocated a representative form of Government for our eastern subjects, or sought to add to the weight of responsibility, which al-

ready overtaxes the energies and breaks the back of the ill-fated well-badgered Colonial Secretary. From various motives, men of all shades of opinion and of all sections of political parties, however widely differing in their views upon the efficiency of the existing system, or the necessity for its thorough reorganization, thus assent to two most important particulars;—first, that India cannot be considered, and is not, ripe for self-government; and secondly, that this great Empire, in the home branch of its administration, requires an establishment, separate and distinct from that under which the colonies of the crown are governed, and thoroughly efficient for the performance of the high responsible duties with which it is charged. These uncontested universally received admissions, once set forth and carefully kept in view, remove, not only at the outset of our inquiry, but afterwards in the course of more advanced progress along the path of investigation, many doubts and not a few difficulties. Regarded as axioms, these two admissions lie at the foundation of all that has been, or can be, written on the subject of our rule in India: and, whatever the superstructure to be raised on this basis, there is an evident advantage in clearly understanding, that there is no necessity, either to prove, or specially to advert to such well established propositions:—it would be a waste of the time and patience of the reader.

In thus assuming two most important facts, as axioms of universal acceptation, it does not, however, follow as an inevitable consequence, that the subversion of all native Governments, the destruction of native States and Rulers, and the thorough extinction of all elements for the natural and gradual development of institutions in harmony with the habits, feelings, and state of civilization of the millions of India, are to be regarded as no hardship on the native races. Foreign domination must ever be a hardship: and, the more marked the difference in the language, creed, character and civilization of the dominant race, the more severely, because on a greater variety of points, will the yoke press upon the necks of those, on whom it has been imposed by conquest. It cannot but galling them in a thousand ways: and Peel evinced a statesman-like apprehension of truth, when, in connection with our rule in India and the welfare and contentment of its vast population, he, early in his career, urged it to be our duty “to atone to ‘them for the sufferings they endured, and the wrongs to which ‘they were exposed, in being reduced to that rule; and to afford ‘them such advantages and confer on them such benefits, as ‘may, in some degree, console them for the loss of their independence.” It may suit the purpose of a panegyrist His-

torian,* circulated by the Court of Directors throughout India, to endeavour to invalidate the wisdom and acumen displayed in these remarks, by drawing a very exaggerated contrast between the beneficence of British rule and the cruelty and oppression of native tyranny. It may also not be impolitic on the part of a Secretary† in the Foreign Department, to array the vices of Muhammadan princes, the instability of their sway, and the evils, which the Moslem rule entailed upon the country, now under the milder and more intelligent supremacy of a Christian power:—but such pictures, as the latter author has given, though tolerably truthful and correct so far as they reach, by no means shake or controvert the views of Peel. At the utmost, they show that, to a certain degree, greater in intention than in effect, our administration has evinced a disposition to study the welfare and prosperity of the conquered masses, over whom its supremacy had been established, and from whom the revenue for the maintenance of that supremacy was to be derived. But it is not in human nature, that gratitude for minor self-respective benefits should have the power to quench the hate of foreign dominion, still less to render the burthen of a foreign yoke tolerably agreeable. To argue in this manner would betray such an oversight and neglect of the deep, ineradicable principles of human nature, as could only be reasonably ascribed, either to very gross ignorance and an utter inexperience of men, or to a blind, self-interested desire to ignore the existence of feelings inseparable from man's nature. No one, thoroughly conversant with the secret political history of India, even during the last ten years, will have been able to close his eyes to facts, which, at times, brought uncomfortable evidence of our real position in India—proving that, however laudable were many of the intentions of the British Government towards the dusky millions under its sway, it had neither struck root into the feelings, nor into the affections or confidence of the people, whom it had enjoyed the opportunity of most effectively befriending; and that, on the contrary, their sympathies were in unison with the hopes and wishes of the discontented classes, whom our rule and system has cast into poverty and insignificance, and whose hostility is only the deeper and more heart-corroding, from the necessity for suppressing and concealing its ebullitions.

Granting all that can, with any truth, be alleged of the superior integrity, the more impartial justice, the higher intelligence, the more perfect organization, the greater security to

* Thornton.

† Elliot.

person and property, which characterize British supremacy—and granting that our debt of fifty millions (a considerable part of which is owed to chiefs, who, in times of financial embarrassment, were rather compulsorily induced to advance large sums on the security of Company's paper, and to rich natives) enlists a certain number in favour of the permanence of our power;—these admissions do not warrant the assumption, that our rule is popular; that our institutions harmonize with the temper and habits of the people; that the higher classes are at ease, contented with their position, and well disposed towards those, who have superseded them in the management of the country. The case is notoriously the reverse of all this. Any check to our arms—any reverse, such as the memorable one at Kábul—or even any at all doubtful and resultless battles, such as Hardinge and Gough fought with the Sikhs—prove at once, how quaky are the foundations of the Anglo-Indian empire. However much the panegyrists of its beneficent character may feel inclined to indulge in laudatory declamation upon the hold, it is acquiring of the minds and feelings of the people, of the respect and affection they bear towards a power, distinguished by a mild and conciliatory exercise of authority—these self-administered gratulations must be taken at nothing more than they are worth, unless it be wished, at some critical period, to rue the confidence placed in rhodomontades. On such an occasion, the ruler, who built on these illusions, would soon be taught, that, over large tracts, not the faintest echo responsive of such feelings reverberated from the breasts of the people; that, where most favourably disposed, the cultivators, the village communities, which form the great mass of the population, entertain but a passive feeling of favour towards their European masters; and that anything like an active, spontaneous outburst of loyal sympathy, in support of our administration, is alike foreign to the character and habits of the class, and to the depth of good will entertained towards our rule.

How is it possible that matters should be otherwise? Up to the present time, whether willingly, or unwillingly does not much affect the question, encroachment and conquest have been the distinctive attributes of the Anglo-Indian Government. Chief after chief, state after state, have been subdued; until, with the exception of a few subordinate isolated principalities, whose prolonged existence is felt to be a pure act of grace, the whole of India, in its entire length and breadth, has submitted to our authority. An Empire, won thus rapidly by the sword, cannot, however much it may be desiderated by the conquer-

ing race, at once efface the remembrance of its origin, or easily conceal the conditions of its existence. The imposition of a few ephemeral institutions, modelled upon the exemplars of a high Western civilization, and to which the spirit of Eastern manners has not, as yet, had time to adapt itself, only bring into stronger and more violent relief the antagonistic moral and intellectual states of the ruled and rulers. Speak to well-informed natives, by which designation we do not mean English-crammed Babús of Calcutta, but men of experience and observation among the chiefs and people, at a distance from the immediate circles of the Presidencies, and from such, enquire their views and opinions of our power. Will they dwell on our system of jurisprudence, on the purity of our courts, on the knowledge and impartiality of the Company's judges and subordinate ministerial officers, upon the lightness of our revenue assessments, and the great public roads and canals of irrigation, which either have been constructed, or are in course of construction? Not one in a thousand will allude to any of these things: but they will say that we are masters in the art of war; that discipline and military organization were unknown, prior to the advent of the British; that our military institutions are incomparable, and by native states inimitable:—they will add too, that truth, as compared with themselves, is sacred among Englishmen; and that we are faithful to our engagements. The generosity, the justice, the beneficence of the British rule, an Englishman is disappointed to find, are generally left to his own suggestion as topics: and he learns speedily that, however he may have flattered his imagination on the subject of our paternal sway, the sword, in the minds of chiefs and people, is the symbol of the Anglo-Indian dominion; that its nine pounders are the orators, who have, up to the present time, spoken most intelligibly to the people: and that, although our general character for truthfulness and good faith is acknowledged, all the hallucinations, as to gratitude for comparative security of person and property, respect for integrity and impartiality, are mere moonshine—and that too, faint of day, a complimentary reflection from his own suggestive inquiries and questions.

Public feeling will, of course, vary; for some parts of India were rescued by the British arms from a state fast verging on anarchy; and in such portions of the country, the memory of those evil days, even where not fresh, has not, as yet, been altogether worn out:—but, though it has been our alleged policy everywhere studiously to defend the rights of the ryot, and put down all tyranny or oppression practised upon the people; and we have, therefore, in some degree,

taught the latter to look to us as disposed to be the defenders of the poor, and to arbitrate equitably between the weak and the powerful, yet in so doing, we have alienated a large and very influential class, without, at the same time, supplanting them in the hold, which, from similarity of language, habits, and sometimes creed, they still maintain over the minds and feelings of the masses. We have struck little root in the lower strata of native society; though, on the whole, the best feeling towards us is to be found there: but the great distance between those classes and ourselves, and the intervention of classes decidedly hostile, who intercept, neutralize, and distort the current of action between the British functionary and the populace, weaken extremely, where they do not succeed in annihilating, the bonds of sympathy, confidence, and good will, which might otherwise already have attained to some strength in our older provinces.

This may not be a flattering representation of the position, we occupy in India; but it is a natural consequence of the rapid, all-crushing energy of our sweep to supremacy, and of our state, as a highly civilized, conquering race, having little in common with the conquered, and separated from, and raised above, them by language, creed, morals, manners, and the affluence derived from the subdued. There has not been the time or the opportunity for the rise and spread of a class of impressions, resulting from wise, liberal, unselfish, legislative measures, and from the operations and the blessings of continued peace. Providence may, indeed, reserve for the Anglo-Saxon race, the honour of stereotyping such impressions ultimately on the minds and hearts of the heterogeneous millions of India: but, under this supposition, our rulers will not further or expedite the attainment of the great end of their mission in the East, by ignoring the realities of their present position, and by colouring to their fancy the actual feelings of the native community. Renowned as conquerors, and not unknown as tax-gatherers, it would not be wise to count, as yet, on having realized any great capital of popularity. The Anglo-Saxon in India moves upon the surface; darkness is upon the face of the deep beneath him; and it remains to be seen, whether he will be given that spirit and wisdom, which can alone enable him to form, enlighten, and mould into a higher state of moral, intellectual, and physical civilization, the chaotic mass of people—aye, of nations—which acknowledge his supremacy.

Nor can the warmest admirers of our present system deem it strange, that our popularity should be rated so moderately, if, descending from generalities, they consider in some detail one of the main features of the Anglo-Indian administration. The

gross revenue raised from the empire, is now stated to amount to Twenty-seven and a half millions sterling; and, if the military expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary, is assumed, in times of peace, to be Ten millions sterling (a state of war adding about Two millions more), and the civil expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary, to be also about Ten millions sterling—the estimate will be nearly correct, and yields a total of civil and military expenditure, amounting, under ordinary circumstances, to at least Twenty millions sterling. From this estimate are excluded extraordinary grants, whether on account of public works, such as are in contemplation, if not already actually assigned, for the Ganges canal and Punjab works of irrigation, or on account of donations to the army, and a war scale of staff and analogous expenses; for such incidental charges have but a partial bearing on the subject in view. Here then is a customary gross expenditure, for the ordinary administration of the country, of Twenty millions sterling per annum, out of which, it will be interesting and useful to ascertain what portion is paid to the native, and what to the European, functionaries. This can only be done approximately; but still with sufficient accuracy to answer all practical purposes.

By reference, therefore, to financial reports, it may be easily calculated, that, if one third of the civil expenditure be allotted to the covenanted and uncovenanted European officers, and the remaining two thirds assigned to the native establishments and the departmental contingent expenses of all kinds, such proportions will not be far from the distribution, which actually attains, in the disposal of the Ten millions on account of the civil administration. When the salaries and Durbar expenses of Governors-General, and Governors—of Queen's law courts,—and of the political charges of the Government of India, are included, Three and a half millions, and even upwards, may be allowed as the cost of European agency. Nearly the same proportion holds good in the Military Department, where one third of the Ten millions may be assigned, as the amount disbursed, on account of staff and European officers of the armies; one third to the non-commissioned officers and privates, native and European, including regimental establishments; and the remaining third may be allotted to the Commissariat and other expenses. To be within the mark, it may thus be safely stated that, out of an expenditure of Twenty millions sterling, Six millions eight hundred thousand is the annual disbursement for the European agency, civil and military, employed in the Anglo-Indian empire. As upwards of Three millions (usually near upon three and a quarter millions) go to the home charges, it may be fairly stated that, out of a gross revenue of Twenty-seven mil-

lions, Ten millions, directly, or indirectly, but mostly directly, are paid into the hands of the Europeans connected with India. For the present, however, attention may be confined to the distribution of the Twenty millions, annually spent on the civil and military administration—this being the disbursement, to which the minds of the native community are most alive;—the home charges being a mystery, scarce known, and, where heard of, not understood, by any but a few of the most intelligent natives.

For the Civil Departments, the Six and a half millions, expended on the subordinate native agency, are spread over such an immense surface of country, and among such a host of petty instruments, forming the working machinery of the judicial, police, revenue, and other civil, branches, that, though the sum be large, yet there is nothing invidious in this portion of the outlay. The machinery in question must, under any circumstances, either wholly or in part, whether we, or any one else, ruled the country, be maintained: and, therefore, though much greater than would be thus expended under a purely native administration, yet, as the expenditure is disbursed among the people, it attracts little covetous notice. But the case is different with regard to the distribution of the Three and a half millions to the European civil functionaries; *that*, the higher classes and the more intelligent natives feel, would all have flowed into their own hands, were the Government not in ours; and, accordingly, it is this part of our system, which excites both most observation and most ill-will among the aspiring.

Although nearly a similar amount is expended among the European officers of the army, yet, as their numbers are very much greater and their individual receipts moderate, besides that the outlay is evidently an inevitable necessity on the part of the conquering race, that won, and has to keep, the country by the sword—the distribution is neither so disproportionate in appearance, nor so obnoxious to the envy, and offensive to the pride of those classes, who deem themselves defrauded, by our intervention, of the large portion of the revenue absorbed by the European agency. In the one case, they see Three and a half millions distributed among a class, very limited in numbers, not amounting to two thousand for all India, which enjoys the monopoly of all posts of trust and power, and which, if an average were struck on the total of civil employés, covenanted and uncovenanted, costs the state £1,750 annually for each man of the favoured body. Whilst, in the other case, the Three millions and three hundred thousand present few prizes; and, being scattered amongst upwards of 8,000 persons, make the average cost of each European military officer a trifle upwards

of £412 per annum, that is, not one fourth of the average of each European civil functionary. Hence the very different feelings which, as objects of invidious remark, the two services excite.

In reality the disparity is greater than that which the foregoing averages show—the number of covenanted Civil Servants of the Company being only about 800 for all India. Striking an average upon the receipts of the Civil Service, as indicated in Bengal by the amount of the annual subscriptions to the Civil Service annuity fund, levied at the rate of four per cent. on all public allowances, the cost of each is upwards of £1,500 per annum; but this, for many reasons, which it is needless here to detail, is not, in consequence of omissions, a correct average upon the mere covenanted Civil Servants of the Company; and, of course, it wholly omits the larger class of civil appointments, such as Governors, Lieut-Governors, Members of Council, Queen's Judges, and the like. The average, therefore, of £1,750 per annum is not only under the mark, but, from the actual distribution of the Three and a half millions, and the marked distinction made between the covenanted and the uncovenanted branches of the service in their respective scales of emolument, is not an accurate exponent of the real difference of footing, on which the favoured service appears in the eyes of the native community. It is true, that, by act of Parliament, the highest offices are open to all: but, though the law Imperial impose no disabilities, the law Directorial of patronage is in complete antagonism to the act of Parliament in this respect; and, practically, a native cannot hope for anything higher than to be admitted to compete with the European uncovenanted servants for the charges of Amín, and Sudder Amín. Sir J. W. Hogg, when boasting that there were native judicial officers in the receipt of £600, £700, and £800 a year, forgot to specify how many native functionaries were in the receipt of such salaries, and what proportion their numbers bore to the European uncovenanted servants in such positions. The House of Commons, from the speech of Sir J. W. Hogg, were left at liberty to come to the conclusion (and, indeed, reported as the speech is, could not very well arrive at any other) that the whole of this class of appointments were in the hands of natives; a palpable fallacy. Moreover, what did the boast in reality reveal, but, that after many years of labour and the continuous exhibition of much ability and integrity, a native, if fortunate, may hope to attain to such a scale of emoluments, as an inexperienced, and at first incompetent, youth of the Civil Service at once enjoys upon landing in India? It was tantamount to a declaration on the part of the

deputy chairman of the Court of Directors, that the highest reward for eminent judicial ability and integrity on the part of a native was the remote chance of some day obtaining a position, in which such distinguished conduct would be remunerated on a scale of not quite one half the average cost of each European member of the civil administration. How few ever succeed in reaching this culminating point of native ambition, is notorious in India: and hence, not only is there a deep feeling pervading the higher and more respectable classes, who recoil from the thought of years of drudgery in our offices, with such faint prospects of ultimate advancement, but a similar vein of discontent prevails among those of a lower class, who do enter our offices; are formed there; upon whom all the real heavy work of the civil administration falls; and who find, after long years of toil, that the service has for themselves but niggardly rewards, and that the posts of respectability and emolument, available to a large, and, on the whole, a meritorious class of competitors, are very few. The very men, raised by our system from a state of indigence to one of usefulness and influence, are often the most bitter, because the most severely disappointed in their aspirations. They are not a whit less hostile, as a body, than the humiliated gentry, nor less disposed to set the people against the British rule, to play upon their prejudices, foster ill-founded apprehensions, and foment a malignant discontent, whenever occasion serves. All this, their knowledge of our system, our isolation from the people, and their own intervention as the chief chain of connection between ruled and rulers, enables them to do effectually when so disposed. We shall hereafter show that this is not a visionary idea, but borne out by facts.

The European reader of these pages will scarcely apprehend the extent of the disparity upon which we have dwelt, and the effects which it must inevitably produce, unless, first bearing in mind the general condition of the people, he at the same time has presented to him the *status* of the ruling few. He must bear in mind, that the great mass of the population consists of the agricultural classes; and that, even where the Muhammadan population shows a considerable ratio to the Hindu, as in the North Western Provinces, and where the country is dotted with a fair proportion of large cities and good-sized towns, besides large cantonments of troops, the simple village communities vastly preponderate. Thus, by the census of the N. W. P., taken in 1848, the agricultural classes are rated at 14,724,233, whilst the non-agricultural classes amount only to 8,475,435. In other parts of India, the agricultural classes would yield a

much greater excess over the non-agriculturists; for in the N. W. P., out of a population of 23,199,668, as many as 3,747,022 are Mussalmans; of whom 2,150,745 are non-agriculturists. Now, if the favourable assumption be made, that Government only takes one fourth of the gross produce of the land, and the average produce may be calculated as giving a return of 24s. per acre; 18s. remain to the cultivator to cover all the charges of raising, reaping, and disposing of the crops, besides the clear profit, or rent, on which himself and family are to subsist. Adopting, for example, the Cawnpore statistics, the proprietors, a class numbering 16,542, average 78 acres each: and therefore this, the most wealthy class, consisting of the landed gentry, under the supposition that the whole estates were under cultivation, which is a fallacy, would average a gross receipt of £70 per annum, out of which, when the expenses of cultivation are deducted, the net rent, or profit received by the proprietors, will scarcely average more than one third, or from £23 to £30 per annum. When we come to the 61,000 hereditary tenants, averaging 6 acres each, and 35,000 tenants at will, averaging 4 acres each, the former large class will have an average gross return from the land of £5-8 per annum, and the latter £3-12 per annum, out of which the proprietor's rent must be paid, the land-tillage charges met, and the tenant maintain himself and his family. Mr. Montgomery, in a note at page 39, averages the cultivation, for reasons assigned, at only 3 acres per cultivator; but, as our object is to present the most favourable view that the subject admits, although not at all doubting the accuracy of Mr. Montgomery's average, we prefer adhering to the somewhat higher ratios above given. Sutherland assumes £4-19 as the total produce per annum of a cultivator; from which, if one fourth be taken as the Government revenue demand, there will remain £3-14-3, which nearly tallies with our lower average. Considering that the census gives an average of six persons to each house, which is probably about the mark, for the agricultural classes, the foregoing yearly incomes of hereditary tenants and of tenants at will are extremely small, and even those of the proprietors but slightly raised above pauperism. Perhaps, a fairer view of the condition of the people may be derived from a general average struck upon the

7,54,818 acres at 18s.	13,586,724
53,411 „ „ 24s.	1,281,864
	<hr/>
Giving a total of	14,868,588
	<hr/>
For the maintenance of	5,83,460

agriculturists, and the cost of cultivation;—or an average of somewhat less than £1-5-6 annually per head, to cover tillage charges and support of individuals connected with the land. The Cawnpore district is selected, because it is a productive one, has the advantage of considerable towns, a large cantonment, good markets, both in the district itself, and in its neighbourhood, as at Lucknow; has been some time under our management; and because its statistics have lately been ably set forth. It may therefore be taken as a fair sample; and though every province in India would vary in the average thus struck, yet a mean of the whole would not, in our opinion, deviate far from the result, derived from the authoritatively printed Cawnpore statistics, of 2s. 1½d. monthly per head of population.

The questions of our different modes of levying the land revenue, and of the weight, or lightness of our assessments, are not here under consideration: and we are perfectly well aware that an average, thus struck, necessarily gives a more favourable general result, than that corresponding with the actual condition of a people—for it throws out of consideration the partial accumulation of wealth, and, with a communistic sweep, levels all ranks, conditions, ages, and sexes, to one standard. Such a standard, evidently fallacious, if specially applied to individual cases, is, however, useful as a general exponent, or sign of the state of a people; and the reader, when casting his eye down the subjoined scale of civil functionaries, should bear in mind the scale of civilization among agricultural millions, corresponding with a condition where, after deduction of the Government demand of a fourth, that vast population averages per head a gross return from the land of 2s. 1½d. Under such circumstances, civilization could not be expected, even were the religion and the manners of the people other than they are, to attain any very exalted degree: and that which prevails, namely, a system of agricultural village communities, whose internal organization is perfectly simple, thoroughly efficient, moulded by and adapted to the means, religion, and habits of the pauper masses, would seem to be the only one suited to the existing condition of the people. Whether or not our civil establishments are not pitched at too high a scale, with reference to the wants of a community, which has only reached to such a stage of civilization, may be matter for after consideration: but that, which is now required, is, that, realizing to himself the actual condition of the many millions of India, as indicated by the foregoing observations, the reader picture to himself the relative positions of the ruled and rulers, and the degree of intercourse likely to subsist between a small class of very highly paid foreigners, dropped

by our system like king Logs amid the multitude, and separated from them, not alone as being the isolated recipients of power and affluence, but also by the more formidable barriers of creed, of language, and of the highly artificial civilization of the West—which is in such violent contrast with the patriarchal simplicity pervading the life and manners of a poor, labouring Eastern people. What Sir Thomas Munro wrote to Canning in 1823, is still but too true. “By not coming to India you have escaped the irksome task of toiling daily through heaps of heavy long drawn papers. I never had a very high opinion of our records; but it was not until my last return, that I knew that they contained such a mass of useless trash. Every man writes as much as he can, and quotes Montesquieu and Hume and Adam Smith, and speaks as if we were living in a country, where people were free and governed themselves. Most of their papers might have been written by men, who were never out of England, and their projects are nearly as applicable to that country as to India.” Though our records in the course of eight and twenty years have, at any rate in the Bengal Presidency, been materially improved, and, Hume and Montesquieu being out of fashion, data have been accumulated, upon which some degree of reliance can be placed—still the habit of speaking and writing, with reference to India, as if it had attained a wholly different stage of civilization from that which it presents, is but too prevalent. The education, language, and ideas of the English gentleman, often most unintentionally on his part, travesty eastern matters, and convey false impressions of the actual conditions of the dusky millions under our rule. The press too, essentially representing only the European portion of the community, and representing it too but partially, being chiefly restricted to the subjects of local interest at the Presidency capitals, has not tended to correct so much, as might otherwise have been the case, this habit of viewing our Eastern subjects through the distorting medium of a pair of English spectacles. Perhaps, therefore, the very matter of-fact-point of view of what, on the general average, each head of the agricultural population is *worth* per annum, may enable our English readers more truthfully to realize the state of the people, as compared with that of their rulers, than any more elaborate description which we could have attempted. “What is he worth?” is a thoroughly English mode of measuring a man; but as a mode of gauging the general condition of a people, it is of less objectionable application than in the case of individuals. Keeping therefore the six-

pence-a-week millions in mind, let the eye run down the following list for Bengal alone:—

}	Governor-General of India	Rs. 250,800	0	0
	Chief Justice.....	83,347	2	0
2	Puisne Judges, each	62,510	4	0
4	Members of Council, each	160,320	0	0
5	Judges of Sudder Dewani Adawlut, average each	52,200	0	0
2	Members of Sudder Board of Revenue, ditto ...	52,200	0	0
3	Members of Board of Customs Salt and Opium, average each	52,200	0	0
4	Political Employment, average each	50,000	0	0
4	Secretaries to Government, ditto	52,200	0	0
2	Opium Agents, ditto.....	42,000	0	0
9	Revenue and Abkari Commissioners, at an average each of.....	38,000	0	0
30	Judges, at an average each	30,000	0	0
45	Collectors and Magistrates, at salaries of from...	38,000	0	0
	To.....	28,000	0	0
	And ...	12,000	0	0
9	Miscellaneous Appointments, varying from	28,800	0	0
	To.....	15,000	0	0
22	Additional Collectors, Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors, from.....	12,000	0	0
	To.....	8,400	0	0
2	Secretaries to Boards	30,000	0	0
1	Register	30,000	0	0
35	Assistants, at	6,600	0	0
	To.....	4,800	0	0

Deputation allowances are omitted.

We add, by way of contrast with the above, the scale of salaries in the Uncovenanted Branch of the Civil Service, as set forth in the Finance Committee's Report in 1843, since which time, however, there have been some modifications, which would slightly alter the averages struck on the data afforded by the tables appended to the report of the Committee. The following scale of salaries appears to us a very proper one, and would be so considered by the members themselves of this branch of the service, were it not for the violent contrast with the preceding one, which invites invidious comparisons.

UNCOVENANTED SERVICE.

36 Principal Sudder Amins averaging each	5,228	0	0
30 Sudder Amins, ditto.....	3,060	0	0
217 Munsiffs, ditto	1,344	0	0
134 Uncovenanted Deputy Collectors, ditto	3,516	0	0

With the exception of the few, though not insignificant, appointments heading the list, which, being Crown patronage, are bracketed together, all the rest are the routine grades of the Civil Service; a service, of which it has been justly observed,

that its members are all sure of prizes. When the eye runs down this list, which only includes Bengal Proper, and omits the Agra, Madras, and Bombay Presidencies, the full value of this one branch of the patronage of the Court of Directors can be estimated, and their jealousy of any infringements of its privileges can be easily understood. It is a most noble patrimony for a corporate body of twenty-four self-elected gentlemen to monopolize: and well may their sons, nephews, and cousins bear them gratitude for sending them into a vineyard, hedged and guarded with such extreme solicitude. The fact is, that, under this system, the Government of India is in the hands of a few families, all more or less connected by intermarriages, and all having their roots in the Court of Directors. All therefore have a common interest in the *statu quo*; and all are, not only banded together, but also linked with the Directors of the E. I. Company, by every tie, which can foster sympathy and create unity of purpose. To avoid any approach to personality, we abstain from tracing out the web of a few families, which, like a capacious net, embraces no small share of India; in so doing, however, we forego what would prove equally amusing and instructive to our readers, and would cast much light upon points, not otherwise easily comprehensible. But, although it is in our power to give a succinct sketch of the snug family groups, into which the Anglo-Indian civil administration, in great measure, resolves itself, as the general statement answers every purpose, without giving offence to many good and able servants, there is no need to inflict the pain of such a dissection. Illustrative of the fact however, may be instanced the advice, which a lamented dignitary of the Church gave to a young man starting on his career. "My dear Sir, in society in India it is never safe to express any opinion upon the conduct, public, or private, of any member of the services; for the chances are infinite that you are talking to his relative or connexion; and remarks, innocent in intention, may in consequence give offence, and create mischief." The advice was excellent: but the truth, upon which it is based, has a far higher bearing than that of warning a youth from making enemies; viewed with regard to the internal administration of India, it lays bare the root of much that is unsound and calls for amendment, but which cannot be expected to meet with reform under the existing system.

This radical defect, in what may be termed the organization of the service, pervades all its branches to an extent often but little suspected. It is, however, most conspicuously prevalent in the more favoured and lucrative civil line. The defect is not surprising, for it is a natural consequence of a century of rule.

under the present, or a slightly modified, Directorial patronage, which of course instinctively flows in set channels. It is an evil of the greatest magnitude and of the most noxious practical working, and, in our opinion, of far more importance than the mere economical question of the emoluments of the Civil Service.

With respect to emoluments, the salaries, when contrasted with the general condition of the people, are enormously disproportioned; and, when compared with the scale of salaries, which attains in England, appear extravagantly high. There can be no doubt that, under another system and a less close monopoly of patronage, the work could be as well done at a cheaper rate: yet, with respect to some of the salaries, we are of opinion that it would be impolitic to reduce them. Where a high order of ability and much experience are required, it is sound economy to remunerate them well, and bad economy to pare them down;—the saving being an insignificant item in the balance sheet of India, and holding no proportion to its deteriorating effect on the hopes and exertions of those ambitious to rise. There is, however, a large class, in which reduction might, with advantage, be carried into effect: for the general run of the salaries is pitched at too high a scale, and have thus given a false ratio, on account of which the subordinate native and uncovenanted functionaries, measuring their own work and emoluments, are too apt to feel deeply discontented. So long as unnecessarily high salaries are maintained as *unapproachable* objects of invidious comparison, this discontent has always a show of reason: and the existence of two such scales of salaries, as those of the covenanted and uncovenanted services, both really blended in work together, but the maximum emoluments of the one pitched at the minimum, or entrance, retainer of the other, is an anomaly very repulsive to able servants. Few but those, who have had the opportunity of watching the effect upon the general service of the state produced by excessive salaries in any one branch, can appreciate the unfavourable influence they exercise, not alone on the other branches of the public service, but also upon the Government itself, which, with one such established scale of reference, is often constrained to comply with the conventional ideas it has fostered, and is thus forced into unnecessary expenses. This sort of action and reaction tend to increase and perpetuate the evil.

Several successive Governors-General appear to have been convinced of the expediency of remedying such a state of affairs, and endeavoured to introduce reforms; but where were they to find instruments to carry out their views? Financial Committees, composed of those interested, perhaps sometimes unconsci-

ously, in defeating the very objects for which they are assembled, are, in their results, very like some of Lord John Russell's late Parliamentary Committees—expert at neutralizing: for they are sure of the warm sympathies of their brethren of the services, and equally so of paternal approval, though covert, on the part of the Directors. Here then is a subject, which it is notorious, that a Governor-General cannot at present deal with;—one of those matters of administrative principle, which can only be successfully and properly handled at home and by Parliament, taking scrupulous care, however, that, if done in Committee, or before Parliamentary Commissioners, there be no suspicion of Leadenhall-street influence. No other authority can effectually grapple with this thorny subject: and, if Parliament or its Commissioners lean on the Court of Directors, they will inevitably be misled, and all *real* Financial reform frustrated.

Lord William Bentinck in 1828, 1829, 1830, at a considerable expense and trouble, had a Finance Committee at work. What were the results? Between the Commission themselves, and the Court of Directors, his contemplated reforms were reduced to a minimum—it might be said completely emasculated—and in that very branch of the service, which in his opinion needed the most pruning and setting in order. Baffled in one direction, he had recourse to the expedient of employing military men, as a cheaper, and, when properly selected, an equally efficient, civil machinery. But there are limits to this resource, and moreover, it is one to which the Court of Directors, naturally enough, have a most jealous aversion. Contenting himself, therefore, with what he could effect without very violent opposition in this track, he also broke ground in the extended employment of natives and of uncovenanted servants. How unpalatable all this was to his Honorable masters, may be seen by reading their special advocates, and in particular, their own historian, Thornton.

Lord Auckland made a few more encroachments; but he received a lesson, as to the spirit such measures would evoke among the Directors, when he made Captain Carpenter, Deputy Collector and Joint Magistrate of Benares. This officer had been retained with the Ex-Rajah of Coorg; and the Governor-General, thinking to turn a sinecurist into a useful servant, and to give aid to the over-burthened Magistrate of Benares, hazarded the experiment of investing Captain Carpenter with subordinate magisterial powers. Lord Auckland soon learnt his error. The Court of Directors had made no difficulty in approving of the measures carried out in 1838 against the Amirs of Scinde, or of those which, under the Russophobia,

were undertaken against Herat and Dost Muhammad Khan: but these were very different acts from trenching on *the* prerogative. The latter was a far more hazardous and delicate transaction—one in short, that could not be tolerated: so, the arrangement was *disapproved*, and the Governor-General ordered immediately to cancel the appointment, *in no very considerate or complimentary manner*.

The results of Lord Ellenborough's Finance Committees are well known. No one at all conversant with the former ones ever for an instant anticipated, that even his energy and his avowed indifference to Directorial interests, could overcome or alter the truly conservative spirit of his Committees. Both were therefore laborious mummeries: but they are said to have caused no small alarm in Leadenhall-street, and, in conjunction with some special acts of severity, and his disregard of the doctrine, since promulgated and acted upon, that the high political appointments—the few prizes in that department—are the indefeasible right of the Civil Service, are generally believed to have excited the violent animosity, which was displayed by the Court of Directors. We are of opinion that the latter body might safely have viewed the assembly of the Finance Committees with the profoundest tranquillity and equanimity. It needed no prophetic gift to foresee and foretell their fruits;—Nothing!

Neither Lord Hardinge, nor Lord Dalhousie can be charged with having lost sight of politic respect, both for their own interests, and for a partiality, pardonable enough (as human nature is constituted) on the part of their masters. Both saw the sore, and have avoided getting into an unprofitable conflict by probing it. The consequence has been a harmony, but seldom disturbed. Lord Dalhousie may act as he fancies with respect to the Koh-i-núr, or any other booty; he may leave India to be governed, as it may, whilst he makes Thibet his head quarters; he may thus virtually abdicate the charge conferred upon him by his two masters, the Crown and the Court of Directors; but he knows well, that all this is of little importance, provided he abstains from giving a shock to the nervous system of the old lady (as some natives take her to be) of Leadenhall-street. A few gentle passes over her revered head, along her trunk, and down to her very extremities, suffice to put her into a pleasant trance; and the good creature will then remain in a state of comatose insensibility to all the proceedings of “our Governor-General.” But let him only pinch a toe of his patient—touch one of the members of the favoured service, or their salaries—and the counterpass will not only send a shock through the cor-

porate body in India, but to the very brains of the neuralgic system in the India House. Farewell then to accord, and to the ægis of Hogg! Here then, we have no hesitation to repeat, in the revision and reform of the general scale of civil salaries, is scope for Parliamentary Commissioners. They alone are competent to deal with the matter in an independent manner.

We have before stated, however, that we regard the mere economical measure of a reduction of salaries, as of purely secondary importance. Wisely carried into effect, it would be a beneficial measure; and, if accompanied, either by the extension of the uncovenanted service, or the amalgamation of the two now distinct branches into one, would enable the State, at the same, or a reduced, cost, to provide a magistracy, numerous enough for the wants of the population, and, therefore, calculated to render the check and supervision of our police and judicial establishments much more efficient than at present.

A question of higher importance to the permanent welfare of India, appears to be, whether the patronage of the Court of Directors should be continued to them, after the expiration of the Charter—to be exercised in the same manner and under the same conditions as at present. Those most hostile to the Court of Directors will probably make no difficulty in conceding that, provided the basis, from which the patronage emanates, were expanded, they have no objection to the class or stratum of society, out of which the recruits for the Civil and Military Services of India are drawn. The qualities required are active habits, proper feeling, intelligence and education; but these should be combined with as much independence from the fictitious wants of a highly artificial state of Western civilization as possible. There should be a union of superior intelligence with simplicity of habits and character; the natives of India are equally repelled by either extreme. What to them wears the air of a supercilious exquisite refinement, is as foreign to their comprehension and as repellent to their feelings, as some of the coarse vices of our lower grades are disgusting to their ideas of propriety. Now, we know no class, which is likely to furnish more promising instruments for a vigorous Anglo-Indian administration, than the class of gentlemen, from whose families they are at present in great measure drawn—families, which are neither too poor to be able to afford their children a good sound education and to instil into them the necessity for exertion and self-dependence; nor too rich, so that their sons escape exposure to the insidious action of a home training in the lap of affluence and luxury, and, from the first, form moderate views and expectations. Holding this opinion, we should regret, for the sake of

India, to see the patronage pass into hands, which would disseminate it differently ; with whom the acquisition of Parliamentary influence and support being the rule, all else must be subordinated to that primordial exigency. Such disposers of patronage would probably dip both higher and lower in the strata of English society for their Indian recruits, than the stratum, from which they are usually derived ; but it may be doubted, whether the service would be benefitted by this ; in fact, it is pretty certain, that it would be deteriorated. We hold therefore to the continuance of the great mass of the Indian patronage in the hands of the body of East India Directors ;—but neither of such limited numbers, nor of so anomalous a constitution and position, as they are at present.

The best commentary upon the truth and good sense, which characterized some of Mr. Bright's remarks in the debate on Mr. Anstey's East India motion, was lately afforded by the debate in the House of Lords upon the Punjab booty question. We should compliment ourselves on the fact, that India had actually been the subject of two debates in that august assembly, were it not that a doubt may be reasonably entertained, whether the motions on Indian affairs in the Upper House, since Mr. Anstey's in the House of Commons, may not be fairly ascribed to the imperative necessity, under which the Peers laboured, of carving out work for themselves. To assemble, day after day, in their gorgeous hall to do nothing, except to exhibit the spectacle of the hereditary legislators awaiting work from their masters, the Lower House, was dreadfully undignified and humiliating. Evidently too, there was no hope of this state of torpor being invaded ; for the Commons were still floundering through the swamps of the Ecclesiastical Title Bill, and the life of their session was otherwise paralysed by the flickering animation of an expiring Government. All the world were as busy as bees about the Exhibition ; and foreigners, after a good look at Paxton's Crystal Palace, would probably peep into the gold-bedecked hall at Westminster. It was a hard case ; something must be done for the credit of the house ; so Lord Wharncliffe, honest man, hit on the *pis aller* of Indian public works, and expatiated with the usual share of Parliamentary ignorance, upon a topic on which he knew that his audience were as profoundly ignorant as himself. Hobhouse, as Lord Broughton, proved his own intimate acquaintance with the subject, by chiming in harmoniously with all that had been said laudatory of the East India Directors, and by talking wisely of the Eastern and Western *Jungle* canals. This afforded Lord Ellenborough an opportunity to announce his very heterodox views respecting

the several merits of tank and canal irrigation, and to touch on roads—rail and plain—and cotton. The latter Peer, however, with more “*actuality*” (to use the Press term for hitting off topics of momentary interest) than Lord Wharncliffe, had already conceived, that, as every body went to see the Koh-i-nûr, the question “how it came there;” might have a general, as well as a specific, interest. Though unpalatable to the Court of Directors, it was certainly admirably calculated to give an additional zest to the pleasure of the Exhibition-visiting world—the mystery enveloping its change of hands being quite as enigmatical as Chubb’s Sensitive Case. Whether that brilliant be an exemplar of the precision of our political sense of ‘*meum*’ and ‘*tuum*’ in the affairs of Indian Princes, does not so much interest us at present; but, from the ventilation of such questions, as Lords Wharncliffe and Ellenborough mooted, collateral questions, often of the deepest importance, arise and are discussed: and one such turned up in the course of the booty debate, which deserves notice in connection with the matter we have in hand.

Mr. Bright’s observation, upon the difficulty of laying your hand on the Indian Government, was curiously exemplified. Lord Broughton designated the Court of Directors, as respecting India, Trustees for the Crown: whilst, on the other hand, the Duke of Wellington argued that the Governor General is the representative of the Crown. The latter was indubitably nearest the mark, in point of fact, though not in point of law. But, as representative of the Crown, and therefore the fountain head of justice—the one person, to whom both India and England are entitled to look for independence of thought and impartiality of judgment and action—the one person, upon whose fearless and unbiassed exercise of these attributes, the purity of the Anglo-Indian administration rests—how is a Governor-General placed with reference to his other masters, the Court of Directors, who, as the parents or patrons of the office holders in India, are keenly affected by any economical reforms, or acts of a remedial or punitive character, which the Governor-General may deem it essential to carry into effect? His authority is, by act of Parliament, subjected to the *durante bene placito* of the very body, counter to whose sympathies and interests it may frequently be his imperative duty to act. No one will be inclined to judge very severely, or to expect more from noblemen or commoners thus circumstanced, than may be reasonably anticipated with respect to the average amount of principle, which pervades political men of the day: but it is nevertheless essential to mark one of the most glaring defects of the exist-

ing system, and to point out, that as you can seldom hope that either noblemen or commoners of wealth and independence will, from motives of pure benevolence, quit the arena, on which their talents have gained them political weight and distinction, in order to exile themselves to rule in India; so, it behoves the legislature, calculating on the circumstances of the average description of Governors-General they are likely to obtain, to place these men, on whom depends ultimately the general character, which our Anglo-Indian administration is to maintain, in a position, in which independence of thought and action shall be secured to them with as anxious a jealousy, as that evinced by our British constitution for the thorough integrity and independence of the bench of Judges. If it be advisable that the Judges in England shall not hold their commissions, *durante bene placito* of the Crown, how far more essentially necessary, that a Governor-General, the representative, like the Judges, of the highest attributes of the Crown, shall not hold his commission, *durante bene placito* of a corporate body of twenty-four gentlemen, themselves wholly irresponsible, but whose sons, nephews, and connections form the machinery of that administration, for the purity and efficiency of which he is held responsible by the Crown and by his country? As well might we, in England, invest those, whose private interests and parental feelings are sure to be affected by a Judge's decrees, with the privilege of issuing authoritative opinions upon that Judge's decisions, and with the authority of stripping him of his ermine at their pleasure. This anomaly, the fruitful source of much of the mal-administration and needless extravagance which exists, lies at the root of the existing system. It is indefensible in theory, and incalculably evil in practice, subjecting the many millions of India, to the really irresponsible Government of a limited and not wealthy class, consisting chiefly of the numerous members of a few families, with no interest in the country, other than that of obtaining as high salaries as they can whilst there, and of leaving it with their thousand a year pension, and accretions from savings, as soon as they possibly can. The tendency of such a system is to render the interests of the few, all in all. The interests of the many are attended to, so far as subserves the interests of the few, and no further.

Fortunately, the force of home public opinion being appreciable even in India, and the service so eminently desirable, the few have, on the whole, been most laudably anxious to fulfil their duty with talent and integrity. The faults, with few individual exceptions, have been, and are, rather

those of the system than of the particular instruments: but the result is, that there has been but little progress; the Indian community of nations has stood still—the silent, but not unobservant, witnesses of the (to them) phantasmagoric entrances and exits of the functionaries, forming the well paid pageant of our civil administration. It is to be presumed, that an arrangement so preposterous and in such violent antagonism to every sound principle of constitutional legislation, will not be permitted to continue: and that, as the remedy of this radical evil is as easy as it is essential, the Court of Directors will be forced to part, either with their patronage, which they would be very loath to do, or with that unrestricted power of recall, which, with the view of rendering Governors subservient to the corporate interests of the Court of Directors, the latter keep hanging ‘in terrorem’ over their heads. Consistently with the welfare of India, these two functions cannot exist in the same hands: and it is not difficult to foresee that the new Charter Act will certainly altogether fail, if vitiated by an enactment so impolitic and reprehensible, that the application of its principle in England to the office of a parish beadle would never be tolerated. For the sake of India, we wish to see the initial patronage of appointments to the Civil and Military Services retained, as one of the functions to be discharged by a properly constituted Court of Directors. But, strong as our conviction may be, that such an arrangement will secure the best material for the members of the services, and much as we should regret to see the patronage pass into hands, whose rule of action would be of an entirely different stamp, and whose oscillations from high to low could never be predicated, and might traverse the whole scale from the aristocratic summit to the democratic refuse of the people of England—yet, even this would be preferable to the prolonged existence of an anomaly, which no unprejudiced and disinterested person, who has watched the internal working of the present system, can have failed to recognize as its most deeply seated, most radical evil. If the fountain head is to be freed from poisonous self-respective influences, let a Governor-General’s commission be for the same limited period as at present, subject of course to renewal, if the home authorities think proper: but let it be made out for such period, *quamdiu bene se gesserint*; and let them, like the Judges of England, be lawfully removable only on the address of both Houses of Parliament. It will, hereafter, be shown how the home branch of the Indian administration may be made really, and not alone nominally, responsible to the Houses of Parliament: and how, in this manner, the Governor-General

would also be directly amenable to the control of these assemblies. But, with this exception, there ought to be no check upon the independence of a Governor-General in council, other than that of the members of such a council; and, with the view of the efficiency of this check, these members ought never, on any pretence or plea, to be separated from the Governor-General. Wherever the exigencies of India demand the presence of a Governor-General, there most assuredly the attendance of the Supreme Council is imperative: and, in order that its members may feel themselves on a right footing, both with respect to the Governor-General and to the Court of Directors, they also should be not otherwise removable before the expiration of their five years, than upon address by the Parliament—their commissions running, like that of the Governor-General himself, *quamdiu bene se gesserint*, for the specified period, which too, if advisable, should be renewable.

Whatever may be thought of the recall of Lord William Bentinck from Madras and of Lord Ellenborough from Bengal, late events, which we could quote, and the truly Whig expedient of shifting off responsibility, by diluting all action through the tardy proceedings of commissions, which can throw no other light upon the subjects of inquiry, than what the Government already possess, prove the absolute necessity of the reform which we advocate. External energy has never been wanting, whether for aggression or defence—and would not again be wanting, were it necessary. But having rounded off our Empire, and taken up its lines of *natural* frontier; the risk of invasion having sunk into a bugbear, which no one entertains; and the causes for aggression having, in future, to be sought;—the prospect is promising for the internal improvement of the Empire, if its functional energy be not paralysed by an evil, which gnaws its core. Future danger lies in the collapse of the Empire, should the organization of the administration remain on such a footing, as to render the defecation of its internal evils almost a moral impossibility.

We do not think Lord Dalhousie a timid man, or inclined to countenance corruption: but his conduct, on several occasions, has betrayed a politic perception of the difficulties of his position, and a mode of getting over them, adroit, rather than straightforward, and studious of expediency, rather than of principle. Nor is this surprising: for there is no mistaking the *animus* of the Court of Directors. Wherever a Civil Servant of the Company is assailed, mark how gallantly the Parliamentary members of the Court step forward in his defence! Nothing could have been finer, if only truthful and disinterested, than

the boldness with which, on Mr. Baillie's Ceylon motion, Sir J. W. Hogg, in his support of Lord Torrington, seized the opportunity of defending his Lordship's chief adviser, Sir T. H. Maddock. The following passage in the course of his uncandid attack upon the venerable Chief Justice of Ceylon, Sir A. Oliphant, is an admirable specimen of building on the ignorance of the House. As reported in the *Times*, it runs as follows: "With respect to Sir H. Maddock, it should 'be remembered, that he was a distinguished man, who had 'rendered service to his country in trying times, whose private 'character was beyond reproach, and who, therefore, was a 'very proper person to be listened to by the Government." Our English readers, although they must be ignorant of the value of Sir J. W. Hogg's estimate of the man, may yet judge from this instance of the acuteness of those Directorial feelings, which led the Deputy Chairman to make such a desperate endeavour to screen from that public odium, which his conduct richly merited, a member of the favoured service;—that too, be it remembered, when the individual in question had made himself notorious by intermeddling in the policy of the Governor of ^aa Crown colony, and, ^{by} by a fatal presumption, which his position, as a landholder and speculator in the colony, should have restrained, in advising measures, of which it is difficult to pronounce, whether their illegality as set forth by Sir F. Thesiger, or their barbarity, as shown by the Blue book, were most conspicuous. From this example, English readers may easily infer the extreme delicacy and hyper-caution, which it is incumbent on a Dalhousie, unless resolved to commit suicide, to observe, if he wish to keep on good terms with the masters, whose *bene placito* he has to consult. Circumstanced as he is, the impeccability of their sons, nephews, and cousins, might form a leading article of his Indian administrative creed. To this, an Act*, passed not long ago by the Supreme Government, has gone far to set the seal of legislative authority.

The Act in question, however, as it removes the check, which the independence of the Crown Judges, hanging 'in terrorem' over the heads of the Civil Servants of the Company, could not fail to exercise, so it necessitates the establishment, in a responsible Governor-General in Council, of an authority, enjoying in its controlling powers, the same thorough independence of position, as that conferred on the Crown Judges. There *must* be a constitutional counterpoise to the legislative exemption from

* Act No. 18 of 1850.

responsibility and restraint by the Crown Courts, which we have noticed. In no other way can the people of India be assured of protection against the worst abuse—the corruption of the civil administration; and none can be conceived so effective, as that which virtually brought the strength of Parliament, through a Governor-General and Council answerable to that assembly, to bear upon this danger.

With respect to the other alternative, namely, that of the initial patronage passing out of the hands of a properly constituted Court of Directors, we are unwilling to dilate. Under such circumstances as effectually broke off the sympathetic bond, which unites the members of the Indian services with the Directors of the East India Company, their authority over Governors might, if not incompatible with the dignity of the Crown (whom Governors virtually, though not at present legally, represent) be left in the hands of the Directors; but this presupposes a complete re-organization of the Court of Directors, so as to render them really responsible to Parliament; and such a re-organization would necessitate a greater amount of radical change, than that which the first noted modification of the existing system would entail. Moreover, now that steam has brought England near to India, and that the chiefs and people of the latter country begin clearly to understand, that Great Britain is not governed by the East India Company, but by the Queen and Parliaments, and that the East India Company is altogether a subordinate body, forming no portion of the constitutional Government of England, and having no claim from rank, distinction, or intelligence to the sovereignty of India—there is a palpable and an unexplainable absurdity (as all know, who have endeavoured to render it comprehensible to either chiefs or people) in continuing the unrestricted power of recall of the representatives of the Crown in a mere ancillary body, enjoying the customary immunity from responsibility, which forms the well known characteristic of all close, self-elected corporations.

Whilst, however, sedulously guarding the independence of Governors from the sinister influences of twenty-four gentlemen, who, many of them, know no more of India than they do of Siberia, or the Mountains of the Moon, we have said that, on no plea or pretence whatever, should the Governor-General become independent of the Supreme Council. This is a point of very great importance, deserving the most careful attention of the legislature. It would not be difficult to show, that, from the time of Lord W. Bentinck to the present, there has *never* been any necessity for the now habitual separations from their Council, which seem to be the favourite object of each successive Gover-

nor-General. The result of this systematic departure from the intentions of the Act is, that the Council becomes virtually a cypher, and practically has little or no influence on the measures of most moment to the Empire. If he be a man of ability and energy, the Governor-General, invested with all the powers of the Governor-General in Council, except those of legislating, has no check upon the course, which these qualities may choose to run, except the accidental influence, which irresponsible secretaries may be able to acquire and to exercise. It will then depend upon the degree of experience and of self-reliance, which a Governor-General has, how far such accidental influences may operate at all. On the contrary, if a weak man, he inevitably falls completely into the hands of his secretaries, who thus practically usurp the functions of the Council. It would be needless to point out the numerous objections to either alternative: but fortunately the remedy, though it may come somewhat late, is simple. Wipe out from the next Charter Act the clause, which sanctions the deputation of the Governor-General *without* his council, but *with* all its powers; and substitute a clear provision, that, wherever the Governor-General moves, there too must proceed the Council. Under the present arrangement, there can be little hesitation in saying that, beyond affording three or four gentlemen the opportunity, in the course of five years, of feathering their respective nests and of making snug purses, the Council and its President are politically of extremely little use.

When the Governor-General is away, invested with all the executive powers of the Council, the position of the President in council is as great an anomaly as any that can be conceived; for clearly, either the President in council is a shadow and has no authority, or else you create for the nonce two Governors-General, with equal and independent powers. The Act, at present in force, is so worded and constructed that either position may be argued, on the specifications of the Act as a basis, with pretty equal soundness of reasoning. Accordingly, instances are not unknown of a clash between these two exalted functionaries; and the late Governor-General refused on one occasion, to use his own words, to become the President in council's registering clerk.

Again, look at the consequences, when the subordinate Governments are concerned, should by accident (which is possible enough in practice) under certain emergencies, the President in council and the Governor-General clash in their independent communications to the minor Presidencies. The responsibility of construing the provisions of the Act, and of deciding which

master to obey, lies on the shoulders of the Governors, who would need a good deal of legal acumen to meet the cases, which might at any hour arise, and have sometimes already arisen, under the current Act.

The arrangement has a further glaring fault. Usually the Deputy Governor of Bengal is at the same time President in council ; and as, such, he pronounces *ex cathedra* upon the propriety of his own acts. We have known these in several instances called into question, and an appeal made to the Governor-General of India ;—and such appeal rendered nugatory by the Deputy Governor preferring, in his other office of President in council, to deal himself with the appeal against his own acts.

There is but one remedy for these, and other numerous anomalies. Wherever the Governor-General may move, there too must move his Council ; and no Lieutenant or Deputy Governor, whilst a Governor-General was in the country, should ever be President in council : though it is very proper that some one of the subordinate Governors should be appointed, with reference to the sudden demise, or other termination of the career of a Governor-General, provisional President in council.

This Council having a very important part to play, if our views are correct, its composition and the selection of its members should be with regard to its functions as the Supreme Council for all India ; and the nomination of its members should rest, not with the Court of Directors, but with the responsible branch of the home Indian administration. Besides the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, the Council should consist of two civil and one military member, taken from the Indian services. The Home Branch of the Indian Government, being answerable to Parliament for the selection of the members from the services, would, probably, pay more attention to merit, ability, and experience, than to mere seniority : whilst the members, feeling their position, though a secure one, yet one of real responsibility, would have every incentive to a wise and independent discharge of their duties.

It follows, as a consequence of the changes advocated, that puerile secrecy, the present East India House mystification of the most simple and ordinary affairs, would form no part of the system. Mill's evidence in 1832 was true to the letter.

“ The secrets of the Indian Government, like most other secrets, are in general good for very little. In short, I do not think I am going a step too far, when I say, that, if all the secret dispatches, which have been sent from England to India, instead of having been sent, had been put into the fire, the situation of India would hardly have been different from

‘ what it is.’ Except, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty in war times, it is seldom of any use in India; though, at present, secrecy forms the rule of the service, and that, not alone in the diplomatic department, where, to a moderate extent, it may be useful and sometimes even necessary, but also in every branch of the general administration.

To the Governor General and his Council, thus constituted, we would entrust the very onerous charge of selecting fit men as Lieutenant Governors, not alone of the Agra, but also of the Madras and Bengal, Presidencies. There can be no reason, after the experiment so successfully made with the Agra Presidency, why the others should not be placed upon an equally simple and efficient footing. No good reason can be devised after this practical example, for maintaining the present expensive machinery of Governors, Councils, Boards, and all their costly adjuncts in triplicate. A Lieutenant Governor at each Presidency, with responsible secretaries in the Revenue, Customs, and Marine Departments, would be more effective, and half as expensive as the present system. A Lieutenant Governor for the Bengal Presidency; another for the North Western Provinces, that is for the present Agra Presidency and the Punjab; and a third for the present Madras and Bombay Presidencies conjoined, would be ample provision for the local administrations; which should be subordinate to the Supreme Government, and cease to correspond direct with the Home Branch of the Anglo-Indian administration. Without the slightest detriment to the efficiency of Government, by the abolition of useless but costly Councils, Boards of administration, and Boards of a multiplicity of denominations, a saving to the state of at least £250,000 per annum would accrue: and, as the Home correspondence would be simplified, and necessarily reduced to one half its present bulk, there would follow no insignificant relief to the Home Branch: and no Secretary of the India house, or analogous functionary of the Home Branch, would in future years; when giving eulogistic evidence, advance the fact, that 500 folio volumes were in daily use. No stronger condemnation of a needlessly complicated machinery of administration could well have been given: and, as we are pretty sure that, since 1832, no improvement, except in the reduction of the length of the despatches from India, has occurred, their number, if we mistake not, must have much increased.

On the subject of Boards, we hold an opinion entirely opposed to that which has prevailed at all the Presidencies. Responsible secretaries are a far more efficient instrumentality. Not only would we sweep away the Boards at the three Presiden-

cies which we have chalked out, but there should be no such thing in connection with the Supreme Government. Besides the Home, the Foreign, the Financial, and the Military Secretaries of the Government of India, there should be a Marine Secretary, and a Secretary of public works. Corresponding with these Government, or State, Secretaries, there should be local, or under, secretaries at each Presidency, responsible to their several Lieutenant Governors, in the same manner as the Government of India's Secretaries would be held answerable for their several departments by the Supreme Government. Under one or other of these heads, the duties, now ostensibly performed by irresponsible Boards, can without difficulty be classified: and, if India is to make any advance from its present condition, there can be no hesitation in saying, that the Department of its Public Works is one of primary importance, though hitherto, because not coming with propriety under a civil functionary's charge, it has been the fashion to hold it as of an entirely secondary order.

In support of our opinion respecting Boards—an opinion formed after watching the operation of several different kinds, both civil and military—the practice of Lord Dalhousie may be adduced. If Boards were of the utility, and had the qualities which their advocates instance, where would have been the necessity for the numerous Commissions, which lately have been the order of the day? Boards are notoriously, in India, subsidiary to the interests of the pillow—perfect swamps of individual responsibility. But for the charge of personality, which we would, if possible, studiously avoid, we could run through nearly all the Boards of *all* the Presidencies, in support of the unexaggerated accuracy of the foregoing definition of a Board.

Secretaries, under our proposed system, would have no sinecures; and, as they ought to be men of talent and experience, their salaries ought not to be on a lower scale than those which are at present allotted to the different Secretaries of the Government of India. The Presidency Secretaries should, as at present, be on a lower, but still a very handsome, scale of remuneration: for it must be repeated that a niggardly economy in such appointments is extremely prejudicial to the real interests of good administration. In the same manner, the highest judicial appointments, the prizes of that important branch of a sound Government, ought, as at present, to be liberally paid: but there can be no good reason for maintaining the existing *general* scale of civil salaries, which, in every department, is out of proportion, alike to the exigencies of the service and to the condition of the people. The latter we have shown to be in a state, which in England would be termed general, if not universal, pauper-

alism; and if the total amount of property under litigation in the courts were compared with the judicial charges, the exorbitant ratio, which the latter bear to the former, would substantiate the fact alleged—that the cost of the covenanted branch of the judicial service is extravagantly out of all keeping or proportion with the real condition and the real wants of the people. We are well aware, that this comparison only presents one phase of the subject: but, as an indication of the adaptation of cost of establishments to work to be done in one large class of cases, no one can deny the propriety of such a test. Cast out of account the Crown Courts at the Presidencies, and the highest appellate Courts of the Company, namely the Suddur Dewani and Nizamut Adawluts—all of them Courts, in which the salaries of the Judges ought to be high—and then strike the ratio between the mere salaries of the European Judges and the value of the property litigated before them, and, according to the different Presidencies, it will vary between fifty and seventy per cent.

The state of society and of civilization, which pervades the many millions of India, calls for a simple, cheap, expeditious administration of justice. Ours is neither cheap, nor expeditious. Indeed it has become so complicated a system, that the people are never presumed to understand it, whilst the pleaders and the subordinate ministerial officers are perfect adepts at making a profitable use of its intricacies: and consequently, the latter classes prey upon the ignorance of the people to a degree but little apprehended, and often very unwillingly admitted, by the European judicial officers. Now as a remedy for the complex evils of our police and judicial system, India does not want a more elaborate, bar-trained set of European functionaries, with ideas of law and equity derived from that Augean stable, which the genius of a Bentham and the labours of a Brougham have hitherto failed to weed of its gross fallacies and inconsistencies, and chaotic maze of sinister and noxious influences. England is herself struggling to recover somewhat of the natural and simple system of justice, from which she has so far and fatally wandered. Her County Courts—her as yet futile attempts at systematic registry—her insufficient throes to shake off the incubus of a Court of Chancery, whose rules and practice of equity are to the nation synonymous with expence, vexation, and hopeless delay—are all warnings against plunging India into the meshes of a system, from which our own country is, with slow, toilsome, doubtful success, striving to disentangle itself. India needs no such system, nor any approach to it. On the contrary that system must serve as a beacon to warn our

stately vessel off from the shoals and rocks of the Law Ocean of old England—an ocean of such perilous and uncertain navigation, that no insurance offices have been as yet bold enough to do business with the unfortunate craft, that are forced upon its treacherous waters.

To a certain extent we concur in the following remarks, elicited from the talented editor of the *Spectator* by the trial of Jotí Pursaud : “ The trial of Jotí Pursaud at Agra illustrates at once the best and the worst features of the English political system. Although direct bribery may have declined in the polite circles of official life, corrupt motive, self-interest, over-ruling patriotism, and a servile submission to the cant of the day, are more powerful than ever they were ; and all India, it may be said, is sacrificed to the spirit of officialism, cliquery, and systematic laxity. At the same time there is something in the indelible Saxon impulse to independence, which works even *through* those corruptions ; thus the development of our law system brings with it lawyerism, and that independence, which tells so well in the profession, and which may be hired for the occasion.” The greatest curse, that could be inflicted upon India, is the development of that law system, of which the independence of the barrister and the boldness of counsel may be incidents, but most certainly are not necessarily resulting consequences. The editor has been led very remarkably to over-estimate the mode in which, from the instance of Mr. Lang’s defence of Jotí Pursaud, “ the Hindus appreciated this display of English legal machinery.” If there be one thing more dreaded under our rule than any other, it is this very English legal machinery, as exemplified at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay : the mere name of the Crown Courts is a terror—and a terror that from these foci has diverged and spread far and wide over the breadth of the land. The natives of India, of any education or observation, are as much alive to the evils of the English legal machinery as the editor of the *Spectator*, when he penned an editorial, entitled “ Equity swallowing up law ;” for they have had cruel experience of the working of the English system, and could parallel the illustrations so forcibly given in the subjoined extract, by instances quite as telling. Neither Hindu, nor Mussalman, but would answer the question put, exactly as the editor himself does. Speaking of the Committee appointed by the Law Amendment Society, he says :—

The Committee investigated the cause and nature of the distinction between law and equity ; balanced the advantages and disadvantages flowing from the distinction ; and considered the best plans for abolishing the distinction.

The jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery was, in its origin, nothing more nor less than a spiritual usurpation by the Ecclesiastical Chancellors of the fourteenth century. The technical rules incapable of expansion, and the strict and unvarying judgments, which in earlier times the common law opposed to the tyranny of the barons, or the corruption of Judges, became intolerably restrictive, as freedom advanced and the social relations of the subject became more complex. The clerical Chancellors, therefore, after the example of the Prætors at Rome, assumed to exercise a personal compulsion over the citizen, in cases where the rigid common law would have omitted to assert some right, or restrain some wrong. Their jurisdiction was at first the mere substitution of the arbitrium of a religious Judge for the fixed decrees of the letter of the law: but, in course of time, the application of their discretion was regulated by fixed rules, which they drew in part from the civil law, and in part from abstract morality and justice; and at the present day, the arbitrium of the Judge prevails no more in Equity than in Law. Precedent has superseded discretion; and the decrees of the Chancellor—who has long ceased to be an Ecclesiastical personage—are no longer moulded on each individual wrong, but are binding in their application to entire classes of cases. We have thus two systems of jurisprudence, of different origin, principles of action, and modes of procedure;—the Equitable system having been originally framed to mitigate, correct, and assist the legal, but having now lost that flexibility and power of individualizing its relief, which such an office would seem to require.

Only two advantages can be alleged in favour of preserving the division of jurisdiction thus established: the preservation of the ancient forms of common law, and the increase of professional skill attainable by the division of professional labour. The first can only have been mentioned by the Law Amendment Committee to show their impartial attitude. At this time of day, when the injustice wrought by 'forms of actions' has already condemned them to a speedy abolition, it is an anachronism to count the preservation of ancient forms as an advantage. If they be preserved, let them be preserved in the Museums of the country for antiquarian inspection, and not in its Forums for afflictive use. The second advantage is illusory; for division of labour in the acquisition of substantive law would be obviously facilitated by the adoption of one uniform rule of formulary law.

What, then, are the advantages? Here is a list of them, which we will make plain by adding the pith of some of the striking illustrations, which the Committee has industriously collected—

" 1st. The line, which separates the two jurisdictions, is so uncertain, that, in many cases, preliminary investigation of great nicety is required, before it can be ascertained whether the remedy should be sought in law or in equity.

" 2nd. In many cases a complete remedy cannot be had, without having recourse to both Courts, and thus bringing two lawsuits instead of one.

" 3rd. Courts of Law are compelled to decide without reference to equitable principles; and, consequently, to do injustice, with a full knowledge of the fact, and an anticipation of the subsequent overthrow of their judgment by the interference of a Court of Equity.

" 4th. Courts of Law and Equity in many instances administer the same law; and thus a party is liable to be twice vexed for the same matter, and to have the judgment of a Court of Law in his favour rendered valueless by the adverse decision of the Chancellor on the same point.

" 5th. The existence of two distinct systems of pleading and practice is of itself a great evil.

" 6th. Courts of Equity are compelled to decree that the parties them-

selves should carry their orders into effect, which occasions much endless trouble and expense.

To begin, then :—in any case involving many complex interests, no lawyer is able to tell his client for certain, which is the proper court to ask relief from. In the great railway case of *Moseley and Alston*, which we all remember a year or two ago, the counsel argued seven days before the Vice-Chancellor of England, as to whether they ought to begin the fight in the Courts of Law or in the Court of Chancery ; and Sir Launcelot Shadwell decided in favour of Chancery ; but, after five days more argument, on appeal before the Lord Chancellor, Lord Cottenham reversed the other decision, and handed the parties over to the Courts of Law. It was still possible that the Law Courts, more certain of the limited extent of their province, would drive them back again into the region of Equity. So, in an old case reported by *Pegge Williams*, the defendant stopped a suit in Chancery to recover the sum due upon a bond, because an action at law would lie ; and then he got Chancery to stop the action at law, because there had been no consideration for the bond. How absurd, that the Court of Equity could not entertain the suit, and that the Court of Law could not retain the action ! But sometimes the Lord Chancellor will go into those Courts of Law for advice of the Judges on matter of law, or assistance of the juries on matter of fact. When he has thus driven the suitor to the expense of proceedings before other tribunals, he maintains his independence by disregarding the advice, and doing without the assistance, which he has sought. In the case of *Morris versus Davis*, the Lord Chancellor put the suitors to the enormous expense of three trials at law, and after all decided the issue of fact for himself ; and everybody remembers how Lord Eldon once took the opinions of two benches of law Judges, and then decided the law in a manner inconsistent with all their opinions. These expensive remedies offer such irresistible temptations to the wealthy and dishonest, that justice is actually *bought by the richest suitor*. But not only are the two systems unparallel in procedure ; they are antagonistic in principle. A Court of Law utterly shuts its eyes to the interest of the orphan, for whom property is vested in trust ;—it sees only the trustee ; but the Court of Equity views the infant as the owner, and the trustee as a person with a conscientious duty to perform. Equity views the purchaser of a debt as the owner of that debt ; but Law says that there cannot be such a thing as a purchase of a debt : so Equity is obliged to compel the seller to let the buyer use his name in an action at law for the recovery of the debt. At law, the husband can seize all his wife's unsettled property ; and the law even encourages him to seize it, by holding that, if he survive her, his right to it will become indefeasible : therefore Equity will in some cases seize the husband himself, and make him hold the property " in trust " for his wife. Law and equity carry their war so far, that they seem unable to agree in their primary moral code. Practically, a deed, which is foul in the Court of Chancery, may be fair in the Court of Law ; for some instruments, which an Equity Judge would impound and destroy, the Judge and jury at law must respect and enforce. This vile confusion of principle and justice involves even third parties in its consequences ; for, if a man let his land on lease, and then mortgage his reversion, the person, to whom he mortgages the land, may, under very common circumstances, eject the leaseholder notwithstanding the lease, and take the land to himself. These things are not merely " fictions of the law ; " they are much worse than " shams "—they are moral lies, the habitual practice of which cannot but blunt the moral sense ; and while they exist, the world has cause to say, not in any vulgar declamatory spirit, but with serious truth, that no thorough lawyer can be a thoroughly moral man.

"What remedy can be devised to meet these numerous and glaring evils?" You may amalgamate the two systems, so as to embrace the juster principles of Equity in the system of Law. In doing this, you may preserve the existing Jurisdictions concurrently, simply importing the principles of Equity into the Courts of Law; or you may abolish one of these jurisdictions, and administer the principles of both, by the procedure of one of them, or by some newly-framed procedure. The first mode was tried by Lord Mansfield in the latter half of the last century, when he sought to take notice of equitable claims and defences in a Court of Law. The main objection to it is, that under it the Court of Chancery would virtually become a Court of Appeal for the control of a large number of decisions in the Courts of Law: you must therefore have but one jurisdiction to apply the principles of the two systems. But the modes of procedure in Chancery are so cumbrous and expensive, that to adopt them solely would be a falling back; while against the adoption of the modes of procedure in the Law Courts, there is the experience of the State of Pennsylvania. In that state there is no Court of Chancery; the principles of equity and law are administered as one code by the courts of law,—the legal principle always yielding in case of conflict to the equitable: but the courts there admit, that with their rules of procedure, they cannot enforce the just maxim, that he, who seeks equity, must do equity, nor deal with more than two interests in the same suit. The remaining course, that of framing a new procedure suited to administer law and equity as a single code, is the one that has been adopted by the State of New York.

The inquiries of the Committee of the Law Amendment Society into the operation of that experiment were assisted by the American Ambassador, Mr. Lawrence. A series of questions, prepared for the purpose, were forwarded by that gentleman to such quarters in the United States, as should insure answers to them of the greatest jurisprudential weight and the most perfect freedom from any sort of bias. We understand that they settle the question in favour of the New York Code, for the cheap and speedy administration of justice which it has introduced. This fact will be more formally communicated to the public in due time. Meanwhile, the public will receive with deference and welcome the unanimous conclusions of the Law Amendment Committee—

"That justice, whether it relate to matters of legal or equitable cognizance, may advantageously be administered by the same tribunal; that where the principles of law conflict with those of equity, the latter shall prevail, to the exclusion of the former; that all litigation, whether it relate to matters of legal or of equitable cognizance, may advantageously be subjected to the same form of procedure; and that the rules of procedure be embodied in a code."

Why, that, which with great labour the Law Amendment Committee arrive at as a novel result, and which the *British* public are to receive with deference and welcome (when they can get it) is the formulary of our Indian law system—a formulary, which, besides being in harmony with reason and common sense, has, moreover, the advantage of being in general unison with the principles of the Hindu and Mussalman codes. Let us have no approach therefore to the English system, which is in course of laborious self-combustion, in order that from its ashes may arise the very system, which we have already without its aid. No greater curse, we confidently repeat, could be in-

flicted on India, and none more likely to shake, if not dissolve, our power.

Although opposed to the English system of law and its machinery, yet, at the same time, with the view of obtaining a cheaper and more numerous magistracy, and of throwing open to the wholesome influences of Saxon independence and impulse the whole range of our Indian civil administration, we would, although retaining a large portion of initial patronage in the hands of a Court of Directors, break up the monopoly, which at present vitiates the system, by making the covenanted and uncovenanted services to coalesce, and by empowering the Governor General in council to employ in civil charges, not only such military officers, as appeared peculiarly qualified for entering upon the discharge of civil duties, but also any Europeans, whose acquirements and experience, whether obtained at the Bar as pleaders, or in any other manner, during a residence in India of five or six years, ensured an efficient discharge of the duties entrusted to them. If five or six years in India were deemed too short a period of probation, before European residents could be employed in substantive civil charges, it might be increased; but that period is ample for the purpose of weakening mere ministerial influence, and sufficient too for qualification, being the time, which a civilian in fact takes to prepare himself in India for real utility in the administration; it is the calculated time of what may be termed his apprenticeship. Such a modification would somewhat reduce the estimated value of Directorial patronage, each share of which was formerly estimated to be worth £13,000 per annum, and now, in consequence of the lamentable over-supply in all professions, may probably be fairly rated as having a value of £15,000 or even £16,000 per annum; but the administration would be immensely benefited by a measure, which rendered available, not only the talent to be found in a very large military service, but also that of men of education and experience, who, by energy and ability, succeeded in working out for themselves a position in public, and in official, esteem in India.

One point must not be lost sight of, or blinked from subserviency to the cant of English prejudices. It is of great political importance, though the fact is often overlooked, that civil and political employment should be open to military men. Not only does this circumstance incite the army, generally, to the acquisition of the Eastern languages and to a knowledge of the people; but it insures to the British Government, by their employment in such charges, military men practically conversant with the character and habits of our vast population: it forms

a class of officers of a high stamp, men fit to cope with such emergencies as might, at any unforeseen moment, arise in an empire, constituted as that of India. Overweening security is out of place; those, who know our position best, avow its *internal* dangers, and confess the precarious nature of our footing. At a moment when least expected, there may be need for a class of men, who, to the professional confidence of experienced officers, knowing what the sword can do, unite an intimate acquaintance with the country and its institutions. These are the men for times of peril; and the Indian Government should always have them at command. They are as cheap, and, when properly selected, as efficient a civil machinery as the Government can obtain: and, though we do not go the length of Colonel Sutherland, who advocated one united service for India, for which those entering it should be trained in the first instance to habits of military life, because, in our opinion, such a united service would be too exclusive: yet, undoubtedly, the example of the Arracan, the Tenasserim, the Saugor and Nerbudda, and the Punjab Territories, proves how extensively such machinery may be applied, not only beneficially to the people, but with financial and political advantage to the Government. The same reasoning applies more strongly to the political department, in which, as Mr. Elphinstone justly observed, military experience is an essential element of an efficient political officer's training. Whoever were employed, however, whether covenanted civil servants, military men, or uncovenanted Europeans of education and ability, let all be open to their industry and energy. Away with the system, which has lately been adopted, of rendering high civil and political appointments, the feather beds, on which to let down easily civil secretaries disappointed of a seat in Council, or unequal to further continuance in their Secretariat labours! High political charges ought not to be restricted to any one class or department; for Government should not be cramped in the selection of its instruments for important posts: but this we hold to be a vastly different thing, from avowedly rendering the few prizes of the political line the means of comfortably shelving civilians, who, from their seniority, or from other considerations, are found in the way, and are therefore thus provided for, at the expence of the just expectations of old and deserving servants of distinction and ability.

Under the system, thus briefly and inadequately sketched out, there would be fewer civil appointments for the Directors to distribute, and they would be of less intrinsic value: because, civil offices being open to competition, mediocrity would not, as

at present, be certain of high emoluments. The supply too would have to be regulated by the demand: and as this would fluctuate within limits, which a few years would show, there would be no practical difficulty in adjusting the average amount of this branch of patronage. One result, however, evidently would be, that Haileybury should be abolished, and that candidates for the civil appointments in the gift of the Directors should either be passed College-men, whose standing and ability would thus be known, or, if not College-men, that they should be made to go through the ordeal of an examination before independent examiners. We advisedly say, passed College-men, because we think it a great misfortune both to men themselves and to the service, when they come out too young and half educated: it prolongs a (to the state) very expensive period of probation and of empirical acquisition of knowledge, at the cost, not only of the Government, but also of the people. It would of course be easy to ensure that the College course had comprehended the study of the principles of international, civil, and criminal law, and that the wide subject of jurisprudence had entered largely into the line of study. With this provision, the usual collegiate course and its concomitant rivalry with the foremost youth of the nation, would far out-balance any supposed advantages from matriculation in such an institution as that of Haileybury, and would furnish functionaries of far higher promise.

Government, under such circumstances, would have a very wide sphere of selection for the machinery of the internal administration of India. Mere seniority would cease to be the rule of the service; mediocrity would find its level and not be pushed above it; and, as in an empire of such heterogeneous elements, there is an infinite variety of offices, so, by throwing open the civil branches of the service, in the manner we advocate, there would be no difficulty in adapting the instruments to their intended functions. At the Presidencies, where British mercantile interests prevail, where, consequently, the Anglo-Saxon element enters largely into the social structure, and where the Crown Courts have been long established and have inoculated the community with English lawyerism, its tastes could be gratified by the appointment of Magistrates trained at the bar. For the millions of India, who dread English lawyerism even more than the present Company's Courts, the Director's civil nominees, the European residents, the natives of talent and education, and the army, would all furnish their quota: and, with such a variety of basis, it would be an easier matter than it is at present, for the Anglo-Indian Government to meet the requisi-

tions of a vast population at no overwhelming cost, and to find fit men for every position. This, with a simple code of laws, in lieu of an indigested mass of regulations; courts of judicature adapted to the social organization and condition of the people, which our present courts most decidedly are not; a simplification of the whole system of procedure, and the incorporation, to a much larger degree than at present, of the system of Panchayet—are essential to putting some stay to the present anarchy of law, and to the harvests of vile, intriguing, case-causing Vakils. Increase, rather than diminish, the powers of the Judges' and Magistrates' Courts; cease to nurse and foster an endless system of appeal; make the people in greater measure settle their own differences, as they did of old everywhere, and now do over large tracts of India, by Panchayet; quash litigation by developing, instead of crushing, the most effective institution, that the genius of the people could have devised for thwarting litigious intriguers. What the Courts of Reconciliation are to Denmark, Panchayets have from time immemorial been to India. Well may Sleeman say, "The people are contented at our inconsistency; and say, where they dare to speak their minds, We see you giving high salaries and high prospects of advancement to men, who have nothing on earth to do, but to collect your revenues, and to decide our disputes about pounds, shillings and pence, which we used to decide much better among ourselves, when we had no other court but that of our elders to appeal to."

Our system has overlooked a fact, to which all history bears testimony. As evil pervades mankind, and, according to the religion, the climate, the country, the physical and psychological condition of the people, adapts itself with wondrous pliancy to infect the mass as much as possible; so in conflict with evil, and endeavouring to subdue it, are those principles of virtue, which, whencesoever derived, enter more or less into all ethical and religious systems, and, backed by the interests of the majority, which are always in antagonism to individual rapacity and violence, base their mode of action upon the structure of society, and the general habits and condition of a people. Accordingly, in no two countries, with the same object in view—the discovery of truth,—do we find precisely the same means adopted for eliciting it. There is a national, as well as an individual, idiosyncrasy. The *morale* of every people is the composite production of so many different elements, that it would be as vain to look for exact similarity of character in any two nations, as in any two persons. We English are too fond

of putting our hats and long-tailed coats upon every people we meet with on the face of the earth ; forgetting that where they already enjoy turbans, dhotis, &c., the symmetrical harmony of the whole cannot be more remarkable than the felicity of adaptation. We are so wedded to our own institutions and their forms, that our eyes are closed to the merits of other systems, which are the birth of the physical and moral conditions of a people, to which our own nation bears no analogy. The consequences are well set forth by Holt Mackenzie, " We are everywhere met by people complaining of the authorities set over them, and the authorities complaining of the people. The longer we have had the district, the more apparently do lying and litigation prevail, the more are morals vitiated, the more are rights involved in doubt, the more are the foundations of Society shaken, the more has the work of civil Government become a hopeless, thankless trial, unsatisfactory as to its immediate results, hopeless as to its future effects." What was a true picture in 1830 we will vouch for being as accurate in 1851. One and twenty years, instead of amending, have deepened the shades of this terrible sketch of our rule—and this too, in spite of many very noble efforts on the part of individuals to stem the torrent. Throughout this article we have sought to avoid personality ; and, therefore, even where it is to praise, we will not mention instances of men labouring, in a manner unknown in England, from break of day to Sun down ; borne up, as long as the " physique " would last, and even somewhat longer, by the high resolve to do their own work and check corruption. We could mention examples of strong men breaking down in health from the difficulties and anxieties incurred in bringing to justice an all influential but deeply corrupt Amlah. We, however, only notice the instances to show that the system is more to blame than the men, who endeavour to work it out, often with a self-devotion most exemplary, but too constantly futile as to good. There is too much of centralization in our judicial system ; too little has been left to that best of all modes of maintaining security of person and property, the instrumentality of the people themselves. This was the agency, to which the native system of police and the institution of the Panchayet trusted for the administration of a vast mass of civil and criminal business, which is now drawn to our courts as a focus :—a dung heap would, perhaps, be a somewhat more correct simile ; for there the mass accumulated, and, leavened with perjured witnesses and sordid unscrupulous Vakils, wholly unchecked by the control of local public opinion, became a mass of hope-

less corruption—differing from a dung-heap, however, inasmuch as it may and does infect, but cannot manure, the district, its operation present and future being unmixed evil. Why throw out of gear, as we have done, the sanative action of local opinion? It is the only one, which operates effectually among the millions of India. Public opinion, in our sense of the word, they have none; but local and class opinion is all influential with them; and the Panchayet, as an institution, is founded on the instinctive perception of this characteristic of the people. Accustomed to the broader action of a public opinion having a far more comprehensive base, we have lost sight of a normal element of the character of a purely agricultural and very poor people, much attached to their land and their neighbour village communities, but not caring a straw for any opinion beyond the sphere of the small circle, which comprehends their sympathies and interests. Starting from a higher stage of civilization and more complex relations, we have overlooked a radical difference between ourselves and the people whom we govern. Take them in their own social atmosphere, surrounded by its own checks and influences, and the cultivator of India is as truthful as any other peasant; indeed, on some points and occasions, singularly more so: but remove him from this atmosphere to one, where he feels free from the circumscribed, but all-potential, social opinion, which forms the very rule and essence of his mind and habits, and you at once strip him of the only real principles, which actuate his conduct in life. In a word our system is a failure, because it ignores the fact, that in India there is as yet no such thing as public opinion among the millions; with them local opinion is all in all.

Centralization of power is essential to our supremacy; but centralization of authority in the administration of civil and criminal justice, though often confounded with the former, is a wholly distinct affair, and is in direct antagonism to the abnormal condition of a pauper agricultural population, with whom local, and not public, opinion is the mainspring of life. Simple as this distinction may seem to those, who, like the writer, have passed years of life amid the cultivators of India, and lying, as it does, at the very root of any scheme for the due police and judicial administration of such a people as we have to deal with, yet, there are no indications that this simple elementary consideration has ever either been applied or kept clearly in view, in the course of our endeavours at internal administration. Fiscal considerations indeed forced it upon our

attention: and, in effecting Revenue settlements for the various districts of the North Western Provinces, a course was adopted more in accordance with the radical fact, to which advertence has been made. Where financial interests were at stake, we could thus be heedful to take advantage of the full influence of local opinion. The close of an article on the Settlement of N. W. Provinces, in the December number of this *Review*, gives satisfactory evidence that in financial matters we are fully alive to this elementary principle. Why lose sight of it, directly the interests of the people are alone purely at stake? Why saddle them, to the extent we avowedly have done, with a police and judicial system, which ignores the fundamental axiom, that, judicially speaking, in India local opinion is as yet everything—aye, even more than religion itself, which it often modifies, whilst public opinion is nothing, positively nothing, and therefore wholly uninfluential on the millions as a rule of private conduct? One would have thought that a common sense, matter-of-fact people, like the Anglo-Saxon race, would have not only completely seized this elementary principle, but would have been careful to apply it; and so we believe they would, had not class interest, and a concomitant but shortsighted ambition to grasp all attributes and functions of power, led to an undue attempt at a centralization, which not only fails in its ostensible, but also in its real, objects;—power being nine times out of ten, nay we may say, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, in the hands of the Amlah, and not in the hand of the civil functionary. Aiming at the shadow, the reality is thus lost: whilst on the contrary, a system more in conformity to the elementary principle of the force of local opinion would, by stripping Amlahs and Vakils and purchasable witnesses of their noxious authority and sinister influences, not only be far more satisfactory to the country, but insure to the civil functionary far greater and more wholesome influence and authority over the people through the people themselves.

Having extended our remarks to a greater length than was contemplated, the consideration of the Home Branch of the Indian administration; of a properly constituted Court of Directors; of the Army, and of its associated departments, must be left to future articles.

- ART. IV.—1. *Ariana Antiqua. A descriptive account of the Antiquities and Coins of Affghanistan. By H. H. Wilson, M. A., F. R. S., &c. London. Published under the authority of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the E. I. C. 1841.*
2. *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Griechischen Könige in Baktrien, Kabul, und Indien; durch Entzifferung der alt Kabulischen Legenden auf ihren Münzen: von Christian Lassen. Bonn. 1838. Translated for the Asiatic Society. Calcutta.*
3. *Note on the Historical Results deducible from recent discoveries in Affghanistan. By H. T. Prinsep, Esq. London. 1844.*

It is hardly more than ten years, since James Prinsep, when about to read some of his Numismatic essays before the members of the Asiatic Society, apologized for troubling them with so dull a subject, and added, that many of his scientific friends had complained of being "deluged with old coins." Little did, either the essayist or his hearers, at that moment, foresee the grand results, which were one day to crown these seemingly fruitless labours. If they had known what the future would produce, they would have contemplated these embryo discoveries with the feelings of Belzoni, when he penetrated the Pyramids and unveiled the mummied remnants of Pharaoh's line, or with the feelings of Layard, when his toilsome excavations at last revealed the Nineveh of Scripture. In awe and wonder they would have exclaimed:—

"Stop! for thy tread is on an Empire's dust;
An earthquake's spoils are sepulchred below!"

This same Society, which then grudged a few minutes attention to the Numismatic treatises of its gifted secretary, would now, perhaps, be proud to own that its fame is partially based on the services rendered to Numismatical science, and would be eager to claim the honour of having tended the infancy, and fostered the growth, of discoveries that should pour a flood of light on the darkest portion of Asiatic annals. As the Society has appreciated the value of this science for the elucidation of history, so, we hope, will the public. And we feel assured that all, who may study the coins of Indo-Bactria, will find their ideas enlarged and their trouble well repaid.

It has been the fashion to look upon Numismatics, as one of the driest departments in antiquarian study. Ever since Monkbarns, the Antiquary, was pictured by the greatest of our descriptive painters, the scoffing portion of the public have found an armoury stored with the weapons of wit, and a quiver, from

which might be drawn, at pleasure, the pointed shafts of irony, banter, and inuendo. These resources have often been brought into play for the purpose of casting ridicule upon Numismatics. Nor, indeed, can it be denied, that this, like most other sciences, has had, and may still have, some absurd accessories. There are, doubtless, in the world many coin-fanciers who gloat over rust-eaten medals of indescribable rarity, which have been grubbed up with infinite labour and cost, in order that they might be hoarded in a particular drawer of a particular cabinet. All this may, no doubt, furnish a very fair mark for the pop-guns of satire. But it surely does not follow, that the whole science is an absurdity. What branch of science, however useful and laudable, has ever been prosecuted without short-comings and errors, which excite the regrets of the educated and the laughter of the ignorant? May we not say with Sydney Smith?—"If it is fair to argue against a science, from the bad method by which it has been prosecuted; such a mode of reasoning ought to have influenced mankind centuries ago, to have abandoned all the branches of Physics as utterly hopeless. We have, surely, an equal right to rake up the mouldy errors of all the other sciences; to reproach astronomy with its vortices, chemistry with its philosopher's stone, history with its fables, law with its cruelty and ignorance: and, if we were to open this battery upon medicine, there is no knowing where we should stop."* Nor should the learned labours of the Numismatist, the interpreter and illustrator of coins, be reproached with the vanities of the mere collector of coins, who cannot divine the meaning of the relic when he has found it.

But if it be really true, that the Numismatist is not, like Peter Schlemmil, running after a shadow, but is striving, with all his faculties, to grasp a precious substance—then let us think for a moment, what this substance is, and what are the *uses* of coins.

We all know the scriptural circumstances connected with the coin, that bore the image and superscription of Cæsar. It will not be forgotten, that this coin was chosen as the aptest proof and illustration of Roman domination in Judea. It is evident that a similar use may be made of the coins of all countries. They must all give the name of the ruler and of the country ruled. The power of issuing coins and of regulating the currency is an universal attribute of the Supreme Government, be it monarchical or otherwise. The discovery of numerous coins in a particular locality, would (unless it were shewn that they

* Vide Sydney Smith's sketches of Moral Philosophy.

had been conveyed there in the course of commerce) furnish presumptive proof that a certain government, or dynasty, had reigned in that locality. If the coins of another dynasty were found there, it would appear, that the one had superseded or succeeded the other. But more detailed information than this may often be gathered from the coins. They were sometimes inscribed with political or constitutional maxims, or embellished with insignia, which typified the form of Government. Nothing can be more impressive than the manner, in which a recent writer on Prophecy has identified the coins of several great empires and potentates with the mysterious descriptions of Holy Writ.* Every coin must have a superscription written in the language of the country, or of its rulers. If the language become gradually polished or barbarized: if it be modified: if it be amalgamated with other tongues: if it be abruptly altered: all these changes must be insensibly recorded on the coins. And it is superfluous to call to mind that the affinities and roots of languages are greatly relied upon by Ethnologists, to trace the origin of nations, and the degrees of relationship which subsist between the several branches of the human family. Those, who are only conversant with the unadorned and uninteresting coins, current in the British Empire during the present century, would scarcely have an adequate notion of the elaborate workmanship, which has distinguished the mintage of other countries and other times. In ancient days, religious emblems were minutely depicted on the coins. Figures of gods and heroes—the symbols of Ecclesiastical polity; of rites, ceremonies, festivals, and ordinances, were delineated with the best artistic skill that the country could boast of. Where all these points are thoroughly and accurately represented, it is needless to expatiate on the rich fund of information thus supplied, or the picture, thus presented to posterity, of the faith, manners, modes of thought, arts, and civilization of distant periods and nations. We cannot follow out this tempting subject, which would lead us into too wide a field of discussion. But, without pausing to particularize all the value of Numismatical science, we may exemplify its general utility by a familiar instance, drawn from English history.

Suppose that there were no written records of English history, and that the only memorials of the past were the collections of coins in the British Museum and other places. Let us consider how much we should know under these circumstances. We should begin by observing some barbarous coins, bearing British names. There would be little difficulty in attributing

* Rev. E. B. Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticæ*.

these to the aboriginal Britons. Next would be found a set of medals, evidently Roman, commemorating victories gained at places known to be in England. The Roman invasion would be thus indicated. Then would be seen coins, denoting the minor kingdoms, which composed the Heptarchy. The emblem of the Cross, which now begins to appear on the coins, would point to the introduction of Christianity. A series, distinct from the British and the Roman, which, by a comparison of nomenclature, could be traced to the Saxons, would indicate a foreign invasion. Every name in the Saxon dynasties would appear. The development of Ecclesiastical policy would be shewn by coins inscribed to saints, and by medals struck in the names of archbishops and bishops. Some regal coins of Danish mintage, bearing the names of Sucin and Cnut, would shadow forth the advent of the Danes. Then a change would be perceptible in the names and figures of the coins. The most ordinary acquaintance with Norman affairs would enable the Numismatist to identify the figures with the family of the Conqueror. As the reigns of the several kings were followed out, allusions would be found, in the inscriptions, to the Irish acquisitions in Henry III.'s reign, and the French conquests under Edward III. This latter point would be further elucidated by an interesting series of Anglo-Gallic coins, discovered in France.* The armorial bearings, emblazoned on the coins, would illustrate the progress of Feudalism; and specimens of Baronial coins would show what power was once claimed and exercised by the English aristocracy.† The constantly occurring figure of a ship would represent the foundation of our naval power. The severing of England from the Romanist communion, and the investiture of the Sovereign with Ecclesiastical supremacy in Henry VIII.'s reign, are plainly told by the legends on the coins. Next we should learn from the inscriptions, that Scotland had been incorporated with England. The civil dissensions, in Charles I.'s reign, would be indicated by the medals struck in commemoration of the sieges which distinguished the campaigns, and by the currency of coins issued during the king's retirement to Oxford and stamped with the Oxford crown. From this time, the date of the coinage begins to be engraven. The Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Restoration are all announced by the legends on the coins. The Revolution of 1688, and the enthronement of a foreign prince, would be shewn by the quartering of the arms of Nassau. The "coins of the plantations," bearing such names

* Vide *Numismatic Manual*, by J. Yonge Akerman, F. S. A.

† *Numismatic Chronicle*, London.

as Massachusetts, New York, and Baltimore, would mark the foundation of our Colonial Empire.* In token of our growing naval superiority, we should find that ships and nautical devices were prominent objects, in what are called the figurations of the coins. After the time of Anne, British coinage ceases to be interesting, inasmuch as nothing more was engraven than the name and date of the Sovereign. In this rapid summary, we have not paused to sketch the national progress in arts, dress, manufactures, and general civilization, evinced by the Numismatic devices. But enough has been said to shew not only the amount of historical corroboration furnished by Numismatical science, but the amount of positive knowledge afforded thereby, whether political, economical, or chronological. The coins alone, if interpreted with skill, labour, and learning, would almost give us an outline of the leading facts of English history.

We shall further perceive the value of coins when we come to analyse the nature of historical evidence—when, following the logical method and rigorous reasoning of such writers as Paley, we examine and arrange the grounds of our credence in narrated facts. A coin indicates certain facts, which, from their nature and publicity, could not well have been misrepresented: and with which those, who stamped the inscriptions, must have been particularly acquainted. The coin has been found, and produced under circumstances, which forbid the supposition of fraud or collusion; because its meaning was not understood at the time, but was only discovered after laborious research. We will not say that all coins fulfil these conditions; but a vast number certainly do. And when they are such as we have described, a valuable corroboration is afforded to history, and a firm foundation is laid for our historical belief. There is, indeed, much truth in the saying, that coins are witnesses which cannot lie. With the corroborative weight they have given to history, they do much to disprove the dogma of the virtuoso, who said “Do not read History to me; for that I know to be false.” Let any period of history be illustrated by a complete series of coins, the discovery of which has been well authenticated; and most persons would admit that this apophthegm is a libel on knowledge. When a number of old coins are suddenly exhumed from the cavities of the earth, or the recesses of some neglected ruin, we feel, as if a host of co-temporary witnesses had risen from the dead.

History has always been considered to have two hand-maids,

* *Numismatic Manual*, pp. 352-353.

Chronology and Biography; but we think she has a third, namely Numismatics.* Moreover, if coins are useful as collateral testimony, in periods where history is full and explicit; how much more useful must they be, in periods of which we know nothing or little, and where, perhaps, that little serves but to convince us of our ignorance, and to stimulate our curiosity? Such was the period to which the Indo-Bactrian coins related: and we shall see, in the sequel, to what extent they have enlightened us. Thus, while Numismatical science must always be useful as a bulwark and co-adjutor of history, it may sometimes be indispensable as our sole guide, and our sole source of knowledge. Its vindication, therefore, rests on this broad basis, that, if the history of the human race is interesting, or useful, so are Numismatics, and *vice versâ*. Those, therefore, who declare that they derive no pleasure or instruction from Numismatics, might, with nearly equal reason, disclaim all interest in such things as Biography, Chronology, or Politics. Numismatics does not form an isolated department of learning, embracing a limited range peculiar to itself, and capable of being studied without reference to any other science. Its difficulties cannot be mastered by the mere exercise of taste, or by the dint of uninstructed talent: but varied and extensive learning must be brought to bear on the subject, and, in proportion as this may be done, so will the interpretation of the coins be successful or otherwise. This science, then, so far from being intrinsically dull and mono-ideal, is closely interwoven with all these sections of knowledge, which are most useful, most amusing, and most generally studied. It has been thought necessary to enter, at some length, into the general merits of Numismatical enquiry, in order that we might, thereby, justify the propriety of noticing the results of Indian Numismatics in the elucidation of Asiatic annals. This subject we shall introduce to our readers, by a brief narrative of the singular circumstances, which attended the discovery of the coins, that were to rescue from oblivion the history of Central Asia.

The year 1830 was a great epoch in Indian Numismatics. Coins, indeed, had been collected before that time by Messrs. Tod, Tytler and others. But they had not proved of any especial value in an historical or antiquarian point of view. No class of Numismatists had arisen.† Some private collections had been purchased by the Government on the death

* Akin to the evidence of Numismatics, and of equal (or even greater) value and interest, is that of monuments, which carries us back to an antiquity, far beyond that of any hitherto discovered coins.—ED.

† Vide Preface to *Ariana Antiqua*.

of the Collectors. The Asiatic Society of Calcutta had shewn no promise of the distinguished part, it was afterwards to play in the nurture of Numismatical science. It had a scantily filled cabinet, of which no account had been given to the world.* Even the great *savant*, James Prinsep, who was almost to lay down his life for science, and to weary out his splendid faculties in the decyphering of unknown Alphabets, had not yet learnt to take an interest in coins. In the particular department of Numismatics, which we are noticing, still less had been done. Some stray coins had been picked up, few and far between, and had been sent to Europe, merely to serve as inexplicable enigmas and to exercise ingenuity. But the winter of knowledge was now passing away and a rich harvest season was at hand.

In the centre of the Sind-Saugor Doab, bounded by the Indus and the Jhelum, and half way between Jhelum and Attock, there was a village named Manikyala. Near this village, which was distinguished for its mural and sepulchral remains, there arose a peaked conical structure, which the natives called a *tope*, or *sthupa*. In 1831, M. Ventura, the well known General in Runjit Sing's army, happened to be encamped here with a small force. Having nothing better to do, he occupied his leisure by excavating the *tope*.† The cap of the cupola was opened, and layer after layer of masonry was removed. Here and there, between the interstices of the stone, coins, chiefly of copper, were found. After the perforations had been carried to a depth of nearly seventy feet, a copper box was discovered beneath a large slab of quarried stone. It was filled with liquid, and contained a golden cylinder and silver disc. Within it and around it, were found about sixty copper coins. With the utmost liberality, the General placed his new found treasures at the disposal of the Asiatic Society and its Secretary Mr. J. Prinsep. The coins were ascertained to belong to the class, since well-known as the Indo-Scythian. At the same time, it was observed by M. Ventura's companions at Manikyala, that the ground, in the neighbourhood of the principal edifice, was studded with smaller *topes*. Some fifteen of these were excavated by M. Court, one of the officers serving under Ventura. Besides Indo-Scythic coins, there were dug up seven Roman specimens:—one of them bore the superscription of Julius Cæsar, another of Mark Antony. Such are the wanderings of a coin!

But we must now follow the movements of another la-

* Professor Wilson, however, published an account subsequently in 1831.

† Vide *Ariana Antiqua*, and Journal of the Asiatic Society *passim*.

bourer in the field of science. The existence of topes in Kabul had been observed by Mr. Moorcroft in 1820, when setting out on his ill-fated journey toward Samarkand. These observations were confirmed by Lieut. Burnes, when on his mission to Bokhara, in 1832. During the year 1834, Mr. Charles Masson, an individual residing in Affghanistan, resolved to examine a series of topes, which he had seen in the neighbourhood of Jelalabad. For this purpose, he associated himself with a Dr. Honigberger, a medical officer in the service of Runjit Sing.

These topes proved to be not only Numismatic repositories, but also religious edifices. Now, if it could be determined to what sect they belonged—then this fact would help to shew what was the State-religion of those kingdoms to which the coins might be attributable. This led to an interesting comparison of these structures with kindred edifices in the extreme south of the Peninsula and in Ceylon. And, as the object of this comparison much concerns the ethnological and political questions about to be discussed, we shall devote a short space to a consideration of the meaning and nature of these topes.*

About fifty topes were discovered at Hidda, Darunta, and Chahar Bagh. Those localities are in the vicinity of Jelalabad. They were massive structures, ranging from 70 to 150 feet in height, and from 100 to 200 feet in circumference. They consisted of a basement, or pedestal, supporting a square tower, which was surmounted by a conical top. There was generally a flight of steps, leading up to the basement, and facing the East. There were also subterraneous passages conducting from the surface of the ground to the foundations, and, in the vulgar imagination, filled with hidden treasures. The building, generally, stood on an eminence, overhanging a ravine, or water-course. The presence of running water was indispensable; and, where not furnished by nature, fresh and gushing from among the neighbouring rocks, it was supplied by means of beautifully constructed aqueducts. Though oftener separate, the topes were sometimes clustered together in a plain, as at Chahar Bagh. Near to every tope there was found an attendant tumulus, which seemed a kind of satellite to the main structure. The topes were not destitute of ornament. The superstructure, which rose above the basement, was generally encircled by a belt of mouldings, formed of bluish slate stone, which stood out in strong relief against the white

* *Vide* Memoir on the 'Topes of Affghanistan, by C. Masson.

painted surface. The interior was solid, with the exception of one small chamber in the centre. Within this hollow were generally found coins, and a metal chest containing relics. But both stones and relics were often scattered among the quarried stones, and even throughout the foundation below the surface of the ground. The relics were images, vases, instruments, cylinders, bits of bone, and ashes. Wherever the bones and ashes were plentiful, the other relics were scanty. The tumuli always contained bones, skulls, and ashes, but seldom anything else. Near many of the topes, there were carefully excavated caves with niches, doubtless, meant to contain idols. The relics were seldom stamped with any distinct religious symbols. But one earthen-ware seal bore a Pali inscription, which was subsequently ascertained to be a formula of Buddhistic invocation. And on one of the vases was engraven the figure of Gautama, preaching to a Buddhist nun. The coins belong principally to the Scythian kings of India; some to the Sassanian dynasty; and a few to the Roman Emperors of the East;—showing how extensive the commerce of Upper India must once have been.

The first step in the investigation was to compare the Affghan topes with those observed in other places. One tope had been examined near Benares; some near Guntur; some near Bhilsa; a great number in Ceylon, of gigantic size and finished architecture, and accompanied by caves and tumuli, there called Dahgopas; and also a magnificent specimen at Rangún. It was seen that the Affghan topes corresponded exactly with specimens existing among a people still Buddhist, and which bore unmistakable marks of Buddhist origin. This is quite enough to show what sect raised the buildings under consideration, especially as no sect, besides the Buddhists, ever claimed them.* And we have just seen that some of the relics offer internal evidence to the same effect. Assuming then these topes to be Buddhist, what was their purpose? Now there can be no doubt as to the purpose of the Ceylon topes, caves, and tumuli. The tope was the supposed burial place of one of the saintly Gautamas; the tumuli, or dahgopas, were the tombs of the saint's disciples; the caves were the shrines of his priests. It is surely, then, most reasonable to refer the Affghan topes to the same object.†

We suppose then that the topes were intended to veil the sacred remains of the Gautamas. There will be little difficulty in fixing their date. They were, probably, not prior to our era: for they contain coins of princes, who are known to have

* The Hindus, however, used to venerate them.

† See Professor Wilson's summing up of the evidence.

reigned at, or after, that period. Those, which contained coins of Kadphises and Kanerkes (who will be hereafter mentioned), could not well have been earlier than the first and second centuries; nor those, which contain Sassanian coins, earlier than the fourth. Nor on the other hand, could they have been later than the eighth century, when the followers of the prophet began to vex the unbelievers in Kabul and Affghanistan. It will be seen, subsequently, that the Indo-Scythian dynasty, whose coins are found in the topes, reigned from the first to the third century of our æra. The discovery of the topes in Affghanistan would certainly show that Buddhism had prevailed during that period in this region. It would also prove, that the Indo-Scythian princes encouraged Buddhism. This is confirmed by the fact, that Buddhist emblems appear on their coins. The few Roman medals may have been deposited in the buildings, because, not being understood—*omne ignotum pro magnifico*—they were looked upon as mysterious rarities. But such could not have been the case with the Sassanian coins, which, of course, bore emblems of Mithraism, or the worship of the elements. But what could Mithraism have to do with Buddhism? It could not be answered that its real purpose was unknown, as in the case of the Roman coins. For the Sassanian princes were, at that time, most notorious throughout Asia. As the religious and political reformers of the Persian empire, and as zealous propagandists, they had made their name universally dreaded. What then was meant by this admission of Mithraic coins into Buddhist temples? The coins explain this. In all the coinage of the Indo-Scythian kingdom, there is a palpable admixture of Mithraic, Buddhist, and Brahmanical emblems. It is clear, therefore, that the Indo-Scythians patronized all three forms of faith. What wonder then, that the religious edifices, constructed at that time, should be decked with heterogeneous symbols? Such are the curious cross rays of light, which the different departments of discovery throw upon each other. And, indeed, the concatenation of circumstances, attending these curious monuments, is wonderful. Who would have thought, that, in the North of India, there would be discovered Buddhist buildings, containing coins of Scythian kings with the names written in Greek letters, and with titles, partly Greek, partly Persian, partly Indian—or that rude imitations of the Greek Hercules and the Greek Victory, on Scythian coins, should be found in the same casket with coins, also Scythian, but blending the emblems of Mithra, of Siva, and of Buddh, and yet exhibiting Greek inscriptions? What can be a greater conglomeration than these things, of which we are

about to unfold the narrative? And yet not a mere conglomeration;—for, as enquiry proceeds, order is educed out of this seeming confusion. This meeting of all religions on the neutral ground of India was not fortuitous, but the result, as we shall see presently, of regular and intelligible mutations in systems, governments, and races.

From this digression, we must revert to the advancing course of discovery. We have seen how General Ventura and Mr. Masson discovered Indo-Scythic coins, under circumstances, which materially aided the progress of research. We have yet to see how Mr. Masson disinterred a series of coins, which illustrated the history of the Græco-Bactrians, the predecessors of the Indo-Scythians.

About twenty miles east of the modern city of Kabul, there is a level piece of table land, extending over six square miles, called the plain of Beghram. The surface was strewn with fragments of pottery, metals, and sculpture. Here and there arose solitary mounds of stone and brick, which seemed to indicate the remains of human habitations. The happy situation of this plain at a spot where rivers meet, and where the main roads and mountain passes converge from all the four quarters, and the interesting vestiges visible on the surface of the ground—all this would soon shew, even to the casual observer, that here had once existed a great capital. In modern times the plain had become a sheep pasture. A vague avarice induced the shepherds to scratch up the soil in search of treasure. Soon they found seals, rings, bits of metal, and coins in vast quantities. The coins, which were principally copper, they would hawk about the city of Kabul. As these "treasure troves" became frequent, the trade began to thrive. And soon the mint-masters and copper-smiths of the city would repair to the great plain, visit the tents of the shepherds, and purchase the coins by weight. It was estimated, that about thirty thousand coins a year used to be procured in this manner, and melted down. And thus were consigned to indiscriminate destruction, myriads of coins, which the greatest academicians in Europe would have honoured with a place in their cabinets, and which might have told us more about Central Asia than all the histories that ever were written! At last, in July 1833, Mr. Masson, being engaged in searching for the site of one, among the many Alexandrias founded by Alexander the Great, happened to visit this plain. He first met with eighty coins. These specimens appearing to be valuable, he prosecuted the search, until he had amassed upwards of thirty thousand coins, of which the greater part were copper,

and the remainder silver and gold. From this collection were evolved the annals of Indo-Bactria, and the history of Greek connection with the East.

The Asiatic Society's Journal was the organ through which these results were announced to the public. Mr. Masson himself contributed a great many papers. But the most elaborate analysis was made by James Prinsep.* A great difficulty arose at the outset. The inscriptions on the obverse of the medal were Greek; but, on the reverse, an unknown character presented itself. The first object then was to decypher this character. Mr. Masson had pointed out some Pehlevi signs, which had been found to stand for certain Greek names. "It struck me," writes Mr. Prinsep, "that if the genuine Greek names were faithfully expressed in the unknown character, a clue through them might be formed to unravel the value of a portion of the alphabet, which might, in its turn, be applied to the translated epithets, and thus lead to a knowledge of the language employed." This plan was followed out with infinite labour and skill, and met with complete success. This most arduous and valuable service to science was the last, which he lived to perform.† The interest, attaching to these discoveries, was not confined to India. The news spread to Europe, and raised a sensation in the academic circles of London, Paris, Vienna, Gottingen and Bonn. The first great scholar, who took up the subject, was M. Raoul Rochette. He was followed in his own country by M. Jacquet, and in Germany by the Grotefends, Müller, and Arseth. The *Journal des Savans*, the *Journal Asiatique*, the *Vienna Jahr-bucher*, the *Gottingen Anzeigen*, and the *Numismatic Journal* of London, all vied with the *Calcutta Journal* in disseminating the results of Mr. Masson's discoveries and Mr. Prinsep's interpretations. For some time, England did less than the other two great European nations, to blazon abroad the exploits of her gifted sons in the East. But at length, in 1841, the appearance of the handsome work, of which the title is prefixed to this article, redeemed the character of the mother country. The celebrity of Professor Wilson's name in the world of Eastern literature, and his long and intimate association with Mr. James Prinsep in the Asiatic Society, give his work a peculiar value. And the Court of Directors have evinced the interest they take in this subject, by bestowing on the publication their pecuniary aid and their influential

* *Vide Journal of Asiatic Society*, Vols. I.—VII., *passim*.

† The Arianic alphabet is given in Professor Wilson's work.

patronage.* At the head of the present article we have placed this work, as being the most complete and lucid exposition of the whole subject, besides, being embellished with a great variety of beautiful plates. With it we have associated a learned dissertation by Professor Lassen, on the history derived from the Bactrian and Scythian coinage. We have also added a small but useful volume, by Mr. Thoby Prinsep, in which the general results of the Numismatic discoveries are unfolded in a brief and popular form. Besides its intrinsic merit, this work possesses an additional interest from having been composed with materials left by James Prinsep at his decease, and from having been written by his brother.

It has been already intimated that these discoveries relate to the mediæval history of Grecian Bactria. But before treating of this history, it is necessary that we should fix, with geographical precision, the limits of this somewhat undefined country. Bactria, as understood by the Greeks, was nearly coincident with Ariana, or Central Asia. Its northern boundary was the Jaxartes; its southern the Indian Ocean. The eastern boundary was formed partly by the Indus, and partly by a line drawn northwards from the sources of that river. The western frontier might be described by a line drawn from the south eastern corner of the Aral lake to the Caspian sea: and thence southward. The vast square tract thus marked off was divided into two halves by the Caucasian chain, the upper half being again subdivided by the Oxus. Above the great range of mountains are the Steppes of Tartary; below them is the desert of Gedrosia. Such was the country, which the Macedonians styled the province of Bactria.

The ancient history of this country is well known, as the birth place of some of the oldest languages and religions in the world. It was in primæval times a favoured land of fable and of song, and could boast of such names as Zohak, Ninus, and Semiramis. It formed a portion of the Assyrian and Median empires, and was eventually the scene of Macedonian triumphs. Its modern history is not less interesting, from the rise of the new Persian empire, the foundation and extension of Islamism, the sudden erection and destruction of barbaric kingdoms and the marvellous careers of Jenghiz, Timùr, and Baber. Its commercial importance had been considerable from the earliest ages, and was greater still in later times, when it was traversed by the routes, through which the products of the

* No bookseller could have afforded to publish the work with its present style and finish. The Court published it at their own expense. The bulk of the edition they presented to Mr. Masson's mother.

East and West were conveyed.* For many centuries it was, eminently, the country of great roads and vast caravans. But, between the ancient and modern periods of history, or, more accurately, between the epoch of Alexander the Great B. C. 330, and the epoch of Ardeshir Baba-jan, A. D. 230, there intervened a space of more than 500 years, which may be called the mediæval period of Central Asia. This period was almost utterly unknown; and yet was evidently worth knowing, as being the transition æra from old things to new, and the point where conflicting systems in religion and politics met together. A few hints had been gathered from the scattered notices of classical writers, themselves ill-informed, and from the vague accounts of Chinese historians. All these paltry scraps of knowledge were ably arranged and set forth during the last century by Bayer. But his learned treatise only served to shew how little the highest scholarship could do in its efforts to pierce the impenetrable gloom.

The announcement, that the missing links in the chain of events were to be supplied, would be interesting to all students of history. But the expectation of filling up the void, by Grecian coinage of all others, was specially calculated to attract the observation of Numismatists. For no coinage in the world is more instructive than that of Greece. Its artistic beauty alone would rivet the attention of every cultivated mind. The marble and the canvas did not express all the loftiest conceptions of the Greek. The precious metals were also made to bear the impress of his genius. The mould and the dye, together with the chisel and the brush, equally became the instruments of imparting an outward form to Greek ideas. In the opinion of the Greeks, the bonds of commercial pater-nity, of political union, and of patriotic sympathy, among the numerous members of the great federation, would be strengthened, if the medium of exchange should be stamped with the marks of their common religion, of rites, games, and ceremonies, equally dear to all the states, whatever might be the differences in their constitution and Government. Nothing, therefore, can be more perfect than the figures of the gods and heroes, or the personifications of inanimate nature, engraven on the coins, which thus furnish a key to the whole mythological system and to the ritual of religious observances.

But ancient Greece is just as interesting for its multiform political developments, as for its pre-eminence in art. And here again, the coinage is a most faithful mirror of this great national

* *Vide* Heeren's summary of these commercial routes, in his "Researches into the history of Asiatic nations."

characteristic. In the inscriptions, the sacred Dèmons of Athens had its place, as well as the kings of Lacedæmon, or of Macedon. If a city enjoyed its own laws, it would assume the title of Autonomos: if a naval power, that of Nauarchidos; if a guardian of any great temple, that of Neokoros;—and so on.* Those states, that were bound together by treaties of amity, recorded the fact on the coins: either by a special inscription, or by the symbol of joined hands. There was scarcely a public office of note or rank, in any state, that was not denoted by coins. The Archons, the Ephori, the Amphictyons, the ministers of the games, festivals and mysteries, are all represented. With regard to colonial coinage, the Syracusan medallions are glorious instances of the high art attained in the distant dependencies of Greece. The geographical position of the states was also generally defined. If a city was at the foot of a mountain, or on the sea shore, the circumstance would be stated on the coins.† In the same way, there are few Grecian rivers of any importance, which were not named. But, as the Greek coins had been the mute, though eloquent, witnesses of their country's glory, in her palmy days, so also they became, in time, the sad records of her degeneracy and servility. They represented the deified Romè, and the Senate personified as a divinity: and they shewed, in the pompous titles bestowed on the Emperors, how conquered Greece could stoop to oriental flattery. Such was the coinage that Alexander the Great was to carry in his victorious train to Egypt, Syria, Persia, Bactria and India! The Macedonian mintage turned out specimens, that may be classed with the best efforts of Greek art; and Philip of Macedon lived in the period, when Greek coinage reached its climax. The coins of Macedon preserved their celebrity even in the dark ages, and served as models to barbarous nations. It is supposed, that the first rude coins of ancient Britain were struck in imitation of Macedonian specimens, that were current all over Europe.‡ If so, how boundless must have been the influence of Macedon! Alexander's successors taught the art of medallography to the Scythians, who carried it across Central Asia into the heart of India; and coins of Macedonia Proper found their way to the northern wilds of Britain, the "Ultima Thule" of the then known world. The chief divinities, figured by the Macedonian artists, were Apollo, Minerva, and Hercules. We shall find these constantly re-issuing from the Bactrian mintage: we shall see

* Vide *Akerman's Numismatic Manual*, pp. 25—28.

† Vide *Akerman's Numismatic Manual*, pp. 13—15.

‡ *Numismatic Manual*, p. 214.

with what fidelity the Greeks in Central Asia preserved, in their coinage, the style of the parent state, both as to design and execution; and we shall further observe how Grecian ideas were reproduced, modified, and gradually barbarized, as they passed away from the Greeks, and were adopted by Scythian dynasties.

We shall now touch on the history derived from the Greek coins of Bactria. On the death of Alexander, this province, esteemed one of the wealthiest in the empire, fell to the share of the Seleucidæ, and was placed under the control of a local Governor. But this viceroy soon raised the standard of rebellion. Antiochus marched against the rebels; formed an alliance with Chandragupta, the monarch of upper India (called Sandracottus by the Greeks), and ceded to him several districts of Lower Bactria—that is part of the country lying south of the Caucasian range, and on either side the Indus. But the bonds, which held together the world-wide empire of Macedonia, soon began to loosen; and the Bactrian governors, though shorn of half their dominions, took advantage of the general confusion to declare themselves independent. The kingdom thus created, embraced Bactria Proper, that is the countries north of the great mountains, and some of the countries to the south. Eastwards were the Paropamisian dominions of the Indian monarchs—a line of kings ennobled by such names as Chandra Gupta, Asoka, and Subhâgasena. Their policy was to profit by the dissensions, which tore the Macedonian empire, and to side with whichever party had the upper hand. In this way, by helping Antiochus against the rebel Greeks of Bactria, they had regained a part of the Paropamisus. To the north were the Scythian hordes, at present tolerably quiet, but containing in themselves the elements of strife and destruction, which should one day burst upon Central Asia. On the west lay the formidable and aggressive kingdom of Parthia.* The Parthian Arsacidæ were originally Syrian subjects. Thirsting for independence, they revolted again and again. The first Bactrian prince purchased indemnity for his rebellion, by aiding the Seleucidæ against his fellow rebels of Parthia.

The second Bactrian prince reversed this policy; made common cause with the Parthians, and helped to establish the throne of the Arsacidæ. He little thought that the power, he thus raised, would one day be to his house the deadliest of rivals. Such were the circumstances and such the neighbours,

* See Mr. H. T. Prinsep's account of the Parthian coins in the cabinet of the East India House, presented by Sir H. Willock.

with which the two first kings of Bactria, both named Diodotus (Theodotus ?), found themselves surrounded. The third, named Euthydemus, had to brave the vengeance of Antiochus, who strove to win back his lost dominions in Central Asia. The Seleucidæ defeated the Bactrians in a pitched battle, and again formed an alliance with the Indians, under king Subhâgasêna, to whom were ceded all the remaining Bactrian provinces, south of the Caucasus. But Antiochus spared the kingdom of Bactria Proper, because he thought it would serve as a convenient barrier against Nomad irruptions.

The next Bactrian prince, named Demetrius, grieved at the loss of these southern Provinces, and sorely pressed in Bactria Proper by an aspirant named Eukratides, determined to re-conquer the Parapomisis, and to found there a kingdom for himself, where he might reign secure from his rival. But while he pushed his victorious arms towards the south, Eukratides pursued him from the North. Having first seized upon Bactria Proper, Eukratides possessed himself of Demetrius's Indian conquests, and again extended the Græco-Bactrian dominion to the banks of the Indus. He had now reached the limit of Bactrian power, and was the sole ruler of Ariana. But the close of his reign was harassed by aggressions from the Parthians and the Scythians; and he was at last murdered by his own son Heliokles.* Before, however, we chronicle the parricide's reign, we must pause to note some internal changes that were in progress.

Hitherto the devices and inscriptions of the Bactrian coinage had been executed in a pure style of Greek art. The figures of the divinities were tastefully engraven. The emblems associated with the main figure, the helmet, fillet, spear, tripod, bow chlamys, ægis, the Herculean club and lion-skin, were all strictly classical. The inscriptions were in polished Greek, with the characters distinctly wrought. But, in the reign of Eukratides, a square copper coinage issued from the Bactrian mints, with bilingual inscriptions. On the obverse of the coin, the legend would be in Greek; on the reverse, in a language and characters, designated by some as Arianian, by others as Kabulian. The task of decyphering and interpreting the words of this language was chiefly performed by James Prinsep. The language was at first supposed to be Zend; but was eventually shewn to be Prakrit, a rude and colloquial form of the language, so well known as Sanskrit. It there-

* It has been doubted whether Heliokles, the parricide, is the Heliokles of the coins. In this place we have followed Professor Wilson.

fore belonged to the Indian family. But the characters were evidently not Indian, being written from right to left. They seemed to belong to the Semitic class, which include the alphabets of the Phœnician Hebrew, and a form of the Pehlevi, nearly allied to these which had a local currency in Western Persia. The precise locality of this language could hardly be Bactria Proper; otherwise, traces of it would have been found in the purely Bactrian coins. From these premises, it was inferred with tolerable certainty, that the dialect belonged to the people, who dwelt west of the Indus, and south of the Hindu Kush—a race partly Indian, and partly Semitic. Such being the language, which the Bactrian princes now adopted on their coinage, it is clear that, from this date, namely the re-conquest of Lower Bactria by Demetrius and Eukratides, the Greek colonists began to cast their ideas in an oriental mould, and to domesticate themselves in their Indian possessions; to conciliate and naturalize their Indian subjects; and to fuse together the Western and Eastern elements of the body politic. It will be found also that the finish of Grecian art in the coinage begins to decline. We shall miss the dignity of the Minerva, the beauty of the Apollo with the rays of glory round his head, the majesty of the thundering Jove, the massive strength of the club-bearing Hercules, the god-like energy of the charging Dioscuri, and the airy gracefulness of the winged Victory. All this must now gradually give place to ruder devices. The elephant's head will occur more frequently than heretofore, and the Indian bull will figure on the coins. In short, the exclusive idiosyncrasy of Grecian coinage will begin to pass away.

We return to Heliokles, the last monarch, who ruled from the Jaxartes to the Indus. At this time the destinies of Parthia were swayed by Mithridates the Great. Arsacidan aggression, commenced during the reign of Eukratides, was perseveringly continued now. The western districts of Bactria having been forcibly annexed to Parthia, and the central provinces severely harassed, the arms of the invader were carried even into the Indian provinces. Some ancient historians, indeed, have included India among the Mithridatic conquests. But Numismatic enquiry would seem to shew that the Parthians did not, at this period, gain any permanent footing south of the Hindu Kush; though subsequently they formed some minor principalities in that quarter. As regards the present period, the coins reveal the names of as many kings, not Parthian, as could have reigned within the ascertained interval of time. Even professor Lassen, who attributes to the Parthians, instead of to the Scythians, the subversion of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom,

admits that these Parthians did not establish any dominion in India, or the Paropamisus. At all events these Parthian invasions, combined with constant attacks from the Scythians, made the Bactrian empire totter to its fall. Its centralization being thus broken up, the several provinces became separate, and ranged themselves under distinct sovereigns.

The coins would shew that, between this date, viz., 155 B. C. and the period of the great Scythian invasion, several synchronous dynasties of Greek origin reigned in different parts of Bactria. Hitherto, assistance has been derived from classical authorities in the composition of a consecutive history. But the coins are henceforth almost our sole guides in tracing the fortunes of these scattered dynasties. Even in the foregoing narrative, although the names, engraven on the coins, had (many of them) been previously known to fame: yet the succession both of persons and events has principally been determined by Numismatic evidence. The sovereigns of one family fortunately adopted a coinage, which, though it differed in details, yet agreed in style. The modelling of the portraiture, the emblematical devices, the dress, and the figuration of the tutelary deity, generally corresponded; just as in modern times, the armorial bearings among the members of the same family correspond. In the brief and eventful period, which intervened between the death of Heliokles and the Scythian invasion, similarity in Numismatic blazonry furnishes valuable data, by which the members of the same dynasty may be grouped together. Identity or similarity in Monograms may also supply means of distinction. The Monogram is a mark or symbol, introduced on the field of the coin. Whatever its particular signification may be, its value remains the same for purposes of identification. The Bactrian Monograms have always been supposed to be something more than mere devices. Many efforts have been made to discover their import without any decisive success. They have been variously considered, as referring to places, to person, and to dates. But it is now generally admitted, that dates are not symbolized by them. From many of them, Captain Cunningham has, with great ingenuity, deduced the forms of letters—which letters he believes to be the initials in the names of various cities and places of mintage; and thus he gathers a mass of collateral information, as to the dominions which belonged to the several dynasties. As yet, however, this interesting path of enquiry has not been thoroughly explored.* Such then are the means,

* It is no new fact in Numismatics, that Exergual abbreviations, which differ but little from Monograms, and also devices, have been employed to mark the places of

which the coins have afforded us of distinguishing the different dynasties in a period, where history is silent.

The names of eighteen kings have been classified under five dynasties. The first four were anterior to the Scythian invasion. The fifth was, probably, founded about the same time with that catastrophe, and certainly survived it. Of the four dynasties first named, two existed in upper, and two in lower, Bactria. Of the two southern dynasties, one was founded by the descendants of Demetrius. It will be remembered, that this prince, flying from Eukratides in Bactria, raised his standard in the Paropamisus. Although Eukratides overran this territory also, yet, after his death, Lysias, the son or descendant of Demetrius, regained this portion of the patrimony. His coins resemble those of his predecessor in configuration, but differ materially from them in language. Demetrius's coinage was purely Greek. In Lysias's coinage, the inscriptions are partly in the language of Ariana. The former was essentially a Bactrian prince, though, towards the close of his career, he aimed at Indian sovereignty. The latter was a Greek sovereign, reigning over an Indo-Semitic people, whose language he adopted in his Numismatic superscriptions. Hence the diversity in the coinage of two kindred sovereigns. After Lysias, Professor Wilson places a king named Amyntas and a queen named Agathokleia, whose husband has since been ascertained to have borne the name of Strato. The imagery of the coins would certainly seem to connect these persons with the Demetrian family. Beyond this, however, there is little information regarding them.

Another kingdom was founded by a prince, named Agathokles, in the provinces adjacent to the Indus.* The exact date of this event is as yet a disputed point. The coins of this king and of his successor Pantaleon are remarkable, as exhibiting, in some degree, the concurrence of Grecian and Asiatic imagery. The inscriptions are bilingual. But the Prakrit words are written, not in the Semitic characters of Ariana, but in the Pali letters of India. The divinity on the coins is Bacchus. An Indian mintage might possibly be thus devoted. Moreover, it is known, that the vine flourished in the mountainous

mintage. The Greeks used to represent the sovereign cities, which issued the coins, by the initial letters of the names : and the Romans represented their places of coinage in the same manner. The British kings used to adopt fanciful devices for this purpose. The devices, however, are so arbitrary, and in such great variety, that, without explanatory information, no consistent theory or interpretation could be based on them. Consult Akerman on this point.

* The position of this king has been much disputed : he has been assigned to several different dynasties. We have again followed Professor Wilson.

regions of that quarter : and some relics have been discovered, which shew, that the worship of the Grecian Bacchus was popular among the mountaineers, or it may have been that the Greek rulers introduced the orgies of their favourite God at the vintage seasons. There is also on the coins a figure of Jupiter, holding a three-headed Artemis, who bears a torch in either hand. In this device, M. Raoul Rochette has discerned the influence of Arianian Mithraism on Grecian mythology. In connection with this idea, we observe a somewhat elaborate female figure, dressed in the Persian, rather than in the Indian, style. This kingdom was short-lived. It was subverted by the still more interesting dynasty of Menander, which we shall advert to presently.

Of the two northern dynasties, one followed Heliokles in direct succession. It comprises the names of only two kings, Antalkides and Archebius. The imagery on their coins would seem to shew that they sprung from the stock of Heliokles. They probably reigned in Bactria Proper, and in the upper part of Arachosia, or the country lying immediately below the Caucasian range.* The other dynasty consisted of Antimachus and Philoxenus. The devices on their coins shew them to have been distinct from the other Bactrian dynasties, and, perhaps, to have imitated the design of the Syrian mintage. Their precise locality has been a matter of much dispute. The figure of Neptune holding a palm branch, and the device of the Indian bull, have been considered to indicate a naval victory gained in the southern seas, towards the mouths of the Indus.† No Numismatic specimens, however, have been discovered in those regions, which confirm this view. Indeed, the coins of this dynasty have been invariably found in more northern localities. Besides, there were so many other principalities, unquestionably founded in this quarter, that it is difficult to find space, or time, wherein to place an additional dynasty. We have followed Professor Wilson in locating them in a tract immediately above the Hazarah hills : from which post it may be presumed that they made a last stand against the Scythians.

The long threatened destruction at length arrived. Down poured the Scythian Sakas from the wilds of Siberia. The hapless empire of Bactria, dismembered by internal strife and harassed by its old enemies the Parthians, fell an easy prey to

* Such is Professor Lassen's opinion. Professor Wilson does not bring them below the mountains.

† The rare occurrence of this figure of Neptune renders it difficult to form a decided opinion. Professor Lassen, being unable to account for the fact of a naval victory in the south, has conjectured that the scene of contest was the *Lacus Drangianus*, or Aral Lake.

the barbarians in 127 B. C. The political ascendancy of Greece, which had long been waning north of the great mountains, now set for ever. The Sakas carried everything before them, till they reached the Caucasus, where, for the present, they rested, content with their triumphs.

We have only now to follow the fortunes of the last remnant of Græco-Bactrian power in the south-eastern extremity of the empire. For some years, previous to the great Scythian inroad, a prince, named Menander, had been overthrowing the petty principalities, which had risen on the ruins of the Bactrian empire, and had consolidated a kingdom in Kabul and in the provinces east of the Indus. It is supposed, with much reason, that he held the upper Doab of the Ganges and Jumna, and may have even penetrated much further, both southward and eastward. He might have shared the fate, which befel his countrymen north of the Caucasus; but the torrent of Scythian invasion was arrested, probably, by the Parthians. And thus, perhaps, the very nation, whose implacable rivalry had made the Bactrian empire defenceless against its barbarous foes, was instrumental in preserving the offshoot, which had established itself in the Paropamisus. So the branch continued to live after the parent trunk had been cut away. Many coins of Menander have been dug up in various parts of the North Western Provinces: and this, coupled with the statements of classical authors,* would go far to shew that his kingdom extended to this neighbourhood. Up to the first century of our æra his coins were current in Guzerat; and there is little doubt, that he held the Indus provinces down to the sea. The various attitudes of mortal combat, in which the coins represent this prince, would shew the many struggles and difficulties by which he attained his regal state. But, when once seated on the throne, he diffused national wealth and contentment: and tradition has handed down, that eight cities contended for the honour of conferring the rites of sepulture on his remains. To his successor have been attributed the names of Apollodotus, Diomedes, and Hermæus. But as to the position of the first two names, both in respect of time and place, serious doubts may be entertained: and it is not improbable that they belonged to some of the earlier Bactrian dynasties. In the coinage of this dynasty, the devices are for the most part purely classical, interspersed occasionally with figures of the bull and the elephant. The regal titles and the representations of the tutelary divinities are, many of them, borrowed from the Syrian mintage of the

* They assert that he passed the river Isamus. This river has been supposed by some to mean the Jumna: Major Cunningham holds that it is the Eesun.

Seleucidæ. But the coins of the last king Hermæus exhibit tokens of decline. The figures, human and divine, the emblems and the letters, become barbarized both in design and execution. And thus the coins begin to tell, in silent, but intelligible, language, that Scythian influence had reached the last stronghold of Bactrian independence, and that the traces of the Macedonian policy in Asia were fast fading away—to be lost for ever. The dynasty of Menander became extinct about 50 B. C. But before we describe the collision of the Scythians with the races of upper India, we shall pause to take leave of political Hellenism in Asia.

The Greeks had now ruled for 200 years in the very heart of Asia:—and to every thinking mind will be suggested the question, what influence had the Greeks on the Asiatics, or the Asiatics on the Greeks? It is generally considered, that, in the eastern Satrapies of the Macedonian empire, the Greek did, to a certain extent, forget the rugged customs of his mountain home, and, while revelling in the luxuries of the East, did adopt oriental manners and imbibe oriental ideas of worship. But the Bactrian Greek was an exception to this rule. The natives of Bactria differed from all the other orientals, with whom the Greeks had mingled. The climate and nature of the country somewhat resembled Macedon. The Mithraic Fire worship, the adoration of the elements, and Zoroaster's doctrine of light were, perhaps, the purest forms of faith, which the unaided mind and feeling of man had ever invented. Professor Lassen says, speaking of Bactria, "Here, if any where, Zoroaster's doctrines must have been preserved most purely: and thus, in the amalgamation of the Oriental and Hellenic character, Bactrian Hellenism must have formed from the beginning a circle in the revolution of the East." The idea of this passage is a fine one: but Numismatic enquiry does not support it, or rather tends to prove the contrary. The many hundred Bactrian coins, which have been discovered, abound in religious devices: but, with the exception of one doubtful instance, a Mithraic emblem is nowhere to be found. Neither are there any indications of Indian mythology. The figures of the gods are strictly Macedonian: and several of them, such as the Hercules, the Minerva, and the trophy-bearing Victory, the Bactrian kings seem to have borrowed from their great prototype, Alexander the Great. They would appear, therefore, not to have mingled any foreign elements with the religion of their forefathers: nor is there any reason to suppose that the native Bactrians imbibed any Greek ideas on religion, as the Scythians subsequently did. The Indo-Bactrians, that is, the people, south of the Cau-

casus and toward the Indus, certainly did not. In fact, they were more likely to proselytise than the Greeks. In India, the Sabæan, or Mithraic, religion, which, probably, had prevailed universally in the East, had degenerated and branched out into two systems, namely, Buddhism and Brahmanism, both distinguished for the power and energy of their priesthood, and both aiming at universal sovereignty, political and spiritual. The established religions of India, therefore, effectually prevented the spread of the Grecian religion to the south of the mountains. In a religious point of view then, there was, probably, no amalgamation between the Greek rulers and their Asiatic subjects: whatever union did subsist was political. That there was some such union, had been already evidenced by the bilingual inscriptions. Some of the regal titles (such as Nikè-phoros, or Soter) were much the same as those borne by the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. The kings, while they fully kept up the prestige of the Grecian name, appreciated the military resources of their subjects, and valued the fame of the Bactrian cavalry, as is evident from the constant appearance of the horse on their coins. That the country grew in material wealth under their rule, is proved by the prolific abundance of their silver coinage. Their mints not only sustained the currency of Bactria Proper, but supplied the wants of the eastern divisions of their empire. The silver pieces of Bactria continued to be a medium of exchange for some centuries after our æra. And, vast as were the monetary and commercial transactions of Upper India, yet the Bactrian fund of silver coinage was so adequate, that it was not found necessary to issue any silver coinage at all in India, until after the decadence of the Indo-Scythian empire in the third century. Nor can any counter inference be drawn from the absence of gold Bactrian coins, inasmuch as the specific reason for this circumstance will be hereafter assigned. There was much wisdom in Antiochus's political principles, when he determined to spare the kingdom of Bactria, in order that it might stand as a dyke between the surging sea of Nomad invaders and the rich lowlands of Central Asia. At that time, the Scythians were hanging like a thunder cloud in the north, ready to rain destruction over the civilized east. The Parthian kingdom, at that crisis of struggle for its own independent existence, was unable to stretch forth the arm of resistance. Had the Bactrian kingdom been at that period annihilated, the Scythians would have overrun Central Asia, swept on to India, or even penetrated to the capital of the Seleucidæ. But, when at last the Scythians did prevail, the Parthians had, in the interval, gathered strength, and the Indian monarchs had steadily consoli-

dated a colossal power. Thus was the progress of the barbarians checked. Such were the benefits that Asia owed to the Bactrian dynasties, that for so many years shielded the east from desolation. And when the fated moment did arrive, the fair structure of Grecian civilization had been so well and firmly raised, that the conquerors were obliged to succumb to the humanizing influences of the conquered—an influence, the same as that which Horace declared the Greeks had exercised over the Romans also;—*Grecia capta ferum victorem cepit*.

Such were the interesting results of the extension of Greek dominion from the Caspian to the Indus. The political supremacy perished, but the moral influence survived. The dynasties, of which we must now treat, are chiefly interesting, because they used the Grecian language, adopted the imagery of the Grecian religion, and venerated Grecian art. They exhibit also the last instances, in which the symbols of Greece were blended, in the same coinage, with those of India. And thus, in the barbaric kingdoms which follow, we shall behold Greece faintly imaged, though “living Greece no more.” Yet we shall see how Greece could “brokenly live on.”

“ Even as a broken mirror, which the glass
In every fragment multiplies ; and makes
A thousand images of one that was—
The same, and still the more, the more it breaks.”

The Scythians, who overthrew the Bactrian kingdom, were urged on, not only by the love of conquest, but also by the spur of necessity. Scythia Proper was not large enough to hold all the Nomad hordes, that were congregated within it. At this period, it was a kind of political volcano. Within its bosom were stirring and heaving all the elements of mischief. At length, with a tremendous eruption, forth there issued a fiery stream of lava, that was to flow resistless over the plains of Asia. The Sakas were the first tribe, that were driven out to seek their fortune in the South. And, in all probability, these were the destroyers of the Bactrian empire. The ancient records of India, when collated with the Chinese and classical histories, leave little doubt that these Sakas—after they had subdued first Bactria and subsequently the Soter dynasty (of Menander) in the Paropamisus, and had brought all upper India under their dominion—were eventually overthrown by Vikramaditya, king of Oujein, in B. C. 56. This monarch, who is a hero-divinity with the Hindus, was surnamed Sakari, or the foe of the Sakas. But either he, or one of his successors, was forced to yield to the Yuchis, a second tribe of Scythians, still more powerful than the first. These Yuchis founded a most

important kingdom, generally styled the Indo-Scythian. In determining the time and place of these Scythian invasions, much assistance has been derived from the Chinese annalists and travellers. It may appear strange, but it is, nevertheless, true, that Chinese literature has been found of great practical utility in these respects.

It should be added, that a series of Indo-Parthian coins have been found, which would shew that, for a brief space, some Parthian princes must have ruled in the direction of the Paropamisus. In all probability, when the Bactrian empire was despoiled, they managed to seize a moiety of the plunder. We shall then first dismiss this line of Parthian kings; and then, passing on to the Scythians, we shall commence with the Sakas, and afterwards proceed with the Yuchis.

Doubts have been already intimated, as to the Parthians having acquired any Indian dominions at an early period. The dynasty, of which we are about to speak, are certainly Parthians, both in name and in style of coinage. The inferiority of the characters, in which the Greek inscriptions are engraven, would shew that the coins belong to the later and declining period of Græco-Asiatic mintage; and the Arianian inscriptions on the reverse would mark an Indian locality. Various attempts have been made, with indifferent success, to identify the first prince Vonones, with personages of that name, who figure in the Arsacidan history of Parthia. The coins of the third prince, Gondophares, are distinguished by a peculiar Monogram, in which Professor Wilson discerns a letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. Ecclesiastical history corroborates most singularly the Numismatic evidence regarding this prince. Saint Thomas is said to have received a divine commission to visit the Indians, who were ruled by a prince named Gondoforus.* The coincidence is somewhat striking. Another prince, styled Abagasus on the coins, is connected with Gondophares by uniformity of Monogram. There are several other princes included in this dynasty. But we do not know enough of their reigns or their policy, to make them interesting. And thus, we must close our account of this distant Indian offshoot of that dynasty, which the name of Mithridates has rendered famous in Roman history, and which was remarkable among the kingdoms of Macedonian origin, from having been finally subverted, not as Bactria, by barbaric invasion, nor as the Seleucidan and Ptolemaic kingdoms by the irresistible progress of Roman conquest, but by

* Sharon Turner's history of the Anglo-Saxons. Note to p. 147, vol. II., quoting a Saxon Life of St. Thomas, to be found among the Cottonian manuscripts. This passage was pointed out to us by a friend.

the zealous onset of religious fervour, by the enthusiastic vigour of Ardeshir Baba-jan, the perpetuator of the Magian tenets, the renovator of the Sabæan and Mithraic religions. And while we treat of the Indo-Scythian dynasties, and reflect how Buddhism and Brahmanism (both offsprings of Mithraism) grew up under the shadow of Greek civilization, till they overspread the extreme East, we should not forget that a great day was at hand for the common progenitor of both; and that Mithraism was to be reinstated in the "high places" of Central Asia.

Our view must now be turned towards the Saka-Scythians. In the earlier coins of this class, the letters can hardly be decyphered, being rude imitations of the Greek: and the names are frequently illegible. The three first names given in Professor Wilson's list, namely, Spalarius, Palirisus, and Mayses, we shall pass over summarily; merely remarking, with respect to the two former, that they are placed by many Numismatists among the Bactrian princes; and regarding the latter, that it corresponds with Mâds or Mâs, which Professor Lassen shews to be of Mithraic origin. We then come to the interesting set of coins, which bear the name of Azes. This prince must have been the greatest, that had appeared in Asia since the days of Alexander. The extension of his rule to the frontier of Central Asia has led many to suppose, that he was of Indian origin. He certainly does sometimes figure on the coins in an Indian attitude. But no Buddhist or Brahmanist emblems are associated with him. Whether he be Indian or not, the Chinese theory, which identifies him with Asoka, or Ayu, is decidedly wrong. On the other hand, some of the best authorities, such as Lassen, conclude him to be Scythian. The figure of the mounted king (a Szu, or Saka device, according to Lassen) and the general aspect of the types would certainly favour this supposition. And it is improbable, that an Indian ever could have reigned north of the Caucasus, as Azes certainly did. His coins were found, chiefly, in the neighbourhood of Peshawar and in Afghanistan, also in various parts of the Punjab, but not lower. They are numerous and greatly diversified both in type, device and monogram; and they are generally executed with much precision and completeness. The inscriptions are in Greek and in Bactro-Pali. The imagery is drawn from Grecian mythology. Beyond this, there are no religious emblems. There are no devices, that could represent Mithraism or Hinduism. The most important coins are those, which indicate the extent of his empire. There is the Bactrian camel,* the Indian lion

* See Professor Lassen's able interpretation of these emblems.

and elephant, the bull of Kabul. There is also a remarkable device, which represents Neptune trampling on a swimming figure. This has been confidently referred to victories gained in the vicinity of the Indus. Connected with the coinage of this prince, are some specimens, bearing the superscription of Azilises, who was, no doubt, a kindred sovereign—whether successor, or predecessor, is uncertain. Belonging to the same series are a most numerous set of coins, displaying the title of “Great king of kings, the Preserver.” One emblem of this set represents a male figure in a long robe, with a cap and fillet, and the right arm stretched over a fire altar. This is interpreted as an evident allusion to the Magian religion. These coins have been found in the very heart of India, at Benares and at Malwa. The nameless title has, by some, been referred to a confederation of states. But it was, probably, the generic name of a line of kings.

The coins, then, show that there arose, upon the ruins of Bactria, a barbaric empire of Saka-Scythian origin, professing a mixed religion, composed of Mithraism, Hellenism, and perhaps Hinduism—an empire, that stretched from the confines of Tartary over the Caucasian range, and thence, centring itself in Afghanistan and the Punjab, reached down to the mouths of the Indus—spread eastward, over the plains of Hindustan, to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna—and, southward, over Rajputana to the Vindhyan range of Central India. But for the coins, what historical speculatist would have dreamt of this? In fixing the dates of this dynasty, we must remember, that it came after the first Scythian invasion, and before the second, by the Tokhares, or Yuchis. It is well known that the Indian king, Vikramaditya, defeated some Saka power. And it may be inferred with tolerable certainty, that these must have been the Sakas so defeated. Then, if this be so, the date of their overthrow may be deduced with precision, for the era of Vikramaditya has been placed beyond doubt.* What became of the Sakas after their Indian defeats, neither history nor Numismatics inform us. It cannot be supposed that Vikramaditya pursued them into Bactria Proper. But whether they maintained their power in that quarter, or yielded to some other Scythian swarm, is unknown—a point too dark even for conjecture. That the Sakas, however, were succeeded in India, after no long in-

* It is unfortunate that Archæologists have not been able to connect Vikramaditya with any one of the several kinds of relics, whether coins, or rock-inscriptions, or pillars; while they have succeeded to so great an extent in establishing the position of Chandra Gupta and Asoka.

terval, by the kindred tribe of Yuchis, or Tokhares, may be regarded as an historical fact. They could not have followed in direct succession, inasmuch as it was Vikramaditya, who overthrew the Sakas. But it is known that the kingdom, which his spirit and patriotism had founded, fell into confusion after his death. And it is most probable, that the Yuchis took that opportunity of usurping his throne and power, and of raising up a great Indo-Scythian empire. We shall, henceforward, hear no more of Bactria Proper; our attention will be confined to upper India, including Affghanistan and the Paropamisus.

The coins of the Yuchi, or Indo-Scythian, dynasty have been discovered in vast numbers. They are entirely gold and copper. There is only one silver specimen in the whole set. Now it has been already stated, that the Bactrian coinage was entirely silver; while the Indian coinage was entirely gold and copper. When we consider that the two countries were con-terminous, and that commercial intercourse and monetary exchange largely subsisted between them, it can hardly be regarded as a fortuitous circumstance, that, in one country, the more valuable coins should be nothing but silver, and, in the other, nothing but gold. It was not that the Indians never availed themselves of a silver currency; for, as was previously mentioned, the silver pieces of Bactria were current in India for some centuries after our æra; so numerous were they, that it must needs be concluded that the Bactrian rulers made special provision for the monetary requirements of India, and augmented the silver mintage accordingly. Why then did the Bactrians follow this policy? some reason there must have been. A reason is supplied by the author of the *Periplus*, who says, that the silver denarii were exchanged with advantage against the gold kaltes of India.* But, when the Bactrian pieces became obsolete and fell out of circulation, and the resources of silver currency thus began to fail, the Indians introduced a silver coinage of their own. Towards the decline of the Indo-Scythic power, and the accession of the great Gupta dynasty, the Satraps of Guzerat† and the Gupta sovereigns of that region coined beautifully in silver, while the coinage of Kanouj, the then capital of northern India, continued to be gold. The monetary remains of the Indo-Scythic epoch seem to shew that this was a period of national wealth and commercial activity. That there was a brisk demand in the money market and the bazaar, is evinced by the

* On this point consult *Wilson's Ariana Antiqua*, and *Cunningham's Numismatic Tract*.

† *Vide* "Saurashtran Coins," by E. Thomas, Esq., B. C. S.

immense issue of copper coins. The pice of the Indo-Scythian Kadphises and Kanerkes were current in the Hindu kingdoms of upper India, and remained in circulation till the Muhammadan invasion. But, besides difference in metal, there will be observed other important changes in the specimens of the coining series. They cease to be bilingual. The coins of Kadphises, the first king on the list, form a single exception to this rule. The Arianian, or Bactro-Pali characters (of which so much has been said) are no more to be seen; the Greek Alphabet alone remains. Heretofore, in each series, Greek mythology has supplied a goodly portion of the imagery: but henceforward that also disappears. Greek art is passing away; but the court language and the fashionable orthography are still Greek. It has been already stated that the general features of the coins, and the localities in which they have been found, prove beyond a reasonable doubt, that this kingdom comprised upper India, that is the tract of country between the junction of the Ganges and Jumna and the Western extremity of the Paropamisus. The first king was Kadphises. Some of his coins were first discovered at Mathura (Muttra) and Allabahad. But the figurations had become indistinct from long friction, and the letters of the inscriptions could not, at that time, be decyphered. These specimens remained therefore unintelligible, until they were compared with the more recently discovered coins. A great number of fellow specimens have been dug up in Kabul and the Punjab. The king's dress and the cast of his features are unquestionably Tartar, or Scythian. In one coin, he appears worshipping at a fire-altar. In some coins, the Hindu Shiva is represented with his usual attributes, and his attendant bull, bedecked after the regular fashion. On the reverses of the coins (as we said before) the Arianian characters are seen for the last time. There are other coins bearing the same name: but, on account of dissimilarity of device, they are conjectured to belong to another Kadphises. It is agreed on all hands, that he was not the only one of his race, who bore this name; and that, at all events, other kings must have intervened between him and the monarch, we are now about to notice, namely, Kanerkes. That this king was of a different lineage from Kadphises, seems clear from the absence of bilingual inscriptions, and an additional set of honorific titles derived from the Magian vocabulary. But general uniformity of design and monogram, and identity in place of discovery, would show that both princes belonged to the same race and the same kingdom. On some of the Kanerkian coins, there appears the figure of the Sakya Sinha, one of the Mûnis or patron saints of Budhism, in a

preaching or benedictory attitude. Major Cunningham considers* that he has got a coin of this king, in which the aspect of the figure is eminently Buddhist, and with an inscription, which he decyphers as an invocation to Budha. This prince has also been identified with Kaniki, or Kanishka, a king known to Cashmerian history, and a zealous Buddhist.†

The coins of the next king, Kenorama, are in much the same style as the preceding. But the constant occurrence of the elephant would seem to denote the consolidation of the kingdom in the interior of India. Neither is there any thing that calls for especial notice in the coinage of the next king, Oerkes, except that his dress closely resembles the vestments of the Sassanian kings of Persia, as depicted on their coins. There is a fire altar plainly represented in the coins of the next king, Baraoro. The regal head dress is unquestionably Sassanian.‡ We next come to a set of coins, inscribed with the name, Ardokro: whether it belonged to one, or to several monarchs, is uncertain. Their principal type is a female, sitting on a high-backed throne, and holding a cornucopia.§ The recurrence of this type in the Gupta coins of Kanouj (and it will be remembered that the Guptas succeeded the Indo-Scythians), associated with regular Hindu inscriptions in Sanskrit, marks the Ardokro coins as the last of the Indo-Scythian series, and as belonging to the transition period, when the last vestiges of Bactrian influence and Grecian civilization were fast fading from our view to be seen no more. From a comparison of the respective types and monograms, James Prinsep has pronounced the Indo-Scythian to have been the original model of the Kanouj coinage. And thus Indo-Scythic history may, perhaps, explain the Rajput tradition, which declares the founder of the Kanouj race of Rahtores to have been a Yâvan, or Greek, of the Asi or Aswa tribe. A Bactrian chief was, no doubt, meant. The tradition, however, is only useful as showing that Indian tradition preserved the remembrance of dominant races, who had come down from the north. It cannot have much historical significance: for the Rajput bard forgot, or ignored the fact, that it was the comparatively low caste Guptas, and not the high-born Rahtores, who drove back the Indo-Scythians. In Surat also, the southern extremity

* *Numismatic Tracts*.—J. A. S. Bengal.

† See J. Prinsep's account of this king in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*; also Cunningham's *Treatise on Kashmerian coinage*.—*Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VI., (1843.)

‡ *Vide* Wilson's Account of the Sassanian coins.

§ Lassen has observed that the Saka kings are generally represented as mounted, and the Yuchis seated in a chariot, or on a throne.

of their empire, the Indo-Scythians left their Numismatic devices to be imitated by their successors.* These Numismatic coincidences, while they prove what James Prinsep called "the Indo-Scythic paternity of the Kanouj coinage," are still more valuable as establishing the consecutive order of events.† The later history of Kanouj is detailed in genuine and authentic narratives, and may form a sound basis on which to raise a structure of Numismatic facts. If, therefore, the connection of the Kanouj coinage with the Indo-Scythic, and the connection of the latter with the earlier Scythian, coinage, and again the connection of this last coinage with the Græco-Bactrian and the Macedonian (when we again meet the domain of history) be all made out, as we trust it has—then something has been done to evince the fidelity and trustworthiness of Numismatic enquiry, and to vindicate, in legal phrase, the "admissibility" of the coins as evidence.

By this time, that is, the beginning of the third century, a race of Gupta chiefs had arisen. They expelled the Indo-Scythians: and, having thus rid themselves of foreign domination, they founded a kingdom, which extended from Nepal to Guzerat and from Magadha to the Paropamisus. And thus Hindu supremacy was restored in the north of India, where it had not been known since the days of Chandragupta and Asoka.

But before this Indo-Scythic dynasty is finally dismissed from our consideration, there are one or two questions, connected with the religious emblems of their coins, which merit a brief discussion. What, for instance, meant the Mithraic emblems? how and from whence did they get to India? Elemental worship was the original faith of Central Asia. It is known by the several names of Magian, Sabæan, and Mithraic. This superstition, in itself purer and simpler than other forms of heathenism, soon became corrupted, and degenerated into a mythology, the most stupid and senseless of all.‡ As the religion spread, a number of strange names and epithets were incorporated into the sacred nomenclature, and the deified heroes of neighbouring nations were allowed the honor of apotheosis in the Mithraic Pantheon. But this Persian mythology, though it no doubt was venerated in the homes of the people, does not appear to have been more than tolerated by the successors of Alexander. As far as we know it was not politically encouraged,

* See "Saurashtran Coins."

† See *Tod's Rajasthan*—Connection of the Rajputs with the Scythians, Chapter I. and VI.

‡ See Malcolm's Account of the process of corruption in the *History of Persia*.

and it certainly did not receive the allegiance of the kings. When the Greeks lost their political power, the barbaric conquerors at first adopted the Grecian, and not the Magian, mythology. And thus for many years, the Greek religion continued to be fashionable. The Yuchis, however, rejected the European, and adopted the Asiatic, mythology. But when established in India, they deemed it politic to encourage the two prevailing religions of that Peninsula, namely, Brahmanism and Buddhism—which were after all only offsprings of the parent Mithraism. Hence it was that the emblems of Shiva, of Budh, and of Mithra, appear together on the Indo-Scythic coinage. We will first notice the names and figures, characteristic of Mithraism.*

The titular terms Miro, Mioro, or Mithro, attached to the regal names of the Kanerkian dynasty, are identified with the word Mithra, the Zendic name for the sun. This famous word, which has given a name to the Mithraic religion, re-appears in Persian as Mihir, in Sanscrit as Mitra and Mihira. But in these two languages, it is only one name for the sun out of many: whereas the original Mithra means the one sovereign sun, and corresponds with the *Ilèlios*, also found on the coins. He is seen in a flowing dress, with light radiating round his head. The *Deus Lunus* of Asia Minor appears on the coins under the Zendic name of Mao and Manao Bago, corresponding with the Sanscrit word, *Mas*. The figure resembles that of the sun, only instead of the rays we have the lunar circlet. In connection with this divinity, the coins give the name of Nanaia, Nàna, and Nàna Rào. This goddess, a tributary of the moon, is the triple faced *Artemis* of *Agathokles* (the Bactrian king), the *Anaitis* of the Persians, the *Anaia* of Armenia, the *Bibì Nànì* of the Muhammadans.†

Next we have *Athro* on the coins, the peculiar god of the *Ignicolae*, the personification of fire. The figure is encircled with the sacred element, and the hair seems to wreath itself into flames. The name is also Zendic, and agrees with "*Atars*," Fire. The word "*Oado*" on the coins has been identified with the Zendic "*Vato*" and the Persian "*Bad*," Wind. Two words "*Okro*" and "*Ardokro*" have not been satisfactorily explained. The "*Ard*" has been reasonably conjectured to be the common prefix "*Arta*," Great, as in *Arta Xerxes*. Another name, "*Pharo*," on account of the similarity of the figure to which it is attached, has been supposed to be an epithet of the sun.

* See Lassen's interpretation of these names and figures.

† Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*.

Now, it must be steadily borne in mind, that *all* these names are written in the Greek character. Thus was the Greek language made the medium, by which the people of India were to learn the sacred terminology of the Persian Zendavesta. Until the discovery of the coins, no three things could be more separate—more irreconcilably disconnected—than this language, this people, and this religion. But now the coins have brought these three together! And, thus corrupted, Mithraism was to run its course, not only in Ariana, but in the Indian Peninsula. It was soon, however, to be driven out from the former by the Sassanian descendants of the great reformer, and from the latter by the Guptas.

The blending of Brahmanist symbols with the pantheistic imagery of the Indo-Scythians needs not excite surprise; but the admission of Buddhist emblems may suggest a few observations. For some time Buddhism was denied its proper place in history. It had the misfortune to be overthrown by a system, in which historical mendacity in support of religious tenets was held to be a cardinal virtue.* The Brahmanists, having established the most complete civil and ecclesiastical polity, and elaborated a polished literature, were reluctant to admit that there had been such a thing, as a Buddhism, which once ran Brahmanism very hard in the race of dominion. But the veil was gradually withdrawn. Chinese literature gave forth its stores of information. Accounts came pouring in from Burmah, Thibet, Nepal, Ceylon. The earth and the mountain yielded up their monumental treasures. Caves were penetrated—relics dug up—rock inscriptions decyphered. The writings on the Delhi and Allahabad pillars were read. The coins began to tell their story. As our knowledge of the dynasties, which ruled in upper India and Kabul, began to increase, the works of several Chinese travellers, who visited India during the first five centuries of our æra, were critically examined.† The correctness of their Geography and the general truth of their statements were remarkably verified by the relics and the coins, which have formed the subject of the present treatise. From all this evidence, some scholars have believed that the Pali language was current, and the Buddhist faith dominant, at a

* We do not of course mean to say that Buddhism was not mentioned in Sanskrit Literature, but only that its position was not duly described.

† We need not give the names of these travellers. The accounts of their travels were most elaborately commented on by Remusat, Klaproth, Burnouf, and others. The work of the principal traveller, Fa Hian, having been translated into French, was again translated into English by Mr. Laidley of Calcutta.

time, when the polished form of the Sanscrit was unknown, and when Brahmanism could not raise its head.* Without going so far as this, and without claiming any undue antiquity or pre-eminence for Buddhism, we may safely say that for sometime, it was at least co-extensive with, and at one epoch, superior to, Brahmanism; that it extended as far north, and was probably carried into Indian kingdoms beyond the Indus and below the Caucasian range—countries, whither Brahmanism perhaps never penetrated; that some of the most illustrious Hindu monarchs were its disciples—monarchs, who made treaties with Antiochus the Great, and kept the Bactrian Greeks at bay; and that it took its place, side by side with Brahmanism and Mithraism, in the adoration of the Indo-Scythians, we have already seen. And this fact was further strengthened by Captain Cautley's exhumation of a Buddhist city at Behar, near Seharunpur. Among the ruins were discovered, not only a series of Indo-Scythian coins with the Buddhist symbols, but also a collection of undoubtedly Buddhist relics. The discovery of Indo-Scythian coins in the Buddhist topes of Affghanistan has been already described.

With the extinction of the Indo-Scythian power will close the historical drama, allotted to this article. However incomplete our treatment of the subject may have been, we trust that, at all events, the history itself has been proved to merit attention. It has been seen that Numismatics has exhibited the history of three great nations, the Græco-Bactrian, the Bactro-Scythian, and the Indo-Scythian. The coins have shown how the Greeks consolidated their power, and extended it to the furthest East; how they preserved their religion, arts and civilization in pristine purity, and yet cemented the bonds of political union with their Eastern subjects; how they led on their people in the onward course of commercial activity and national prosperity; how they held the barbarians in check; and how, weakened by internal strife, and struggling with their rivals, the Parthians, they fell an easy prey to the Scythians. The coins have shewn how the Bactro-Scythians raised a vast, but short-lived, Empire, at one time, greater even than the Græco-Bactrian; how they borrowed the arts, policy, language, and religion of the Greeks; how at the same time they engrafted on this noble stock, the mythology and the forms of oriental worship. Lastly, the coins have shewn how, on the expulsion of the Bactro-Scythians, a kindred race of Indo-Scythians seized the southern and eastern portions of the old empire; how they augmented the material

* See Colonel Sykes' treatise on the religious, moral and political state of India, before the Muhammadan invasion.

wealth of monetary currency of this new kingdom; how they adopted and blended together the ideas and the superstitions of the three great sects of orientalism, but still retained the Greek, as the classical language of the court and the state. Such facts as these History had not shewn, and, unless new materials should be discovered, never could shew: Besides these points, on which coins alone have furnished the main body of the evidence, they have supplied a mass of collateral and supplementary information regarding the origin and growth of some of the oldest eastern languages and the most potent eastern religions. Those, who imagine that this picture is overdrawn, we must refer to the many learned and elaborate treatises, both English and continental, alluded to in the foregoing pages, and to the plates, with which most of the works are embellished, and by means of which the reader may judge for himself, whether the inferences drawn from the coins are just and fair, or not.

It must not, however, be concluded that the Numismatists of India are resting on their oars, or are content with the archæological trophies already won. There are, we doubt not, many acute and accomplished minds still labouring to throw additional light on the facts of this history. Not a year passes away without some circumstances being adduced in confirmation, addition, correction, or illustration. Much has been done in the way of correction. The position of individual kings, and even the dates and localities of particular dynasties have been occasionally altered; but the cardinal points of the narrative, the nature and extent of the several kingdoms, the succession of races, languages and religions—all this has stood unassailed and unimpeached throughout the ten years of Numismatic scrutiny. And it is upon *these* points that we have endeavoured to dwell, rather than upon points of minor importance, which cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, and which do not affect general principles or theories. Much has also been done in the way of corroboration. And few portions of the subject have been more strengthened than that which relates to the geographical extent of the several kingdoms, both classical and barbarian, which existed in upper India. The tendency of recent discoveries has been to shew that Kabul and the Punjab formed the pivot, on which often turned the fate of Central Asia and of India. It is, indeed, no newly discovered fact that this region has been to Asia, what the Netherlands were to Europe, the arena of incessant contest between the different aspirants to universal dominion. But for aught that history told us to the contrary, we might have supposed that it enjoyed

a respite from contention during the long interval between the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander and of the Mussulmans under Mahmud. The coins, however, shew that during this period also, it was as sharply contested for, as it ever has been subsequently;—that it was the battle field, not only of ambitious autocrats, but also of races, religions, and opinions;—that it was the scene of such contests, as might be anxiously looked upon (to borrow the Homeric notion) by the gods of Greece, by the Hindu Triad, by the Gautamas of Budhism, and by the elemental divinities of Zoroaster.

Nor must it be supposed that Indian Numismatics stop here. We have only traced the History of India for six hundred years. But the coins, to use Professor Wilson's words, have followed the destinies of India for two thousand years. Following the Indo-Scythian dynasty in close order, there come several series of Hindu coins, which explain much that was obscure in the Ante-Muhammadian period of Indian history, and which conduct us down to the epoch of Muhammadian conquests. Then, following the tracks of authentic history, the coins accompany us through the periods marked by the several Muhammadian dynasties, and by the different policies, which they pursued;—until at last there appears a coinage, which has spread even further than the Macedonian, which heralded a civilization higher than that of the Greeks, and which belonged to an empire greater than that of Alexander. These subjects may perhaps be treated of in a future article: but we shall not touch upon them at present, inasmuch as we have confined ourselves to the limits of Greek dominion and influence in the East.

- ART. V.—1. *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta.* 1825-43.
2. *Reports of the Commission for enquiring into the state of large and populous districts.* London. 1844.
3. *Report of the General Board of Health on the epidemic Cholera of 1848-49, with appendices.* London. 1850.
4. *Act X. of 1842. An Act for enabling the inhabitants of any place of public resort or residence under the Presidency of Fort William, not within the town of Calcutta, to make better provision for purposes connected with public health and convenience.* Calcutta Government Gazette, 14th October, 1842.
5. *Act XXVI. of 1850. An Act to enable improvements to be made in towns.* Calcutta Government Gazette, 21st June, 1850.
6. *Report on Small Pox in Calcutta, and Vaccination in Bengal.* By Duncan Stewart, M. D. Calcutta. 1844.
7. *Report of the Small Pox Commissioners appointed by Government, with an Appendix.* Calcutta, 1st July, 1850.
8. *Medical Report on the Mahamurri in Gurhwal in 1849-50.* By Dr. C. Renney, Superintending Surgeon. Agra. 1851.
9. *Suggestions for the extension and perfection of Vaccination, simultaneously with the systematic study of epidemic and endemic diseases in India.* By J. R. Bedford, Assistant Surgeon. Calcutta. 1851.

WHILST civilized man, throughout the world, has brought his highest faculties to bear upon the adaptation of natural products to his wants and wishes; whilst sage and savage, each in his own degree, have separately, from the earliest ages, toiled to find a remedy for bodily disease, the 'heritage of their' common fall;—the conviction, amongst educated nations, of the possibility of, not alone subduing, but actually warding off, its inroads, is but newly awakened; and, even now, the question of its truth trembles in the mental balance of not an inconsiderable number. It is ever the law of mind to disbelieve all evils imperfectly understood. Sanatory Reform labours under the disadvantage of dealing with mal-influences, which speak not for themselves, but require to be long and sedulously studied, ere their distinct and undeniable relation to disease be recognized. Now that the light of full intelligence is breaking on the public mind, the ignorance of past ages is inexplicable. Air, light, and water, the very elements of life and health, have been systematically, it would appear, excluded from the doomed inhabitants of large cities; whilst plague and pestilence, sweeping

away their tens of thousands in the prime of life, have come in vain, as far as any practically operative warning was concerned. Civilization, unaccompanied by sanatory knowledge, has played an evil part. The high pressure of commercial activity in England, combined with want, has forced into the industrial classes a child-population, who, instead of obtaining purity of mind and healthiness of body in open fields, have been condemned to doubtful companionship, to weakened power, retarded growth, and imperfect development of mind and body, by a system of precocious labour in close unhealthy factories. Nor does the evil end with this: a deteriorated race begets a like progeny; and thus, by slow degrees, the stout yeoman, filtered through successive generations, rises to the surface a crippled mindless man.

If the injurious conditions, we have thus so lightly touched upon, be fatal to life and health in ordinary times, how must their influence become enhanced, during any epidemic constitution of the air—when the angel of death hovers above and around us, thrusting his fiery torch into every spot, in which the neglect of nature's laws has suffered to accumulate the fuel appropriate to its flame! If this be true of England, where with happily rare exceptions, a wide spread pestilence is now unknown, and where a recently awakened Government, aided by scientific minds, is putting forth all its strength to crush the Hydra, what shall we say of India, our present theme—a land where death rides rampant, trampling an untold number of victims beneath his courser's heels, with each successive year? Here no breathing time is given. Epidemics prevail at all and every season, sometimes acquiring a maximum of destructive power, at others sinking to a point, which, still in western nations, would be viewed with horror and affright. And how has this been remedied? What steps have been taken to protect the people over whom we rule, to save ourselves, and to circle with a fence those, whose lives are dearer to us than our own, against the fell destroyer? Absolutely next to nothing. With the exception of Calcutta (for we limit our remarks to the presidency of Bengal, although little doubting their applicability to the subordinate Governments), our Indian towns remain unchanged, from what they were two thousand years ago.

Deeply impressed ourselves with the truth of all that has been urged by sanatory writers, we cite their testimony, in conjunction with our own experience, to impress upon the rulers of this land, the absolute and urgent necessity of putting into force, without delay, a system of reform, which shall gradually purge the country of physical ills. A more ex-

tended knowledge of the subject will demonstrate, that these are not confined to Hindustan, but constitute a nucleus and nursery for that plague, which never dies with us—the Cholera—and which seems destined, whilst we remain indifferent, to burst its bounds with each decade of years, and roll a flood tide of death and desolation over Europe, than which the lava-stream of thousands of volcanoes would be less destructive.

The Acts, which we have placed at the head of our article, prove that the legislature is not indifferent to the welfare of that great section of the human family amongst whom our lot is cast. Eight years ago gave birth to the first in order. This, owing, it is said, to difficulties in its operation, which, we fervently believe in some cases, are but another expression for the apathy of the local executive, has, with one or two exceptions, never been brought into force throughout the length and breadth of India. Such apparent failure in legislation demanded a second attempt; and such, much to the credit of Government, and in proof of its continued interest in so vital a subject, was made in 1850, when Act XXVI. saw the light, the previous one being simultaneously repealed. How far the new provisions are calculated to effect the object sought, we shall hereafter inquire, merely remarking, *in limine*, that legal facilities for such a reform are useless, unless combined with an inclination on the part of the public, both European and native, to avail themselves of the law. Of what the Indian public of a Mofussil town is composed, and how likely it is to avail itself of any measure involving taxation, our eastern readers need not be informed; and our English ones may guess, when we assure them, that on several occasions, within our own experience, a meeting of native Mofussil gentlemen got together, with some difficulty, for the express purpose of considering Act X. of 1847, above referred to, have one and all declined having any thing to do with it, when it was understood that its adoption, even though accompanied by the most important improvements, was likely to involve them in the slightest pecuniary contribution. Under these circumstances, it becomes doubly imperative upon official European residents, to give a mental impulse to their fellow-townsmen, to lead the way, and not to await the spontaneous efforts of those, who, in regard to knowledge of requirements for the public health, must of necessity be very ill-informed.

To bring home the necessity of Sanatory Reform to the heads and hearts of all, we have deemed it well to consider

the movement, in conjunction with epidemic disease—a form of malady only too familiar to us exiles of the East, and which may yet, unless we be warned in time, rob us of those, for whom life is most cherished. The subject appeals to no one class alone, but is of world-wide interest. To neglect it, is only equal to the inconceivable madness of a squatter in the far western wilds, who should omit to close and bar his door, when howling savages prowl around his dwelling, thirsting for blood. We tell those who shut their ears in wilful ignorance to our appeal, that Cholera, Small Pox, and Fever, are the wild and howling savages of medicine, the more dreadful, because no bars or bolts exclude them. In either case a remedy is to be found by eradicating all hiding places for the foe. As civilization converts the forest into a smiling plain, studded with fields and man's abodes, so does sanatory science proscribe the reeking drain, the filthy cesspool, and the crowded dwelling, which serve as hot-beds and manufactories of disease. Impressed with these feelings, before entering on the present and possible state of our Mofussil towns, we shall offer a slight sketch of the epidemics, with which India (or at least that portion of it contained in the Bengal Presidency) has been afflicted. For this knowledge, we are entirely indebted to the Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta—a work no less honorable to its authors and contributors, than valuable to the student of Indian disease;—and especially to him, who, at an early period after his arrival in this country, finds himself the isolated arbiter of life and death, amongst surrounding thousands. Whether as a history of the past, a guide for the present, or a stimulant to future emulative exertion, such a record is imperatively necessary; and we regard the discontinuance of the publication, as much in the light of a social misfortune, as a blot and reproach to the Medical Service. If Calcutta could afford no men of literary energy and skill, willing to continue the Society from which it issued, and able to wield their pens in its behalf—we conceive, it was the bounden duty of Government to have carried on the work. Such a course would have redounded, no less to the credit of the state, than to the advantage of its subjects. Owing to circumstances, which no great acumen is required to understand, literary and scientific enterprise in the East commands no permanent existence without extrinsic support. To this well known fact, medical literature is no exception. That Governmental aid is not a visionary hope, we are well assured, by that so liberally extended to the Asiatic Society. None can respect more than ourselves, the sciences, which have found in it so

fit a nurse; but we would venture to suggest, that the healing art has claims also. "They manage these things better in France." In that country, so enlightened in all that pertains to science, a Medico-Military Journal appertaining to the state, has existed from the year 1763, that is for a period of something less than 100 years; and, since 1815 only, fifty-eight volumes have seen the light. We cannot forbear quoting a sketch of its history from the *British and Foreign Medical Review* of January 1847:—

In 1763, Dr. Richard de Haute-sierck, Inspector of military hospitals, pointed out to the Duc de Choiseul, then minister of war, the advantages which would accrue to the Medical Department of the army, from calling upon the Surgeons attached to hospitals, to give a regular account of their practice, and to correspond, on the subject with the Inspector General, who should be empowered to publish the result of that correspondence. The minister authorized Dr. Richard to carry out his plan, and to collect and publish, at the expense of Government, any interesting observations and rare cases, which might thus be communicated to him. In 1766, he accordingly brought out a quarto volume, entitled *Recueil d'observations de la Médecine des Hopitaux Militaires*; wherein, after laying down the plan on which the Journal was to be in future conducted, he pointed out the necessity of studying the medical and physical topography of the countries commonly occupied by the troops, and especially, the salubrity or insalubrity of the various garrison towns, barracks, prisons, and hospitals. He also gave several reports of cases, descriptions of epidemics, some topographical memoirs—particularly, of the towns of Montpellier, Châlons-sur-Saone, Toulon, Lille, Bitche, and Strasburg—and a formulary of prescriptions for the use of the military hospitals. The gratuitous distribution of this work excited the zeal of the medical officers of the army, and increased the amount of correspondence on these subjects. In 1772, a second volume was published, which contained four memoirs on topography, five on epidemic diseases observed in France between 1764 and 1770, with many medical and surgical cases. Dr. Richard, for his services, received the riband of St. Michael, and was created Baron de Haute-sierck.

In 1781, an ordinance was published on the subject of the Medical Department of the army, by which, among other things, the *Journal de Médecine, de Chirurgie, et de Pharmacie Militaire* was established; it was to appear every three months, and to be compiled by a retired consulting physician of the army. The object of this Journal was to promulgate facts and opinions, relative to the preservation of the health of soldiers, or to the successful treatment of their diseases; and nothing foreign to the medical department of the army, or of the military hospitals, was to be inserted. The first volume was published in 1782; and it continued to appear regularly till 1789, forming seven octavo volumes.

The changes of the administration of the army by the council, established by the minister of war in 1788, caused the publication of the Journal to be suspended. It was not intended to suppress it altogether: but the new directory of the hospitals announced in 1789, that it would no longer be brought out at stated terms, as a periodical work. From this date till 1801, the instability of affairs in France, and the numerous calls of duty on the council of health of the army, prevented the preparation of another volume. In that year, several officers were appointed to prepare a summary of the most important papers, which had been collecting dur-

ing the preceding twelve years; but, before this was completed, their services were required with the grand army. Nothing further appears to have been done till 1815, when the Journal was re-established—M.M. Biron and Fournier Pescay being appointed the editors. It was at first brought out in bi-monthly numbers; but, this having been attended with many disadvantages, the editors resolved, in 1817, to publish it for the future in half-yearly volumes; and the title was at the same time changed to that which it at present bears. The minister of war, in his letter to the Inspectors of hospitals in 1815, states the object of the Journal to be, “to diffuse sound instruction among the medical officers of every rank, and to communicate to them, without delay, the discoveries, which shall be made in the theory and practice of the healing art. All the medical officers are called upon to contribute materials to the Journal. The publications of their labours will have the double advantage of being useful to the service, and of maintaining among all a noble emulation. In short, this Journal will become a depot, where each one may treasure up the result of his researches and the discoveries he may have made.”

To obtain the materials necessary for carrying on this work, the principal medical officers of hospitals and the surgeon majors of regiments were directed to forward monthly reports, embracing all subjects relating to the health of the troops, either in the prevention or treatment of disease. They were also to give a detailed history of rare cases of disease among the soldiers; an account of any epidemics, with their probable causes and most successful treatment; meteorological observations, &c. The principal medical officers of hospitals were, likewise, to transmit quarterly numerical returns of admissions and deaths, and of the diseases by which these were caused. If these were ever furnished regularly, but little use appears to have been made of them; which we the more regret, as army medical officers possess opportunities of compiling satisfactory reports, which rarely fall to the lot of the medical profession in civil life.

The editors, being fully impressed with the importance of the study of military Hygiene, called the attention of the medical officers to the advantages to be derived from a careful examination of the “rules and precepts relating to the preservation of the health of soldiers, and to the most suitable means for removing or diminishing the fatal influence of the numerous causes of disease, to which they are exposed, both in peace and war.” M. Biron, in the second volume of the Journal, published a valuable Memoir on this subject, in which he directed attention to the principal objects of study. These he arranged under seven general heads; 1st, of the choice of the soldier; his physical and moral qualities, and the influence of military discipline on the recruit; 2nd, of the diet of soldiers; 3rd, of the clothing of troops; 4th, of their quarters:—*a*, barracks:—*b*, military prisons; *c*, hospitals; *d*, camps and bivouacs; 5th, of marches, exercises, and military works; the influence of, *a*, victories; *b*, retreats; *c*, captivity; 6th, duties of officers; discipline and habits of the soldier, inculcating the maxim, *qu’il faut le défendre contre lui-même, et lui faire du bien malgré lui*; 7th, of the duties of surgeon-majors of regiments.

Fifty-eight volumes of this Journal have now been published—a monument of the industry of the medical officers of the French army, and of the zeal and good sense of the council of health. The subjects chiefly treated, besides numerous interesting cases in medicine and surgery, are Hygiene; medical topography; histories of epidemics among the troops; clinical reports from various military hospitals; surgical histories of campaigns; reviews of works on military medicine and surgery; biographical notices of deceased medical officers of the army; extracts from the addresses to the pupils of the military hospitals at the annual

conours, and the names of the successful candidates at these *conours*."

From this it would appear, that the inquiries, which have been but recently proposed to the medical officers of the Bengal army, were instigated by the French Government no less than thirty-five years ago;—with this most important difference, however, that whilst the continental military surgeons were stimulated by the hope of an honourable publicity for their labours, our Indian medicos may work their fingers to the bone, in driving the gray goose quill, and yet its fruits shall enjoy "a sleep that knows no waking." Reports demanding care and skill are now required: but we much fear that, "each in his narrow cell for ever laid" upon some dusty shelf in Leadenhall-street, or amongst the archives of the Medical Board, their fate will be annihilation. Why has the British Indian Government yet to learn, that a Scientific Board and Office of Record fulfils but half its trust, in hoarding up, as in some living tomb, the stores of knowledge, which every day accumulate? Its noble task should be (and it is one well fitted to the able and experienced men, who now hold office) to generalize, and, from the thousand facts before them, to deduce great truths. If it be affirmed (as we believe it truly may be) that the establishment is insufficient to effect more than the current business of the day, then the Government might easily remedy the evil, by appointing an additional officer, as assistant secretary, to whom should be confided the task of benefiting the future by investigating the past, whilst his colleagues, as now, directed their attention to the present. Whatever may have been the feeling of Medical Boards in days gone by, we recognize but one sentiment in the present—that of courteously affording every facility to scientific inquirers. The will is, however, most unfortunately hampered by such a paucity of establishment, as forbids assistance being rendered, and thus virtually denies all benefit which might otherwise be derived.

We are well aware that works of striking merit have been published at the Government expence, when called for; and, doubtless, they would be so again; but we doubt whether the public treasury would saddle itself with the expense of printing any other communications than those absolutely asked for by the state, even though possessed of unexampled merit. But even were it so, a cumbrous correspondence must be the necessary preliminary. What we desire to see, is a State Journal of military medicine, supported, if need be, by the public purse:—but we confidently believe, that it would involve no pecuniary loss, as a moderate price should be charged upon each number. More-

over, it must be remembered, that many Topographical and Small Pox Reports, together with other works, such as Dr. Irvine's account of the *Materia Medica* of Patna, Dr. O'Shaughnessy's *Bengal Pharmacopæia*, and the surgical history of the last Punjab campaign, by Field-Surgeon Macrae, which might fitly have found a place in such a Journal as we advocate, were printed at Government cost.

We trust, however, better days are coming! The publication of its "Records" by the Bengal Government gives golden promise, that, in one office at least, the white-ant will, in future, be cheated of his prey; or, at all events, that his food shall first be "wedded to immortal type,"—a circumstance, which, we apprehend, will considerably benefit the world, without defrauding him of the good things, in which he has hitherto had a vested interest.

We have been led into this digression, through failing to obtain any printed account of the epidemic diseases of Bengal, earlier than 1825, the year in which the first volume of the Transactions under review appeared. In other words, a period of about seventy-five years, dating from the virtual commencement of our power, has been suffered to elapse without the publication of any available record of this important class of disease.

The year 1825, then, must be the starting point—as our readers need not be told of the epidemic form assumed by Cholera in 1817, and of the fatality apparently occasioned by the same disease at Ganjam, in the latter portion of the last century. To enquire into the antiquity of Cholera, is not our purpose here. Much may be said on both sides. Tradition may be trusted so far, as to justify the belief, that, even if co-eval with the Hindu race, the unfortunate year 1817 gave birth to an access of intensity. A native peasant's notions of his early years are seldom very clear: but we have always found a wonderful unanimity in the opinion, that the present fearful mortality of Cholera was unknown at the commencement of the present century, and that its existence, as a wide spread pestilence, was rare. The first Epidemic, recorded in the Transactions, is the Inflammatory Fever of 1824, which is thus described by Dr. Mellis:—

'What is the cause of the epidemic?' is now, and has for months past been, the question put to medical men, by almost every person in this city (Calcutta) and its suburbs. While some attribute it to want of rain, others look for it in the increased heat and closeness of the weather; and there are not a few who, considering the disease to have been contagious, or infectious, left their dwellings, and removed, either to boats on the river, or to distant stations.

Whether the quantity of rain which fell, was (from its scantiness or other-

wise) the cause of this disease, or not, remains to be shown ; and although, from the circumstances I shall state hereafter, we shall have reason to acknowledge, that heavy falls of rain did bring on the disease, yet the influence of atmospheric changes, as connected with calorific and electricity, must not be overlooked.

In our pursuit after knowledge, it is little cheering at times to find, that we are surrounded by immaterial and invisible agents, which elude our grasp, and can never become the subject of analysis or demonstration.

In so far, therefore, as certain conditions of atmosphere operate on our constitutions, on mind, as well as on matter, we must ever be much in the dark ; and not less so, as regards the same imperceptible agency, causing changes, as well in the course or march, as in the character, of epidemic diseases.

Thankful ought we all to be, that this disease has proved so mild in its character ; for we know well, that a different constitution of the atmosphere, such as existed during the prevalence of the Cholera, might have changed the symptoms from those of a mild, to those of a most deadly, nature. Had such been the case, I doubt not, that fear and terror would have brought under subjection the few that remained untouched by the distemper ; and that this city, the residence of nearly half a million of beings, would have become one vast charnel-house, with none to bury the dead, and few to save the living.

I am led to make these remarks from the circumstances of this disease having (with very few exceptions,) spared none of either sex, or of any age. The new-born infant, the aged, the weak and the robust, the rich and the poor, those reduced by disease to the lowest state of existence, as well as those under the influence, of medicine, and under usual discharges from the system, all were alike the objects of its attack ; for no condition, nor circumstances of any sort, seem to have availed in preventing it. Many families residing at a considerable distance from Calcutta, so far as twelve or fourteen miles—those who had houses at Barrackpore, Serampore, Dum-Dum and Garden Reach—thought, for a considerable time, that they had escaped ; but at these places the disease ultimately appeared, neither altered in character, nor in effect. On the river, too, higher than Berhampore, and so far down as the Sand Heads, the disease prevailed ; for scarce a day passed, but, as Marine Surgeon, I had patients arriving from every situation betwixt this place and the sea.

Of the history and progress of this disease, much yet remains to be known ; for it still exists, and occasionally attacks the few, who have hitherto escaped. The first account, I had of its appearance, was contained in a letter, from a medical friend, at Rangoon, and it would appear, that the disease first shewed itself there, about the end of May, or beginning of June. On the 10th of the latter month, a large portion of the troops, employed in the expedition under Sir Archibald Campbell, and then at Rangoon, had been ordered out to attack the Burmese, and were exposed to incessant and heavy rain for four and twenty hours. The consequences were, that on, and even before, their return to quarters, the greater number were seized with the Fever. The disease, my friend wrote me, might be considered at its height, perhaps, about the end of June, or beginning of July, when it declined for a while ; but, from all he observed and could learn, it again revived. Now, on referring to some notes in my possession, as well as from an examination of the prescription book at the Honorable Company's Dispensary, I should be led to date the commencement of the disease at this place about the beginning of June. The cases which occurred, either at Rangoon or here, about the end of May, were too few to excite particular notice ; and

it was not till towards the middle of June, that the disease became very general.

In its *symptoms* and *sequelæ* there was no difference, with the exception of what arose from indifferant diet, and the want of those comforts, which are usually afforded to the sick and convalescent; and, if we take the distance between the two places at 6 or 700 miles, we may conclude that some condition of atmosphere, as well as similar causes, obtained at both. From subsequent accounts I learn, that the disease extended in various directions; and not only to Chittagong, the south eastern extremity of the province of Bengal, but to the Presidency of Madras.

On looking at the Meteorological Diary for June 1824, kept at the Surveyor General's Office, Chowringhee, it will be observed, that from the 1st to the 10th, there were five days of heavy rain; and on the two following days, North-Westers, with lightning and much rain. Of the remaining sixteen days there were but ten without rain: so that out of twenty-eight days (for two are omitted,) there were eighteen of rain, while the remaining ten are marked as being clear and sultry, after 10 o'clock A. M. or from morning till afternoon. So much for the state of the atmosphere in June, 1824. Let us now see how it was in 1823. It will be found that out of thirty days, there were but seven, on which (what could be called) rain fell; for the two or three days, on which "a few drops fell," and a little drizzling rain occurred, are not worth notice, and had no effect on the general result. * * * * *

I cannot close the few remarks, on the state of the atmosphere, which I have now submitted, without bringing to notice a circumstance, which I think, will go further to disclose one pre-disposing, if not exciting, cause of the epidemic, than any yet mentioned. I find from the 1st of May to the end of August, in 1823, there were but five days of sultriness, or of close and cloudy heat; whereas in the same four months of 1824, there were no less than thirty-one. Had July been complete (for seventeen days are wanting), I doubt not, the number would have been nearer forty than thirty-one; but, taking it as it is, in conjunction with the quantity of lightning, which in 1823 was three times greater than this year, we are led to conclude, that our atmosphere must have been more loaded with electrical matter, or that the equilibrium was so far disturbed, as to cause the sultriness I have noticed. Be this as it may, however, it is well-known, that the epidemics of the two last centuries have been preceded by hot sultry months, followed by heavy rains; and it is not very unreasonable to suppose that a greater quantity of electric matter, in our atmosphere, may have rendered us, not only more susceptible of fever, but more subject to an increase of its symptoms. It cannot be denied that electricity is a powerful stimulus. That our body has its proportionate share of it, we know: and that it is a conductor, and in communication with the earth we also know. Its effects in asthenic diseases, such as palsy and chronic rheumatism, have been acknowledged by persons of much science and experience; and, while it increases the circulation, and accelerates the jet of blood in hemorrhage, it promotes perspiration, and excites to greater activity the nervous, as well as the absorbent, system. If such be its effects when applied artificially, may not our bodies, at times, be similarly affected, when it acts naturally? If what I have stated lead to no important conclusion, it will, at all events, I hope, induce the Society to pay attention to the subject in future, and to keep a meteorological diary on the fullest scale. Of those at the Surveyor General's Office, they might, I doubt not, avail themselves for the sake of comparison, and give to their medical brethren, of other climes, some idea of the atmosphere, in which we live and move, and have our being."

According to Dr. Kennedy of Baroda, the same disease appeared almost simultaneously in Guzerat. He writes as follows, in the same volume:—

The epidemic, described by Dr. Mellis, passed through the whole province of Guzerat, during the last hot months, and was severely felt at Baroda, during the last week of May and the beginning of June. The localities, therefore, of Rangoon alone, are not to be enquired into, as fully explanatory of its origin. The natives termed the disease, *Toohutia*, a word which implies folding of the limbs to the body, as they will squat on the ground, cuddling themselves up into as little space as possible, when cold, or in pain. It could scarcely have been more general in Calcutta than it was here; for very few, indeed, of the natives escaped, though the Europeans were more fortunate. The former very generally, from superstitious motives, refused medical assistance, and trusted to nature, taking no nourishment save rice water; they therefore felt the utmost debilitating effect of the attendant fever:—few, who were attacked, recovering under three months from the debility and aching pains in the wrists and ancles, which the disease left behind it.

I was at first inclined to attribute it to the uncommon heat of the weather, and the extraordinary state of the atmosphere, the thermometer having ranged, in the best and largest house here, 90° of Fahrenheit at day break, and 108° at noon, during a considerable proportion of that period—whilst the soil round Baroda being sandy, and the whole district a level plain—the hot winds, which are always felt here in extreme severity from those circumstances, were more distressing than usual from the latter rains of the preceding season having entirely failed. The effect of not a single shower having fallen, since the 20th August, was not only, that every stream and pool were dried up before March; but all the grass very early in the season was withered away; so that the poor people had recourse to digging up the roots for forage. This so loosened the soil, in addition to its original sandy nature, that when the strong winds set in as usual, about the middle of May, at the change of the monsoon, they swept along such columns of dust, that no language may describe the misery of heat and half-suffocation we had to endure. I could not have imagined an atmosphere so loaded with dust, not even in an Arab desert.

Now this, I fancy, could not have been the case at Rangoon: and, at all events, the influenza, at its period of reaching you (Calcutta), must have appeared, when the air was purified and cooled by rain; so that extreme heat, and an atmosphere, that seemed to have half the surface of the fields, "*pars plurima terræ**" lifted up and resolved in it, cannot be the proximate, though they may probably be the predisposing, causes. * * * *

If I were asked to class, or suggest a name for, the disease, I should really be very much inclined to regard it as a mild *Scarlatina*, modified by tropical climates; for though Dr. Mellis does not mention uneasiness in the throat, as marking the cases he saw, yet it was (though, certainly, in a very unimportant degree)† of common occurrence here. I can speak from my own observation, in populous manufacturing districts in Great Britain, that no epidemic made more rapid progress in spreading itself over the face of a country, and visiting all classes of inhabitants alike, than the *Scarlatina*.

* Lucan's description of the Desert. *Pharsalia*, Lib. ix., 456.

† In one instance, an officer of twenty years service in India, the affection of the throat was to the patient's feelings the most distressing symptom, and yet his was a severe attack.

The glazed windows, cool fires, and the alternations of heat and cold, may tend, indeed, there to fix the acrimony of the disease on the catarrhal symptoms, whilst here the poison may work itself off by the febrile. I merely venture a conjecture; but reflecting on the appearance, and mode of appearing of the cutaneous eruption, the rheumatic pains, the epidemic character, and the critical, third day—with or without adding the tendency to Cynanche, and the succeeding unaccountable and extreme prostration of strength, I cannot, that I can recollect, seek for the same train of symptoms in any other disease.

The intelligent mind of Mr. Twining did not fail to interest itself in so remarkable a disease; and he has, in the second volume of the Transactions, given us the following account:—

“The fever, which prevailed in Calcutta, in June, July, and August 1824, was equally remarkable, whether we consider the severity of the patient's suffering at the time, the few out of the whole population who escaped an attack, or the very inconsiderable mortality caused by it. The character of a febrile disease so peculiar, and in its results so unlike the epidemic and endemic fevers of tropical regions, surely deserves to be carefully recorded.

It will be readily admitted, that the seasons have considerable effect in modifying the character of disease, however questionable the mode may be, in which unusual atmospheric vicissitudes exert their influence. I should feel great diffidence in expressing an opinion, as to the mode of action and precise effects, which the nature of the seasons may have had, in producing or modifying the fever in question. Therefore, while stating the observations I have been able to collect, respecting the atmospheric constitution of the years 1823 and 1824, I wish by no means to place an unreasonable emphasis on their relation to the epidemic of 1824, being satisfied by the mention of the facts, concerning the importance of which the Members of this Society will, of course, form their opinions. Nevertheless, it will appear, that there existed the co-operation of agents acknowledged to have great influence in the origin and transmission of morbid miasmata. These agents are heat, moisture,* and stagnation, in a degree not accordant with the usual suggestion of the seasons in Calcutta.

In the year 1823, the hot season of April, May, and the beginning of June, was, by no means, remarkable for its intensity; and Calcutta was, according to the best accounts, quite as healthy in those months, as it usually is at that period of the year. The rains, which succeeded, were believed to be rather more abundant than common; but by a reference to the register of the rain-gage kept at Calcutta, that belief is unsupported. The rains, in the higher part of Bengal, and to the westward, appear to have been remarkably heavy; for, in the latter end of July, the Damuda river overflowed much beyond the usual height of its waters at that season; and the inundations in Bengal generally were, in consequence of the heavy rains in the district just mentioned, more extensive than ordinary.

In 1824, the temperature, indicated by the thermometer in April and May, exceeded but little that of the previous year; but the heat was of a more oppressive description to the sensations; and it was observed, that the occurrence of North-westers, which, usually, by their frequent return, cool and refresh the air in Calcutta, and give, at times, a temporary respite

* Although heat, humidity, and stagnation of the atmosphere prevailed at Calcutta, previous to and during the epidemic, a state of atmosphere quite the reverse of humidity prevailed at Baroda, when a similar disease existed there in 1824.

from the burning heat, were remarkably rare in those months. The rains commenced unusually early; the first, this season, fell on the 18th May, after which there were six days of heavy rain, and four days in which light rain fell, before the end of the month, which gave a transient freshness to the air: but the intervals between the showers were extremely close and oppressive, and the evaporation great, resembling a hot steam rising from the earth.

For the data contained in the following table, I am indebted to Mr. Gibbon, whose general accuracy will be a sufficient pledge of its correctness:

	1823.								1824.							
	Thermometer.				Barometer.		Rain Gage. Inch.	No. of days rain in each month.	Thermometer.				Barometer.		Rain Gage. Inch.	No. of days rain in each month.
	In a room.		Shade outside.		Highest.	Lowest.			In a room.		Shade outside.		Highest.	Lowest.		
	Highest	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.					Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.				
April ..	96	73	103	69½	..	..	..	5½	96	77	103	72	29.90	29.70	..	4½
May....	94	77	99	74	..	..	3.485	10½	96½	75½	101	74½	29.90	29.60	6.820	10½
June ...	90	70	96	76	29.80	29.42	8.200	17½	90	79	96	74	29.77	29.45	14.321	21½
July....	86½	70	92	78½	29.68	29.42	24.469	27½	88	70	97	78	29.79	29.50	18.278	26⅞
August .	85½	70	90	79	29.80	29.35	20.213	27½	88	80	96	79½	29.79	29.54	3.8	29⅔

The 8th column for each year, in this table, shows the number of rainy days in each month; and of the figures placed fractionally, the upper number indicates the days, when there was light rain, but no appreciable quantity collected in the pluviometer; the lower numbers shew the days of heavy rain.

It appears that there was more rain at Calcutta, in the above stated five months of 1823, by nearly one sixth, than there was during the same period of 1824: but the early rains in May and June of the latter year exceeded by above one half, the rains in the same months of the former year. However, the quantity of rain, that fell during the whole of the two years referred to, was quite equal to the general average of rain annually in Bengal, which has been stated at 70 inches. By the same Register, from which the above table is composed, it appears, that from the 1st September to the end of December, there fell 16 inches of rain at Calcutta in 1823, and 28 inches in the same months of 1824, making the total of each year above 70 inches. But it was not necessary to include those months in the table, which were subsequent to the cessation of the epidemic.

I am sensible, that it would have been more satisfactory, to have given the average of the daily temperature of each month at stated hours; but I have not had access to Registers kept expressly for that purpose.

There are states of the atmosphere, which influence our feelings of health and comfort, and doubtless exercise an action on the human constitution, in a degree not to be ascertained by any instruments or scales hitherto invented. To some occult, and not easily appreciable, agency of this sort,

may be referred a state of the atmosphere, which occurred in the latter end of May, and frequently in June and July, but in a more remarkable degree from the 4th to the 9th of July, and again, on the first four days of August. There was an intense glare of white light from the whole sky, extremely painful to the sight; at the same time, there was such a hazy state of the regions of the atmosphere, that the sun could with difficulty be distinguished. This was attended with an extremely close damp heat, more distressing than the heat of the brightest sun-beams I ever experienced. Can this effect arise from the transmission of the rays of light through a hazy atmosphere, and depend on the increased refractive power of the latter, bringing the rays through innumerable watery lenses, more perpendicularly on the earth, in the early parts of the day: so that, conjoined with the influence of a humid atmosphere, the effects of the noonday sun are experienced at a much earlier hour, than when the sky is quite clear? On both the occasions above alluded to, this state of the atmosphere, just noticed, was succeeded by an increased frequency of the attacks, and by relapses of the prevailing fever in a great number of instances. It is true, that a similar state of atmosphere prevails at Calcutta, more or less, every year, in those months; but its predominance in 1824 may be attributed to the early setting in of the rains in unusual quantity.

In the beginning of this year, there was a scarcity of grain in Bengal, and the price of rice rose considerably; but I am not aware, that in the early part of the year, the native population suffered generally from disease. Cholera occurred in a severe and fatal form at some villages, about eighty miles to the N. E. of Calcutta. I was informed, by a gentleman residing at Ballygunge, that the adjacent village of Chakoley, had contained little more than 100 inhabitants, of whom 82 were known to have died of cholera, within a few days of the time when I passed the place on the 11th April. And I was then told, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, were at the time suffering from Cholera, which was remarkable for the total absence of spasms. It was stated that many of the sufferers were, without any previous illness, seized with a vomiting, and, after being purged once or twice, died in the course of half an hour after the attack.

During the existence of widely spreading epidemics, unusual mortality among animals, has been considered a collateral proof of a contaminated atmosphere. Although I have not been able to ascertain that any general mortality occurred among animals, like the epizootics that have occasionally accompanied epidemic disease in the north of Europe, it may be worthy of record, that the year 1824 was remarkably fatal to dogs in the vicinity of Calcutta,—the sickness among those animals commencing in August. They were seized with loss of appetite, excessive thirst, violent action of the heart, that could be seen a considerable distance; and, in some cases, there was yellowness of the eyes and skin, with distension of the belly, though the dog had taken no food for several days. These symptoms were followed by a purging, which carried off the animal in a day or two, after its commencement. On dissection, the stomach was found empty, the spleen, “unnaturally turgid” with blood, and the liver streaked with dark purple and black. Various modes of treatment were tried, but found of no service. In one kennel, 10 couples out of 12, died. One gentleman lost 15

* Numerous facts prove the increased refractive power of a hazy atmosphere: at the moment, I recollect none more remarkable than the observations made in some of the mines in Sweden, where it has been found, that on hazy days, a moderate sized print could be easily read at 100 yards depth, under the shaft of a mine; but on days of bright sunshine, there was difficulty in reading the same print at the depth of 60 yards.

out of 16 dogs, and another lost 14 out of 12. In one pack of 47 couples, 43 couples died in two months; in these last, the disease commenced in the beginning of October. I am indebted for the above information to the kindness of two friends, who paid great attention to this disease in dogs, and were much interested in the subject.

The earliest cases of the epidemic of 1824, that came under my observation, appeared on the 23rd and 24th of May, a few days after the commencement of the rains. In the course of ten days, great numbers of persons were ill of the fever; and I have reason to believe, that, before the end of June, nearly half of the population had been affected. Through July, the disease continued unabated; indeed, from the 4th to 9th, as already observed, the number of attacks appeared much augmented: and, although the little tendency to fatal termination was well ascertained, it was truly distressing to observe the numbers, either labouring under effects of first attacks, or suffering from relapses nearly equal in severity, as well as those who, though free from the more urgent febrile symptoms, were from debility totally unable to follow their ordinary occupations. Towards the latter end of July, the primary attacks of the disease were comparatively rare, there being few only at that time, who had escaped the fever. * * * * * The result of my enquiries leads me to believe, that a fever, in some respects, resembling that just described, prevailed at the same time in some other parts of India, where the situation was low, and in the vicinity of the sea, or within the delta of great rivers; but not in central or Upper India, or in elevated situations. No such fever prevailed generally at Ghazipore, Patna, and Dinapore; or even so low down as Berhampore.* The latter place, being within the low flat district of Bengal Proper, and only ninety miles distant from Calcutta, might have been supposed to be under the influence of much the same sort of circumstance as Calcutta, with respect to atmospheric vicissitudes and exhalations. The inundations of 1823, at Berhampore, exceeded their usual extent at that season, quite to the same degree that then occurred at other stations in Bengal. The rains of 1824 did not set in at Berhampore, so early as at Calcutta. H. M.'s 87th regiment had been nineteen months at Ghazipore, when they proceeded from that place on the 10th of June 1824 for Berhampore, where they arrived on the 27th of the same month. The corps was not attacked at either of these stations with any similar fever; neither were the people of the bazar, or the native inhabitants, generally, at either of those places, visited by such disease. However, I understand that there were a few sporadic cases of fever, at several different stations, through the country; the leading characters of which, were so like the fever that prevailed in Calcutta, as to indicate the influence of some widely extended and general cause, modifying the nature of the fevers at that season.

In the same volume we have the following account, by Dr. J. Mouat, of an epidemic fever, which prevailed at Berhampore, in the beginning of the year 1825.

About the end of March, or beginning of April, 1825, a fever, possessing peculiar and marked characters, appeared amongst the men, women, and

* The statement is confirmed by a communication from Mr. Proctor, Secretary of the Medical Board, and by a very obliging note from Mr. Savage, who, in speaking of Berhampore and the adjacent city, Moorshedabad, where he was stationed, says, "The rains of 1824 commenced here on the 12th of June. I am not aware that fever prevailed amongst the natives here, in an unusual degree in June, July, and August. There were several cases corresponding with the Calcutta fever, amongst the Europeans of the station."

children of Her Majesty's depôt at this station, which is now generally known by the name of the epidemic fever. The suddenness of its attack, the redness and watering of the eyes, the acute pain in all the joints, rendered excruciating on the slightest touch, the scarlet or crimson efflorescence on the surface, its ephemeral duration, its not requiring blood-letting, &c., its sparing neither age, sex, nor habit of body, its seizing the acclimated, as well as those recently arrived, stamp it at once a different disease from the remittent, or endemic, fever of lower India. In March, we had six, in April, nineteen, in May, twenty-one, and in June sixty six cases, viz, five men, twenty-six women and forty-one children, being a total of 112 severe cases requiring treatment in hospital * * * * * In July, it became somewhat less prevalent amongst the women and children of the depôt, decreasing in August, and entirely disappearing in September 1825. My inability to consult the records of the Berhampore hospital at present prevents me giving the precise numbers of patients treated, subsequent to the date of my former report; and my quitting the station in August precludes my entering into minute details. In no way, however, did the characters of the disease change in the depôt; though, in Her Majesty's 31st regiment, some little variation was observed, which I shall briefly notice. The left wing of that corps (recently landed from England) arrived at Berhampore in the first week of July 1825; and, in a few days, the epidemic appeared amongst them. Mr. White, the surgeon, was one of the first attacked, and with singular severity; so much so, that for the greater part of the month, his duties devolved on myself. In the 31st regiment, out of eighteen officers, two only escaped this epidemic; and amongst the men, it was alike prevalent and severe. In them, bleeding was often found serviceable—referable, perhaps, to that high inflammatory diathesis, so characteristic of all the diseases incident to new comers. Catarrhal and pneumonic symptoms were very prevalent, owing, no doubt, to their being young men, or recruits at an age peculiarly predisposing to pulmonary affections. The disease, in every respect, appeared the same;—modified, probably, from their being unseasoned, and not having been in the country more than two or three months.

Note by the Secretary.—The epidemic, described by Dr. Mouat, was not limited to the station of Berhampore, but visited many other places on the banks of the river, during the rains of 1825. It was particularly severe in the large and populous towns of Patna, Benares, and Chunarghur. At the last place and its immediate vicinity, not fewer than 10,000 natives are stated to have suffered from the disease at one period. Mr. Robinson, superintending surgeon of the district, in his communications to the Medical Board, thus described the fever. "Within the last six weeks or more, (his letter is dated 18th August 1825) an epidemic fever of a rheumatic character has prevailed generally, from Buxar to Benares, Chunar, and Mirzapore, at which places, as well as this station (Ghazi-pore) hardly a person of any age or sex, whether European or native, has escaped. It has generally commenced with severe pain in the loins, wrists, and ankles, unusual drowsiness, and headache. It seldom continued beyond four days, but has been followed universally, by great prostration of strength. It usually gives way to purgatives and emetics, frequently repeated; and, in a variety of instances, warm bathing has proved of essential benefit. There has been, in many cases, an accumulation of bile. In several, the head has been much affected; and in such, where the habit was full, early and copious depletion with the lancet has been followed by the best effects. It first commenced at Buxar, and has been since gradually advancing up the river to the other stations on its banks. It appears to

be confined entirely, to the course of the river, as I do not hear that the population of the towns and villages inland have suffered more than usual. Numbers of the soldiers of the European regiment, at this station, have been attacked; and from fifteen to twenty are daily coming into hospital. The whole regiment, I imagine, will feel its influence.

It would thus appear that an ephemeral fever existed in the epidemic form in 1824-25, simultaneously appearing in Burmah, Calcutta and Guzerat, and progressing northwards at an uncertain rate, eventually extending to Mirzapore and Chunar, after a lapse of twelve months from its first appearance. According to Dr. Mouat, it only arrived at Berhampore nine months after its prevalence in Calcutta; but he does not specify, whether his regiment had recently come. If so, the disease might have existed at Berhampore in the previous year, when Calcutta was afflicted.

Its meteorological relations are vague. The quantity of rain and the temperature of Calcutta seem to have differed slightly from the previous year, excepting that the heat was of a much more oppressive character, and the rain fell in large quantities, combined with an excess of electricity. We are unfortunate in possessing no record of the weather, in the other stations which it attacked, or any further statement of the extent of its ravages.

We now hear no more of epidemics (always excepting the Cholera, which prevailed annually) until June 1828, when a severe Bronchitic Fever, almost entirely limited to children, and proving very fatal amongst them, was prevalent in lower Bengal. Dr. Adam writes as follows, in the 4th volume of the "Transactions:"—

The recent occurrence of an epidemic febrile affection among children having attracted a considerable share of my attention, I have drawn up a brief account of the disease, which I now present to the Society, chiefly in the hope, that it may induce other members to contribute their observations on the same subject. * * * * * As far as my own experience goes, not one child, out of 100, under four years of age, has escaped the attack. Although in different individuals, exhibiting various degrees of severity, it has naturally engaged in some a much greater share of attention than in others; yet the general character of the disease, as will appear in the sequel, has been the same in all * * * * * In place of an epidemic bronchitic fever, affecting infants and young children, as I have designated it, perhaps, it may, with more propriety, be termed an epidemic fever, with determination to the mucus membrane of the bronchiæ. The phrase, Bronchitis, is too specific, and, as implying inflammation, appears objectionable; for of the actual presence of this condition of the local structures, I am by no means certain * * * * * This epidemic, I find from inquiries since made, was not confined to the city and suburbs of Calcutta, but extended to many stations in Lower Bengal. It prevailed at Chinsurah, Burdwan, and Bauleah; and cases of it were met with as high as Maldah. At Burdwan, Mr. Coulter, the resident surgeon of the station, states, that

"almost every European child was attacked with it; in some attended with very high fever, which seldom lasted above twenty-four hours." And he adds, what did not appear to have occurred here, "that the native children too, suffered considerably; and that the adult natives of the district had fevers similar to that of the children, with the difference, that in the former it was accompanied by a troublesome ophthalmia; but though the sickness was great, the casualties were comparatively few."

Dr. Macpherson of Bauleah says of this fever:—

No case of the epidemic, which proved so fatal to children from the age of six months to a year and a half, during last rains, occurred at this station* till the middle of August, where a fine, stout, healthy little girl, nearly nine months old, was attacked, and carried off, after fifteen hours' suffering, from the time the symptoms became urgent. Another fine child, six months of age, was seized with the disease, ten miles from this place, about the latter end of September, which proved fatal in ten hours, from the period that feverish and other untoward symptoms first made their appearance. All the other children of the station, and several in the vicinity, suffered attacks during the month of September; but (with one exception) all of them were upwards of two years of age; and the active treatment, that was had recourse to from the commencement, had fortunately the effect of checking and ultimately removing, all dangerous symptoms, although in every case, the little patients were sadly reduced, and did not regain their health and flesh for several months. * * * * *

I am totally at a loss to assign any cause for the prevalence of this disease. There was, however, one thing remarkable in the weather, which, I think, worthy of notice. The wind, during the rainy months in Bengal, blows almost invariably from the east or south east; but during August and September last year, it was generally southerly or easterly, with hot sultry days and strong gales at night.

Commenting upon this, Dr. Adam again says:—

This fever, which occurred at Bauleah, so accurately described by Mr. McPherson, will at once be recognized as corresponding in almost every feature with the Calcutta epidemic. Although in point of time, it occurred some weeks later, yet I cannot entertain a doubt of their identity. How far the disease was communicable by contagion, I am at a loss to say. From my own experience, I should be inclined to doubt this conclusion. That it owed its origin to some very general cause, acting on the tender European frame, appear obvious from the whole history of the malady. No native children, that I am aware of, laboured in a serious degree under a similar affection. There may have been instances of catarrh at the time, but the subsequent fever was wanting; and the general fatal result was not observed to occur in the latter class. We know, it is true, but little of the state of health of the native population under ordinary circumstances; but, when sickness presents itself in an epidemic form, and more especially, where the consequences of this are, in many cases, fatal, the existence of the disease is speedily communicated to the European community. Compared then with the latter, the natives suffer little or nothing from the visitation in question; and, in considering the causes of the malady, we must always bear in mind this remarkable disposition. Among European children, very few escaped—not one out of a hundred, as stated at the commencement of the paper. The proportion of deaths was likewise very great, as will appear from the following statement

* Bauleah.

of the number of children and infants interred in the Park street Burying Ground, for the months during which the disease prevailed in 1828, compared with the three preceding years. The subjoined extracts from the obituary list, published in the *Government Gazette*, for the same period, will furnish a further confirmation of the fact.

Number of interments of young children and infants in the Park-street Burying Ground, during the months of June, July and August, for four years, or from 1825 to 1828 inclusive.

June, July and August	1825	.....	25 casualties.
Ditto Ditto Ditto	1826	.....	23 "
Ditto Ditto Ditto	1827	.....	21 "
Ditto Ditto Ditto	1828	.....	49 "

Extracts from the obituary list of the *Government Gazette*, shewing the number of casualties, during the above period, in children, under four years of age.

	1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.
June	9	7	6	4
July	3	3	11	31
August	15	3	9	24
Total.....	27	13	26	59

It is peculiar to the epidemic now described, that it should occur as such, in subjects of tender years and be exclusively confined to them. In the history of Indian disease, so far as I am acquainted, we have no precedent to compare with it. The exanthemata are occasionally prevalent among all classes; but a fever so marked by local determination, and very fatal issue, must be held, not only novel in this country, but rare, so far as put on record, even in Europe. From whatever cause it originated, the disease has proved too severe in its consequences, by depriving many a fond parent of their beloved offspring, to be overlooked; and, I trust, the plain but faithful relation I have endeavoured to give of its progress and more striking characteristics, may prepare us hereafter to combat it with greater success, should we be doomed to witness another visitation of the calamity. There is little doubt, had the real nature of the affection been early suspected, and active measures resorted to by way of precaution, that in many instances, children would have suffered only in a slight degree, who were eventually carried off by it."

Here again the absence of meteorological record, for any other station than Calcutta, forbids generalization. The constitution of the year was remarkable in throwing the chief weight of disease upon young children, and in selecting the pulmonary organs as its point of attack. Maldah was, most probably, not the limit of its diffusion; but we find no data from which to trace it to other stations. Its rate of progress would appear to have been much more rapid than that of the fever of 1824-25, which occupied nine months in reaching Berhampore, whilst the present rapid in Bauleah, a place equally distant from the capital, after the lapse of six weeks.

In 1829, we are told of a fever which prevailed extensively in the Mirut and Sirhind division of the army, thus described by the Medical Board:—

It appears by Mr. Langstaff's reports, and a meteorological register

kept at Mirut, that the early rains of the year 1829, were in that district unusual in frequency and quantity, but ceased prematurely. The dry period, which followed, was remarkable for extremely hot and oppressive days; while there was an equally notable decrease of the temperature of the night. September is reported as a dry and unseasonable month, during which, an epidemic fever prevailed in the district of Hurrianah, and at Delhi, spreading from thence on the opposite bank of the Jumnah, in a direction, corresponding with the course of the existing winds. This fever commenced, before there was any abatement of the rains, and assumed for the most part the bilious remittent form; resembling, in severe cases, the worst type of jungle fever, while milder cases became intermittents. Europeans and natives appeared equally liable to the disease; and it was observed at Mirut, that of the former, those men suffered most from the disease who had been the longest resident in India. A bilious tinge was observable in the majority; and, in many, this symptom existed to a great degree. The latter stage of the disease was attended by a remarkable and protracted debility, dejected aspect, and despondency of mind. The greater number of the patients lingered through a tardy convalescence; and the ratio of mortality was very small.

Dr. A. Murray's report contains a statement of the fever, which appeared in the Sirhind division of the army. The disease commenced at Hansi, about the 20th April 1829, and prevailed very extensively, but in a mild form; the sickness decreased much in June, and from the 20th, that station was considered healthy, until the middle of July; soon after which, there was great increase of disease; and all classes of persons appeared to suffer equally—the European officers and their domestics in the same ratio as the native troops. Very few fatal cases occurred generally. In the 15th N. I., above 400 cases of fever were admitted, and only one fatal case had occurred, up to the end of July. Two companies of the 37th N. I. were sent from Kurnál to Hansi early in July; and at the end of the month, this small detachment had thirty-two sepoy in hospital. The disease was more severe among the native inhabitants of Hansi; and from want of prompt medical aid, it proved more fatal. The nature of the fever at Hansi is reported by Dr. Murray to have resembled that above mentioned by Mr. Langstaff, as having prevailed at Mirut; and the convalescence was just as tardy, leaving the constitution equally impaired. The prevalence of fever at Hansi was ascribed to some small tanks situated between the town and cantonment, and to a bad state of the drains. The disease was not supposed to be influenced by the canal, which passes through that district.

These accounts make it quite clear, that the fever must have been due to causes, common to the two divisions of the army: but what these were, we are unfortunately not in a position to state.

The sixth volume contains a very interesting communication from Dr. Ward, on the Epidemic Catarrh, which prevailed at Penang, in July and August 1831. He says:—

“The importance of the history of Epidemic maladies generally, will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for my obtruding on the notice of the Society, a few remarks on one, which has prevailed extensively in this island, among the shipping in the roads, and on the opposite coasts of province Wellesley, during the past and present months. The disease appeared in the form of severe catarrh, attacking suddenly,—in many cases, with rigor. The usual

symptoms were ardent fever; great languor; sudden prostration of strength; headache, often violent; with heaviness over the eyebrows; severe muscular pains over the body, but more especially in the lower extremities; frequently nausea, and sometimes vomiting; harassing and constant cough, at first unattended with expectoration—accompanied sometimes with pains in the chest; sore-throat, producing difficulty of swallowing; slight inflammation of the eyes; increased flow of tears; sneezing, and copious discharge of thin acrid mucus from the nostrils. * * *

* * * The exact number of sufferers from this Epidemic, in the island of Penang and province Wellesley, could not be ascertained. Few of the inhabitants, however, escaped an attack of it, more or less severe. It affected at once whole families; it attacked young and old, male and female, of all tribes indiscriminately; several shops were completely deserted during its continuance, and many of the European part of the population were put to considerable inconvenience by the indisposition of their whole establishment of servants. No circumstance occurred, during the progress of the malady, to induce the belief of its being contagious. When it attacked a house, the individual members were affected about the same period. In some of these, febrile symptoms ran high; in many, the disease shewed itself merely in the form of a slight cold, or common catarrh; the feverish feelings being either so very slight, or of so short a continuance, as not to interfere with the patient's usual occupation. During the continuance of the Epidemic, it was remarked, that horses were very subject to cold; and that several cases of glanders occurred. * * *

In the hospital of the 46th Regiment N. I., sixty cases of the prevailing Epidemic were admitted between the 17th of July and 12th of August. Independently of these, however, many were attacked with the slighter form of the disease, and did not think it necessary to report themselves sick. The average duration of the disease, in those who were treated in hospital, were 5½ days. All were discharged cured. * * *

His M. ship *Wolf* came into harbour, from a cruise, on the 14th of August; and, between that date and the 21st, upwards of eighty men and officers—nearly two thirds of the crew—were seized with the Epidemic in a violent form. All recovered rapidly, except two, in whom the disease was most severe; and they have been since invalidated.

The disease made its first appearance here about the 15th July. The month of June had been unprecedentedly dry; scarcely a drop of rain fell from the 3rd to the 25th. The number of rainy days was nine; and the quantity by the Pluviometer was found to be 7.05 inches. Between the first and the 15th of July, there were three rainy days, in which only 1.05 inches fell. During both months, the hot, sultry, unpleasant, and unhealthy S. E. wind had been blowing uninterruptedly. The thermometer rose generally to 89° and 90° in the middle of the day, and ranged from 78° to 82° in the mornings and evenings. The 15th, 16th and 17th of July were rainy; and, during those three days, 4.25 inches of rain fell, producing sudden coolness of the atmosphere. From the 18th of July to the 11th of August, 2.25 inches of rain fell on seven separate days; and, during the whole of this period, the southern wind continued to blow. On the 10th of August, the wind changed to the N. and N. W.; heavy falls of rain took place on that and on the two subsequent days; and the disease began to disappear. On the 14th, the wind again became southerly, but occasionally blew from the N. W. during the day. On that night, as already noticed, H. M.'s ship *Wolf* arrived in harbour; and her crew were attacked with the disease. In two or three days after, the wind continued to blow steadily from the W. or N. W.; a small quantity of rain fell every day after the 23rd, and

no further attack was noticed in the town or surrounding country.
 * * * The following account of the Epidemic, as it occurred in Java, communicated to the editor by a correspondent at Sourabaya, I have translated from the *Javasche Courant* of the 19th of May, 1831:—

“Sourabaya, May 18th, 1831.

“SIR,—There has lately prevailed in this island and its dependencies a sickness, which, as I have heard, has spread universally here, and has extended to Samarang and Bezorki. As the subject may be interesting to you, I have thought it proper to communicate the observations and inquiries I have made respecting it: more particularly, as the disease first shewed itself in this place. In the latter end of the month of March last, news came from Grisse, that the natives there were so ill, that their daily occupations were with difficulty carried on. Not long after, in the beginning of April, it was discovered in Sourabaya, and attacked indiscriminately every family, European as well as native, both in the city and suburbs; and all the shipping in the harbour were affected with it, except the crew of H. M.'s corvette *Pollux*, which moved out further from shore. In the middle of April, the natives of the interior of the districts of Sourabaya, Bancalhang, Pamakassan, and Sumanass, were seized with the disease, which continued to prevail until the middle of May. No place escaped its attacks, even the people of the Mountain of Tinger, situated in the district of Passarooang, were visited by it. Luckily, however, this sickness, as I have understood, is not very dangerous. In this presidency, in the department of Sourabaya, where there is a population of 311,192 souls, 48,217 persons were attacked and 103 died. In the department of Grisse, with a population of 223,626, there were 52,528 patients, of whom only 8 fell victims to it.

“The observations, which I have made on the barometer, from the commencement of the Epidemic, up to this day, have shewn nothing particular; for it has stood generally between 29.8 and 30.2; whilst the thermometer of Fahrenheit, in the beginning of April, stood very high, particularly at mid-day, when it rose to 90°. In the morning it stood at about 83° or 84°. The weather, in the end of March and beginning of April, was dry and clear, without wind; but in the evenings, the air became very damp. After the rains fell, the heat decreased: and I have seen the thermometer at Sim-pang, in the mornings generally, at 79°, and at mid-day, at 84°. The temperature of this place differs a little from that of the town however. The daily falls of rain and the easterly winds produced a pleasant change in the weather, and the sickness afterwards visibly decreased, so that now, I think, the cause has ceased here altogether.”

I have not heard of this epidemic having prevailed at Batavia, or any station on the northern part of Java. It appeared in Singapore, about the middle of June. The following meagre notice of its existence in that settlement is extracted from the *Singapore Chronicle* of the 30th of that month: “We regret to state, that an Epidemic sickness prevails throughout the settlement; its attack, though not confined to natives, extends very generally amongst them. It is not, however, accompanied with any dangerous symptoms, being merely a feverish sickness, attended with a cold and cough. Like similar distempers, we trust it will not be long before it makes its disappearance from amongst us, and the settlement be restored to its wonted general health.” From the above account, and from private information, we learn that the symptoms and progress at Singapore were the same as noticed in this island. There too, the southerly winds had prevailed; and the disease disappeared on the falling of the rains. Ninety sepoy, out of about 300, were admitted with it into the military hospital. No death occurred among them, and the treatment was nearly the same as that adopted here.

The Epidemic reached Malacca about the end of June; and there also spread extensively among the inhabitants, and exhibited the same symptoms. It also disappeared on a change of weather taking place there. As has been already stated, it visited this settlement towards the middle of July.

With the imperfect data before us, it is impossible to determine, at present, where the disease originated. It can hardly be doubted, however, that the cause was one of a very general nature; and that the disease, as it appeared here, was produced by the same peculiar state of atmosphere, whatever it was, which excited it in the eastern part of Java. It is scarcely possible, that the occurrence of it in these different places, remote certainly, but following at regular intervals the course of the prevailing winds at the period, could have been a mere coincidence. The distance from Singapore, to Samarang, is by the map about 600 geographical miles in a S. E. direction, with the large islands of Billiton, Banka and Lintin between them. It is probable, though I have had no means of ascertaining the fact, that it may have visited these places in its progress to the northward. We conclude, that the peculiar morbid state of the atmosphere was conveyed by the S. E. wind to the various places attacked by the disease in question: and this opinion will not appear extraordinary, when we remember, that epidemic catarrhs of a similar nature have extended from Europe across the Atlantic to America. The supposed immunity of Batavia is thus easily explained, as from its situation at the west end of Java, it is removed from the direct influence of the S. E. wind. Presuming, that the opinion above expressed is correct, the disease is supposed to have taken two months to reach from Java to Singapore, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ more to extend from the latter place to this island. In all these respects, it will be seen to resemble the influenza, which have appeared at various times in Europe—in its symptoms, more particularly, the violence of the fever, the great debility, its short duration, and comparative safety; in its extent, and in its rapid progress over immense tracts of country. Its origin is involved in the same doubt and difficulty."

This would appear to have been the influenza so well known in the present day, in regard to the sufferings it entails; but of the law of which we are just as ignorant, as when, twenty years ago, Dr. Ward expressed a hope to see the subject studied.

His own is no unimportant contribution to the philosophy of Epidemics. It clearly marks the rate of progress, and, in some measure, the extent of diffusion of the disease. The month of April appears to have seen its commencement in Sourabaya, on the north-east coast of Java, where it attacked about a sixth part of the population, destroying but very few. It appeared at Singapore in the beginning, and in Malacca at the end of June, whilst Penang first felt its effect in the middle of July. It seemed to be carried by the south-east wind, as shewn by its avoidance of Java, which lay north-west of its course. On all occasions, an elevated temperature preceded it.

In 1832, we are informed by Mr. Boswell, that the same island was visited by a very destructive fever during the months of June, July, and August. April of the same year, was marked by the appearance of a mild Epidemic fever, at Indore, and

other parts of upper India. The report of Mr. Ludlow is as follows:—

The disease commenced with pyrexia, 'accompanied by pain and a sense of constriction across the chest, which was followed by slight superficial inflammation of the throat. As the febrile symptoms subsided, a painful tenderness of the trachea, attended by cough and hoarseness, supervened.

It is mentioned, that, at Indore, scarcely an inhabitant of the city escaped the disease. At Mhow it first attacked the natives in the Sudder Bazar in considerable numbers, and some deaths are reported to have happened. It afterwards spread among the officers and servants. At a time when seventy or eighty men of the 65th regiment were in hospital, in consequence of the Epidemic, not more than a case or two occurred in the 7th Cavalry, although both corps had lately arrived at the station. * * * * * The disease disappeared about the end of the month: and, although it usually left the patients in a state of great debility, no other bad effects were stated to have arisen from it, nor were there any fatal terminations, except a few patients who were reported to have died in the bazar. The epidemic was ascribed to the state of the atmosphere. Immediately before it appeared, the weather had been sultry and calm: the atmosphere heavy in the day, and at night, chilly breezes from the N. E. had been frequent. Mr. Ludlow observes that the previous cold season had been remarkable on account of the unusual quantity of rain, which fell throughout the northern and western provinces of Bengal. At that time, salivation was frequently observed to arise after the use of a very small quantity of mercury. And cholera of a severe and fatal kind appeared in the rainy season, among the European Artillery, but was evidently often the consequence of drunkenness. Vaccination was singularly successful in that part of the country, this year; whereas in 1831 (a remarkably dry season,) of fifty or sixty vaccinations, only one child had the true vaccine pustule; but many had a spurious pustule, sometimes accompanied by slight eruptions on other parts of the body.

The same Epidemic was reported to the Medical Board, by Superintending Surgeon Playfair, of the Meerut Division.

His report contained a brief notice of an epidemic, which appeared at Meerut about the same time (7th of April), and which, in character and intensity, very much resembled that which is above stated, to have occurred in Mr. Ludlow's division. In the course of ten days, it affected upwards of 200 men of H. M.'s 26th foot. The same epidemic appeared at Bareilly, and in other parts of Mr. Playfair's division, early in April; but in no one instance, either here, or at Meerut, did it prove fatal.

This malady, according to Mr. Ludlow, would seem to have been preceded by unusual atmospheric phenomena: but, as usual, the inferences drawn from the weather are vague in the extreme, from the absence of a strict and universal system of record of natural phenomena, without which we may go on blundering in the dark from year to year without the slightest approximation to the truth.

Whilst fever was prevalent in the north-west, Measles were rife in Calcutta, as reported by Dr. Corbyn.

Rubeola was very prevalent at Calcutta, and the vicinity, in March, April, and May, 1832; and numerous cases of varioloid disease, as well as

some fatal cases of confluent small pox, occurred at the same time. While these diseases were rife in this neighbourhood, other complaints appeared to be, for the time, in some measure superseded. The cases of measles, which came under the author's observation, were, in general, severe; the pyrexia ardent, and the cough very distressing; but the disease does not appear to have been very fatal.

About March of this year, Small Pox began to show itself in an epidemic form in Calcutta, and continued slowly progressing in fatality, until December; from which time, the deaths averaged about 500 a month until the June following, constituting a total mortality of 2,814 during the sixteen months.

Offering a marked difference to the Epidemics, which have already come before us, this one attained its greatest virulence in the coldest month, and dated its decline from the commencement of the "rains."

We hear nothing of the prevalence of the disease in other parts of India: but this may arise, rather from the absence of records, than from its non-existence.

During the rains of the year 1833, a very severe form of remittent fever prevailed epidemically in Calcutta, thus described by Mr. Twining:—

An unusually oppressive [hot season, more particularly during the months of April and May, was productive, at that time, of no remarkable increase of sickness in Calcutta. There were, however, several cases of determination of blood to the head, threatening apoplexy, but unconnected with fever;—they were ascribed to the high temperature, and extremely oppressive state of the atmosphere. A considerable number of cases of catarrhal fever then occurred in adults, in which, affections of the mucous membrane of the throat were severe, occasioning much hoarseness, and in some cases, suppression of the voice; there was also pain and stiffness in the muscles of the neck, with some oppression at the chest; and several of these patients had a red efflorescence over the whole skin, on the 2nd and 3rd day of the fever. * * * * * From about the middle of July to the end of October, a different form of fever prevailed; and we had most ample opportunities of observing the remittent fever of Bengal, in a greater number of cases, and with its peculiar characters, more exquisitely marked, than I have seen it for many years past. This fever, at its accession, varied much; some degree of rigor occurred once at an early period of the disease, in a considerable number of patients; in many cases, the attack was sudden; and, on the first and second day of a patient's illness, there was no doubt of the dangerous character of his complaint. Excessive reaction appeared at the commencement of the paroxysm, with very great determination to the brain; the eyes became blood-shot, the forehead hot, and the countenance swollen. The exacerbation generally began before nine o'clock A. M., reached its acmè soon after 12, and was then followed by a corresponding prostration of vital power; with profuse perspiration, coldness of surface, and rapid weak pulse: the coldness in some cases went on increasing, and terminated in death * * * * * I have omitted speaking of the causes, to which the fevers of 1833 could be attributed; wishing, that the series of diseases, which we had occasion to observe, should be first described, and the periods stated on which they

respectively occurred. There appears very little reason to doubt, that the increase of sickness, and the prevailing diseases at Calcutta and its vicinity in 1833, were much influenced by the unusually high temperature of the hot season, and the inundation which occurred between this place and the sea, at the time of the gale on the 22nd May, whereby numbers of the inhabitants and cattle were destroyed, the cultivation ruined, and extensive districts rendered unhealthy. The influence of these causes was slow in reaching the inhabitants of Calcutta: but those persons, who were exposed to the distress, incidental to the gale and inundation at Diamond Harbour, came to the hospital in a few days after its occurrence; and I believe, almost all those, who were stationed within the range of that inundation, suffered early and severely. A succession of patients from the ships that had been exposed, or wrecked in the course of the gale, crowded the wards of our hospital for many months. When the rainy season came on, the gradual approach of the formidable remittent fever, among the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, gave warning of what was about to happen in this city. It is needless to relate at this day the alarming extent of the sickness which prevailed in July and August last; it is too well remembered by every one.

Besides, the causes of disease, arising from malaria, and generated by the inundation and high temperature, natives were exposed to the evils of famine in these districts, where the cultivation was destroyed: and they also suffered from want of good fresh water, as their tanks were overflowed and filled from the sea, the water being rendered brackish and unwholesome, within the range of the inundation, for the whole year. The effects of a contaminated atmosphere, and the influence of general causes of disease, were strongly manifested by the manner, in which fever spread among the more wealthy natives in Calcutta and its vicinity. The number of young persons in this class of inhabitants, particularly those between eighteen and thirty years of age, who suffered from the prevailing fevers, was very remarkable.

At the commencement of 1833, Bangalore appears to have been visited by a severe epidemic catarrh, for the following account of which we are indebted to the pen of the late Dr. Mouat;

Towards the end of December, a severe catarrhal fever, or influenza, as it was designated, appeared in the native corps at this station, and first in the 35th Native Infantry, which, in January 1833, affected very extensively the men, women, children and followers of the 13th Dragoons; as also H. M.'s 62nd regiment, as well as most of the European residents, their families and domestics in the cantonment. It remitted, or entirely ceased, in February, when cholera prevailed in the bazars amongst the natives, and broke out in March, amongst the Europeans of the 13th Dragoons, and H. M.'s 39th regiment, which had arrived in February, and replaced the 62nd foot; so that the observations made in the last year's report, were premature; and the unusual, continued and protracted drought had, at length, been attended by an extraordinary degree of sickness for Bangalore. Therefore, that which had been considered a deviation from the ordinary results of such altered seasons, has, nevertheless, turned out another instance of the strong influence, with which the physical circumstances, with which we are surrounded, modify the phenomena of animal existence, and predispose to those epidemical visitations, so destructive to health and life. Here follows a return of admissions, discharges and deaths,

with the Epidemic catarrhal fever, in H. M.'s 13th Dragoons, from 27th December 1832, to 10th February, 1833.

	Total admitted, or treated.	Cured.	Died.	Remarks.
Men of the regiment.....	120	120	0	{ Died on the third day after admission, with an oppression of the chest.
Women ditto.....	17	17	0	
Children ditto	109	108	1	
Followers ditto	95	95	0	
Total..	341	340	1	.

The various phenomena attendant on the former disease, were curious and interesting ; but to draw conclusions, or to generalize extensively on those circumstances, would lead to a labyrinth, at best of ingenious conjecture, and, it may be of palpable contradictions. That its source was general and extensive, would appear by its attacking all classes, sparing neither age, sex nor constitution, and extending from the extreme of the Horse Artillery lines, to the fort at Bangalore: yet even here it had its anomalies, by affecting the native Horse Artillery, and entirely exempting the European Foot Artillery, about one hundred persons. It appeared in the 35th Native Infantry, and then in the other native corps; in H. M.'s 13th Dragoons and H. M.'s 62nd Foot, and their families and native followers; among several of the officers resident in the cantonment, as well as their families, and most of their servants or followers. The weather about this period was very trying to the frame; the sun extremely hot and powerful; the air cool, and even chilly; the nights particularly raw and cold, and the mornings foggy, with very strong north-easterly winds. As the weather changed, the disease gradually disappeared. Here, however, we come to no satisfactory conclusion, as in every climate, and in all states of the atmosphere, we see epidemic disease; and here the influence, though general and extensive, was local: for the malady was confined to certain corps. Many curious facts lead to a supposition, that it was infectious:—but again, the facts were so numerous to over-rule such a conclusion, that we incline to the epidemic origin of the disease from atmospheric influence, as the most satisfactory, or least contradictory, explanation. In whatever way propagated however induced, whence arising, or how contracted, it was a curious fact that almost all our men imputed its invasion to cold, generally caught whilst asleep at night.

The same year was painfully distinguished at Bangalore, by its being the first, in which cholera appeared epidemically amongst European troops. Speaking of it, Dr. Mouat again says :—

No fewer than 202 men of the 13th Dragoons have been admitted with cholera during the last twelve months. * * * * * The disease

consequently, appeared in February—the first case on the 15th of that month; but it was not prevalent till March, though it continued all April and May, with a few cases in June, when it lost its epidemic character; and the subsequent seizures might be considered sporadic, such as we see at all seasons, and in every situation in India.

This relation between Influenza and Cholera has been remarked in Europe; and the fact of Cholera having, on this occasion, made its first appearance at Bangalore renders the coincidence more striking. The troops at Nussirabad presented, in October, 1833, the painful spectacle of an Epidemic attack of scurvy, which increased rapidly in November, December, and up to January 1834, when it began to decline. It had prevailed extensively fourteen years previously in the same cantonment. The commencement of the disease was preceded by a deficiency of grain and ghee amongst the men, owing to high prices. The most extraordinary feature of this epidemic, however, was the impunity from the disease enjoyed by the regimental and town bazars, thus dwelt on by Dr. McNab:—

The circumstance is not easily accounted for. There are numbers of poor miserable creatures, not only badly fed but destitute of the most ordinary comforts, which sepoy of the most precarious habits certainly possess. Why then should those, and such as those, half famished wretches, have enjoyed this singular immunity, whilst men, who were even noted as lovers of good cheer among their fellow soldiers, suffered, many of them, very severe attacks? The Sudder Bazar is situated midway betwixt the lines of the 17th Regiment, half a mile in rear of it, and the lines of the other three Infantry Regiments, about the same distance in front. Yet what could have protected this well peopled spot from the malignant influences, which so unsparingly visited its very vicinity? A magic circle must have surely encompassed it. The case was exactly the same with the regimental bazars: I do not believe that a single case of scurvy occurred in any of them. A few, and but a few, of the camp-followers shewed symptoms.

In Beawr, a station about thirty miles from Nussirabad, the same disease made its appearance in March 1833, but milder in its character. We are told however that “there was scarcely a man in the corps, who had not spungy and painful gums.”

Dr. Stewart mentions that a fever prevailed at Howrah in June and July 1834, so universally diffused, that it attacked “in turns all the Professors of Bishop’s College, with their families, students, and servants, in such sort, that it was at length resolved to break up the establishment entirely for two months,

1836 will always be remarkable in relation to Indian Epidemics, as the year, which witnessed the irruption or breaking out of the Pali plague; for it is hard to say whether it was imported, or arose spontaneously. Mr. Superintending Surgeon Panton writes thus to the Secretary of the Medical Board;

SIR,—Having requested Mr. Maclean on the 20th ultimo, to forward to me

whatever authentic intelligence he could obtain, regarding the sickness at Pali; I have the honour to transmit, for the information of the Medical Board, a copy of his letter, dated the 16th, in which the disease is described, as he witnessed it in numerous instances. The following are the symptoms and course of it, which resemble the mild variety of plague.

It begins suddenly with a slight rigor, or cold shivering, nausea, pain in the head and loins, followed soon by hot, dry skin, small and very frequent pulse, 132 to 150; considerable thirst. Eyes heavy, hazy, and often blood-shot; countenance expressive of much anxiety and anguish; tongue covered with a white, yellowish, or brown fur. Buboës in the groins, armpits, or neck, appear sometimes simultaneously with the fever, but commonly in the course of the first or second day—respiration easy, excepting in cases connected with a pulmonic affection. A remission of the fever, of longer or shorter duration, according to the mildness or severity of the disease, ensues towards the morning. Death occurs on the second day; in a greater number on the third; but rarely later than the fourth day. Two thirds of the number, attacked with the disease, are supposed to have died. In the greater number, the buboës do not suppurate: in some cases they increase rapidly in size, suppurate, and discharge pus. Increase of size in them without suppuration, is remarked as being favourable; they disappear gradually in persons who recover. * * * * * It is limited to the towns, in which communication with the sick has been held: villages, a kos only from Pali, continued free from it.

Assistant Surgeon Maclean, who was deputed to investigate it, writes thus to the Superintending Surgeon:—

In my former communications to you on this subject, I mentioned the authority of native reports, which I have since found, by personal investigation on the spot, to have been, in the main, correct, that the disease in question, first appeared among the *chippas*, or cloth-printers of Pali; and that it subsequently attacked all other classes and castes of the inhabitants. In the course of five or six weeks, from its appearance, the disease having committed great ravages, and the daily mortality being still on the increase, all ranks of the townspeople became so much alarmed, that they began, in considerable numbers, to abandon alike their homes, occupations, and property, and to seek refuge in Jaudpur, Sujit, Kairwah, and other towns and villages within a circle of from twenty to thirty miles around Pali. * * * * * Of the thousands of persons, who quitted Pali five or six weeks ago, some were at the time labouring under disease, others fell sick on the road, or immediately after they had reached their destined places of refuge. For a short time after their arrival in the various towns, in which they had taken up their temporary abode, the sickness, which they had brought in their train, adhered to the refugees, without attacking the inhabitants of those towns. But this state of things did not long continue. The classes, with which the refugees had the most intimate communication (*baniyas* for instance) speedily began to feel the effects of the Pali scourge: and now there is not a town or village, to which the refugees resorted in any considerable numbers, which is not become a fresh focus of contagion, and in which the original malady does not rage with fearful vigour. * * * * * I had no means of ascertaining very exactly the rate of mortality from the Pali disease. It is certainly less considerable than I had been led to believe from the reports made to me by natives previously to my visit; still it is fearfully great—probably not less than two thirds of those attacked. The total number of persons, who have fallen victims to it in Pali, cannot yet be correctly known. The *hakim*, with whom I had several conversations

on the subject, estimated them at five or six thousands. This is probably beyond the truth : but I cannot doubt, that about four thousand have actually died. The Chippahs originally amounted to between four or five hundred houses, or families—probably two thousand individuals of both sexes and all ages. Of this number six hundred and sixty-five have died. Supposing the population of Pali to have been nearly 15,000, and that it suffered in like proportion with the Chippahs, the result would be a mortality to the extent of more than the number I have stated above. * * * * *. It is certainly a disease hitherto unknown in this country. It is also almost unprecedentedly fatal. That it is contagious, appears to me to be proved by the whole history of its progress, since it first appeared among the Chippahs of Pali three months ago. Had it confined its ravages to Pali alone, or had it been common, or even known in the other towns, in which it has since appeared, *before* the Pali people took refuge in them, it might have been supposed to be a malignant fever, depending on local causes for its origin and continued existence. But when we see it starting up in every town, to which these persons fled, some of them actually labouring under the disease, some but just recovered from it, and some with the germ of malady still inert in their veins, the conviction, that it is contagious, is irresistible. It is evident, however, that the atmosphere of contagion is extremely confined. I believe a person might, with impunity, enter, nay, live, in those towns, in which many hundreds of the inhabitants are now labouring under the disease, provided he was careful to avoid personal contact with the sick, and visiting them in the small close chambers in which they lodged. I myself spent hours, in the middle of the bazar, surrounded by the sick, entered some of their houses, touched and examined their bodies as freely as if they had been affected with any common disease ; and *now*, after an interval of five or six days, during which I have undergone considerable bodily fatigue, I feel perfectly secure from any attack. It is not a little remarkable, and still further tends to establish the contagious nature of the disease, that in the smaller villages of the *immediate* neighbourhood of Sujit, no case of the "*gant ki mândage*," as it is called, had occurred, so far as I could learn on minute inquiry. In regard to the origin of this disease, I have nothing to offer beyond conjecture. Was it generated in Pali by the noxious exhalations from the low swampy edges of the *jhil*, or tank, immediately to the eastward of the town—or by the want of ventilation and cleanliness in its narrow, irregular bazars and alleys ? Or was the pestilential contagion brought in the bales of cloth imported into Pali from Bhaonagar, Surat, &c., and of which the Chippahs (among whom the complaint first began) are the principal purchasers ? Most of the cloth so imported is English : but it is possible, that some coarser kind of it, or perhaps silk, may be the produce of plague countries, and may have been brought direct to Pali from the coast without being opened—the sales having been effected by musters. The Chippahs call all the cloth coming from the coast *foreign* ; and know nothing of the particular countries from whence the different kinds are brought. The absence from Pali of the Sets, who import the cloth for the use of the Chippahs, prevented me from acquiring correct information regarding the various countries from which they derived it.

We regard this, in every respect, as the most remarkable Epidemic, which ever threatened to desolate India, whether viewed in regard to its origin, progress and termination, or to the unique fact of its never having been known here previously, or since—unless indeed the Mahamurri of Gurhwal be considered an excep-

tion. We much regret that more extensive data are wanting to enable us to examine it in all its relations.

Towards the close of the same year, an epidemic remittent occurred at Bareilly, thus described by Mr. Guthrie ;

It is reported that, about the year 1813, during the Medical charge of Mr. Evans, a similar fever prevailed, sacrificing 300 victims, re-appearing under Mr. Brown in 1818, causing great mortality from July to September; which also paid a passing visit, under Mr. Rhodes in 1834, of only a few days, destroying eighteen convicts. It is evident how very useful to us it would have been to have referred back to records concerning these: and it is therefore, on this account chiefly, that I am now induced to draw the following imperfect sketch. * * * * * The following will give an idea of the mortality among the Bareilly prisoners: and it has been equally severe among those from Pilibhit:—

In October	1836,	10	died out of	90	sick.
„ November	„	16	ditto	129	„
„ December	„	26	ditto	161	„
„ January	1837,	32	ditto	195	„
„ February	„	24	ditto	245	„

An Epidemic congestive fever was very fatal in December amongst the convicts labouring on the Great Trunk Road near Mynpúri.

1837 was distinguished by an Epidemic attack of Small Pox in Calcutta, which commencing in March, diminishing in August, and acquiring greater intensity in December, destroyed, before June of the following year, 1,548 lives.

Although excluding Cholera generally from our consideration on account of its yearly presence, we may remark that, in 1840, it appeared in a very severe form at Malacca, where its visits are uncommon. Dr. Oxley says:—

Our usual uniform salubrity has, however, been interrupted during the past year, by the visitation of an Epidemic Cholera, which made its appearance amongst us, about the end of the month of October. This so reasonably dreaded scourge, from its unexpected and unwonted presence, created a degree of alarm and depression upon the minds of the inhabitants of this settlement, not altogether without foundation, but certainly much greater than the actual ravages of the disease authorized, or would, in places subject to its invasion, have produced; for, from all I can learn from careful inquiry, out of a population of about 14,000, including town, and suburbs, not more than seventy or eighty have fallen victims, from its first breaking out to the present time of writing. * * * * * Nothing remarkable occurred in the heathfulness of the settlement, until about the month of July, when an epizootic disease broke out amongst the swine. During this and the following month, it is calculated that upwards of two thousand pigs (within the precincts of the town,) fell victims to this unheard of disease. Animals, apparently quite well in the evening, were dead ere morning; the symptoms appeared to be of a twofold nature; many died of a sort of dysentery, generally fatal on the 3rd day. * * *

* * * This food (Pork) appears, however, to have been consumed with impunity for some time; for the first case of the Epidemic, which occurred, happened towards the latter end of October, and excited but little apprehen-

sion. The violence of the disease fell at first upon the Chinese, who are the greatest consumers of pork. * * * * * A number of Chinese boats, loaded with an inferior sort of rice, came into the barbour, and disposed of their grain, bringing intelligence at the same time, that *several villages* on the coast, from whence they came, had been quite *depopulated* by the ravages of *cholera*. * * * * * Although all classes have suffered more or less from the visitation of the Cholera, it is somewhat singular that the troops, who live in the centre of the town, surrounded on all sides by the disease, have as yet been entirely exempt from its invasion, not a single case having occurred amongst them; whilst the convicts, living within a few yards of the Sepoy lines, have had thirteen attacked, out of 182, who reside in the lines.

In most remarkable coincidence with this attack was the Epizootic, which was clearly due to a common cause.

1843 was destined to witness the recurrence of Small Pox in Calcutta. It commenced in November of that year, and terminated in August of the following one, during which time 2,949 lives were sacrificed, raising the mortality of the city much beyond its average. During its prevalence in the capital, we are informed by Dr. Stewart that :—

Among the European and Native Troops at Dum-Dum, not a single case has appeared; and at Barrackpore only four cases, all in one regiment, the 8th N. I., in April and May. At Howrah, I am told by Dr. Macpherson, that the disease did not show itself previous to February; and not more than twelve or fourteen cases altogether came under his observation, in that populous district.

It can scarcely be believed that so contagious a disease would limit its diffusion to Calcutta: but owing to deficiency of record, we are unable to afford information in regard to any other parts of India.

Similar to all the other Epidemics, which have preceded it, its meteorological relations are obscure. Dr. Stewart's views, on this subject, are thus expressed :—

Like many others, I have sought to trace some connection between the course of the various Epidemics of Bengal, and the constitution of the atmosphere at the time, in particular years, and during particular seasons of deviation. But, though I believe the law of vicarious epidemy to be fully established, and the above sequence of diseases to be the common one in Calcutta, I do not feel warranted in deducing any definite conclusions from my own scanty observations, with regard to the special influence upon such diseases exercised by the varying hygrometric, electrical, and thermometric states of the atmosphere. It is, however, now well ascertained that the elements of heat and moisture in the atmosphere are incompatible with the presence of any of the exanthemata, in an active state in Bengal: and, with reference to vaccination, the conclusions are obvious. As to the occasional sporadic cases, or even general explosions of Cholera, which occur every now and then, in connection with a bad harvest, stormy weather, and a high price of rice, or some unusual but remarkable deviation from the ordinary course of the season, no legitimate inferences can be drawn from these.

One other observation, I think I am justified in advancing, without pretending to maintain its accuracy, beyond the field of my own experience, which is, that the particular constitution of the atmosphere, which, during the prevalence of Epidemic Small Pox in any season, determines the type and character of that disease in respect of virulence and malignancy, exercises considerable influence also upon that of the Epidemic, which succeeds or replaces it.

It is well worthy of remark that, towards the middle of May 1844, when the Small Pox was declining, Cholera made its appearance with unusual severity, marked with features of putrescency, such as have been seldom witnessed in India.

We have, on several occasions, already noticed the prevalence of Epizootic disease simultaneously with Epidemics. This was remarkably the case in the present instance. The following table, from Dr. Stewart's Report, in 1843-44, shows the intensity of the disease to have closely approximated to Small Pox, as regards season.

TABLE F.

Shewing the number of cattle, said to have died of *Mattah*, within the town of Calcutta, from 1st September 1843 to 1st June 1844.—Thannadar's Reports.

September.....	33	February.....	543
October.....	19	March.....	126
November.....	125	April.....	11
December.....	429	May.....	13
January.....	934		

This mortality extended to the feathered race. Fowls and pigeons died in great numbers, dozens being taken out of their yards and holes every morning. The only visible marks of disease were swelling and redness round the eyes. Such a malady is not uncommon in Bengal, as all, who keep farm yards, can testify. It seldom, however, reaches to the extent we hear of on this occasion.

Dr. Stewart has most industriously investigated the Epizootic referred to, and well deserves the thanks of every student of Epidemic influences. Subsequent to 1844, numerous and fatal febrile Epidemics occurred to our armies in Scinde and the Punjab, which, could the circumstances antecedent to and attendant upon them be accurately investigated, would, we doubt not, be found in a great measure to have depended upon the unhealthy condition of the towns and stations, necessarily contingent upon our recent occupation of the country. It would appear, however, from the accounts which we constantly receive of the insalubrity of certain stations in the Punjab, coupled with statements of imperfect drainage, and the most reckless disregard of irregularities of surface, caused by deporting clay for brick-making,

that no systematic measures have yet been taken to remedy the evil, but that our soldiers are left to perish, with a blind reliance on fate.

We now arrive at a most remarkable disease, the Mahamurri, or plague of Gurhwal, which, although known to have existed for some years, was never investigated, until its ravages, in the rains of 1849, induced Mr. Strachey, the senior assistant commissioner of the district, to make a special report to the authorities, through whom the circumstance was brought to the notice of the Medical Board. Dr. Renny was, in consequence, deputed to investigate its character ;—a task, which the publication at the head of our article proves to have been conducted with a skill and courage, honourable to his service and himself. We learn from his notes that :—

This remarkable and very formidable distemper first broke out in the district of Gurhwal, in the province of Kumaon, in the year 1828: and a particular fact, arising out of the annual religious observances of the Hindus, serves to fix this as the exact time. The disease is not mentioned in Fraser's tour in the Himalayas, in 1820, and may be presumed to have been then unknown in the district. It has since prevailed endemically in some part or other of Gurhwal, and has occasionally raged with great violence, apparently as an Epidemic.

Its most remarkable appearances have been as follows :—It began near Kedarnath, in the snowy range, and for some years confined its ravages to Pergunnahs Nagpore and Budhan, which form the subject of the first report upon it, in 1834 and 1835. In the latter Pergunnah, it again prevailed in 1837, along the higher parts of the Pindar. In 1846-47, the Mahamurri found its way to the sources of the Ranigunga in Putti-sobhi, and devastated the village of Sarkote, elevated about 7,000 feet, on a high easterly spur of the great mountain Duduke Tali (10,300 feet above the sea). At the same time a village in Kumaon proper, near the source of the Hosilla in Putti Borake Rao, was visited. In 1847, a village, within fifteen miles of Almorah west, situated among the pine forests of the Secabi Devi range, was attacked. At the latter end of 1848, a few villages in Pergunnah Danpore, along the line of the river Pindar, were threatened with the disease ; but the alarm subsided. On the whole, the year 1848 and part of 1849 may be said to have been remarkably free from the Mahamurri, throughout the province. During the rainy season of 1849, it broke out with great virulence in Patti of Chuprakote ; and, although the disease did not spread through the country, it proved very fatal in particular villages, such as Murhari and Dudoli. A rumour has gone out, that the Mahamurri appeared at the last annual fair at Bagesur ; but the occurrence is uncertain ; and, from very particular enquiries made, the presumption is, that it has never reached that side of Almorah. * * * * * The Mahamurri is a malignant fever, of a typhous character, accompanied by external glandular tumours, very fatal, and generally proving rapidly so in three or four days ; it appears to be infectious, and is believed not to be contagious. * * * * * The external swellings, suddenly rising, indolent, and not very painful, are the most characteristic proofs of the malady. Glandular swellings, in various parts of the body, the groin, axilla, neck, and even in the legs, are described as occurring : but, in the cases witnessed recently, as well as those of the few, who had survived an attack, the tumours, or buboes, if they can be so

called in that state of incomplete inflammation and suppuration, were only in the groin—a long diffused tumefaction with an enlarged gland in the centre, of the size of a nut. They are looked upon, by the natives as the most deadly sign of the distemper, and are really to be considered an unfavourable prognostic. * * * * * The most remarkable circumstance in the disease is the mild nature of the entire symptoms, under so rapid a termination;—little febrile or other constitutional excitement presenting itself, where death was certain in twenty-four or thirty-six hours. Such trifling derangement of the functions of health would be a startling and unaccountable anomaly, and not to be reconciled with the speedy fatal result, had not the same thing been observed in other Epidemics in India, and even in the plague itself. * * * * * The origin of Mahamurri is very obscure, in the primary causes of its arising in Nagpore and Budhan. The history of the pestilence in these Pergunnahs is still a desideratum; nor can it be attempted, in the short experience lately gained, to clear up the uncertainty that hangs over it. The disease is considered to arise from local causes: and, according to what is known of the fevers of hilly countries in all parts of the world, it takes on a typhoid form; when again the course of the seasons, or the state of the atmosphere, or other concomitant auxiliaries, are favourable to the propagation of the infecting miasm, the disorder spreads more generally; and, strictly in accordance with the characters of other epidemics, its attacks are uncertain and capricious, destroying, perhaps, one or more villages, while others not far off escape entirely; it has shewn also the usual Epidemic periods of commencement, violence, and decline. The exact seasons of its invasions are not fully ascertained; but, in the past year, it appears to have broken out during the rainy season, or towards the close of it; to have continued with more or less virulence, till the end of December 1849; to have re-appeared in another direction in March or April; and to have abated generally over the country in May 1850. If we are without the knowledge of the primary source of typhus, we have at least all the conditions, acting upon a great part of the population of Gurhwal, to which is rationally attributed the rise of such diseases in other countries; these are, to use simple terms, poverty, filth, and bad food, or starvation; and, if we examine these extremes more minutely, we shall find under each head sufficient predisposing causes for a general susceptibility to the putrid diseases in question; and the very slow improvement, in these respects, may also go far to clear up the extraordinary fact of so fatal a sickness having prevailed over a district for so many years. The poverty and consequent privations are understood to extend chiefly over the Northern Pergunnahs, situated near the snowy ranges, where the Mahamurri first appeared. The filth is every where—in their villages, their houses, and their persons. It destroys the otherwise pure quality of the air, and maintains ever round the inhabitants that contaminated atmosphere, so favourable to the condensation of infectious emanations. Their dwellings are generally low and ill-ventilated, except through their bad construction; and the advantage, to the natives in other parts of India, of living in the open air is lost to the villagers of Gurhwal, from the necessity of their crowding together for mutual warmth and shelter against the inclemency of the weather. The food of the majority is bad and insufficient. In the Northern parts, wheat does not grow; and, even where it does, the general food consists of the small grains—a poor diet, and not nourishing enough for a cold and moist climate. * * * * *

This is also the strongest instance, obtained on the spot, of the extreme virulence of this disease, as it prevailed last year, showing the frightful number of eighty-eight per cent. attacked, and the same proportion proving

fatal. It does not appear to have been so destructive in other places, where the inhabitants scattered themselves. * * * * *

Mahamurri has prevailed in temperatures, beyond which, it is known, that the plague is destroyed or suspended in Europe and Africa. The limit of activity for it is very small; Good* quoting from Sir Gilbert Blane, names the extremes 60° and 80°; Copland† gives lower numbers, fixing the scale from 35° to 75°. Now Mahamurri hitherto has appeared mostly in the villages, near to the snowy ranges: and one spot has been named, as high as 10,000 feet above the sea, which elevation must give a constant temperature low enough to check the plague; whereas the report is, that Mahamurri has been as virulent in such a climate as elsewhere. It may be freely admitted, that, at such an elevation, woollen clothing, if not openly exposed to the air and sun, might retain and communicate the virus of contagion, although it fails to do so in Egypt, in the healthy season; but it is more likely that the crowding together in houses, forced on the inhabitants by their poverty and the extreme cold, would give virulence to an infectious disease, even at such a temperature. Again we have seen that Mahamurri may exist, in its perfect malignity at heats, above the extreme range mentioned. At Bhungdar, on the 17th May, the thermometer, in the shade, stood at 83° maximum in the day; the place is on a detached hill above the stream, and freely open on all sides; at Mason, or rather at Mycoller near it, where Mahamurri occurred, situated on the same stream and higher up, but in a close confined glen, it may be affirmed that the heat was much greater, even a month earlier. At Deghat, about ten miles lower, on the same stream, in a tent nearly level with the bank, the maximum thermometer, on the 19th May, was 95° at three p. m.‡ * * * * *

The mortality from the Mahamurri is very great, not so much in actual numbers, as relatively to the small amount of population. The recent mortality has been estimated by the civil authorities to be probably 25 per cent. on the total population. Recent enquiries would show it to have been even greater; but the statistical details are most defective. In certain places the destruction has been very great, of which an example has been given, of fourteen deaths out of sixteen people in one place. In the village of Sarkote, in 1846-47, if the reports of the inhabitants are to be trusted, out of a population of sixty-five in all, forty-three died, two only recovered, and twenty escaped without infection. The strong proof of the fatal nature of the disease is the small number who recover; and upon this criterion, the Mahamurri might be named the most pestilent disease known. It seems, however, that on this point, exaggeration has probably been made; and this branch of the question needs further examination. Two men only were reported as survivors of this last Epidemic of 1849-50. One was brought to me, an inhabitant of Mahamurri; the other was heard of at

* *Good's Study of Medicine*. London. 1825. *Anthraxia Pestis*.

† *Copland's Dictionary*. London. *Pestis Septica*.

‡ The following ranges of temperature, in several localities in Kumaon, have been contributed by J. H. Batten, Esq., Commissioner of the province. The mean temperature of Duddoli will be about 61°, and of Muhrari (exactly the same elevation as Kumaon) about 59° or 60°. The extremes 85° and 30° may be assumed for the greater part of inhabited Chuprakote; the thermometer falls to 25° sometimes, and may, perhaps, rise to 90°, but the latter must be very rare, even in the lowest part of Chuprakote, Lobha, and Chandpore. At Almora, the thermometer has been seen at 91° in a western verandah in June, and 82° at the same time in a northern, while inside the house it has been 77°. The extremes this year in the out-of-doors shade at Nainee Tal have been 18° and 80° (St. Loo, north side of the Tal). In the hills the thermometer has been observed at 105° in a tent, and 88° in a grass hut on the same spot.

Bergaon; two more men were brought to me, said to be the only survivors of the Epidemic that raged at Sarkote, in 1846-47; no others were to be found, as it was affirmed, in the large tract of country gone over and examined. * * * *

The same paragraph further notices a curious fact, fully believed in by the natives, up to the present time, "that every where it appears first to have attacked the rats, and then the men."

No other animals have been observed to be affected in the same manner, or by the Epidemic, generally; and this belief in the destruction of the rats is so universal, and so confidently asserted, that it is difficult to withhold giving credence to the fact. * * * *

Several authors have, at various times, propounded, as the causes of Epidemics in India, different terrestrial influences affecting the several districts concerned; and, in regard to these, it may suffice to say, that by the future enquirer may be found in Gurhwal all the sources of such influences. Malaria is rife in every valley and ravine: the rapid geologic changes, so conspicuous on the surface of these hills, leave it to be inferred that the same, or other chemical actions, are going on internally, and may give rise to morbid products; terrestrial electricity, assigned as a cause in southern India, may be elicited by these changes or by other agency; volcanic air, proposed as the origin of sickness in Scinde, cannot be wanting; for, though no active volcanos exist, there occur frequent earthquakes* to facilitate the discharge of volcanic exhalations. But upon all these subjects, discussion is avoided; the materials are deficient, even if there were felt the inclination and ability to pursue it. The object of the present investigation has been entirely practical; and it may be left to those, who come after, to put forward theoretic opinions upon this disease. * * * *

Fourteen died at a place in the forest, half a mile or more from Duddoli, called by two names, Khor or Gemindeal, and respecting which I had the best description, yet given to me, of the career of the sickness. Here were only two houses, or long low huts, occupied by two separate families, connected with each other, the heads being two brothers (composed of sixteen souls in all, old and young); and the present instance exemplifies their crowded mode of living; for these two huts had to contain, besides sixteen individuals, thirty head of cattle, large and small, at the worst season of the year. In these two huts, the Mahamurri commenced about ten or eleven months ago, corresponding to the time it appeared in Duddoli, and the full circuit of the disease was here better seen than on any other occasion brought to notice; for in general, the healthy or un-attacked fly to the near hills or forests, leaving the sick to their fate; but at this place, the sixteen residents kept together, till fourteen died, and one adult only, a man of about thirty years of age or more, with his female child of six years old, survived. * * * *

All the natives agree hitherto, that there has been no particular disorder or mortality among their cattle, but they universally agree that the Mahamurri is preceded or accompanied by a great mortality among the rats in their houses.

It would thus appear that the Mahamurri is closely akin to the Pali plague, previously described. The latter, however, broke out in a district, between two and three-hundred miles distant, in the year 1836, and, having existed for some months,

* Two earthquakes were felt this year, 1850, generally over the province of Kumaon—one on the 15th April, the other on the 13th May.

never re-appeared: whilst the former, it is particularly stated, was never known until 1823, since which time it has occurred more or less every year, up to the present, and, according to Mr. Batten, Commissioner of Kumaon, is yearly progressing towards the plains.

What a boundless field of interest does this strange malady present to us, not unaccompanied by the exciting impression that it may, one day, leave its fastnesses in the hills, and roll down a torrent of death and desolation on the plains of India!

It will be observed, that Dr. Renny lays much stress *upon the dirt and filth abounding in its habitats*, affording another argument, if such were necessary, for the urgency of some universal system of Sanatory Reform.

Thankful as we are, for the statesman-like appreciation of death and danger to the population and of the needs of science, which has secured us this able report of Dr. Renny's, we cannot forbear calling the reader's attention to the fact, that this dire plague, which seems to steel the heart of man against his brother, and to make the mother loath and leave her child—thus degrading reason below the instinct of the brute—has raged for nearly thirty years, without exciting any further activity, than a request, in 1836, to the revenue officers of the affected district to report upon it, with one of whose replies is enclosed a letter from a medical officer (Dr. Bell), stating all he knew on the subject—from hearsay! Never was a circumstance so illustrative of the absolute necessity of some systematically conducted Pathological survey of India, such as is suggested by Mr. Bedford, and of which, we shall presently speak. How much time would have been suffered to elapse, before a searching inquiry was instituted, had this Epidemic taken the moral form of a refusal to pay revenue? and yet the cases are not widely different. The latter would have been loss in pocket to the State; the former loss of life to the ryot.

The last Epidemic to be noticed is one, to the fatality and distress occasioned by which, we have (many of us) had the opportunity of testifying. In November 1849, after the lapse of five years from the previous attack, Calcutta was visited by Small Pox, which, before June 1850, had destroyed 6,100 lives, although, in the intervening period, the annual mortality from the same disease did not average above thirty. The advent of such a pestilence spread, as may naturally be supposed, dismay in all directions; and gave rise to an order from Government to form a Commission for the purpose of investigating its character, and devising measures calculated to prevent its recurrence. The discussion of the able Report, which resulted, must be defer-

red until a future occasion, where it can be considered in its whole bearings. We may remark, however, that interesting as the document is, and replete with sanatory suggestions of the highest value, we would willingly have received further information regarding the spread of the disease. Did it arise in Calcutta, or was it imported, and attain such virulence, as it displayed, from a crowded population, surrounded by unsanatory circumstances? Did it extend to neighbouring towns and stations? If so, at what rate of progress, and where did its ravages cease? Was there any coincident Epizootic? Such knowledge is essential to the true understanding of an Epidemic; but such unfortunately is denied us, even regarding a disease of so recent a date.

Such is an imperfect sketch of the pestilences, which have afflicted India during the last five and twenty years, as far as the Transactions and Small Pox Reports enable us to note them. Others may have occurred, either simultaneously, or at earlier periods; but no record of their existence is attainable.

Having thus, we trust, impressed upon our readers the great and pregnant fact, that, besides the large amount of illness invariably present in our population, as a consequence of ever present climatic peculiarities and deficiency of the sanatory arrangements, which we shall hereafter proceed to discuss, there happen, at undetermined intervals, fresh and intense accessions of disease, leaving very few unscathed—it only remains for us to take into consideration the best mode of applying our knowledge to the great purpose of Sanatory Reform.

Our observations are chiefly intended to apply to the Mofussil, in as much as the metropolis rejoices in distinct and separate legislative enactments for its own especial benefit; but their spirit will be as applicable to the one as the other.

The health of communities, whether viewed as a nation, or as the population of a single town, is determined by

1. Ordinary, and in a great measure, unalterable atmospheric peculiarities, constituting climate.

2. By the occasional visitation of diseases, different from, or exhibiting a largely increased intensity over, those usually prevalent. This class has, owing to its wide diffusion, obtained the designation of Epidemics. There can be little question that a perfect understanding of the laws, which regulate their course and govern their intensity, would enable us to lessen the mortality which now attends them. How is this to be attained? Not by a vague and desultory system of observation and chance record, such as we have had to deplore throughout our sketch, but by a regular and settled plan

superintended by a responsible officer, such as is recommended by Mr. Bedford, in the pamphlet at the head of the article. He says, "Thus in recording the progress of an Epidemic attack of Small Pox, or Cholera, it would be essential for the Deputy Registrar to ascertain the place and date of its commencement, the extent of its deviations, its rate of progress from one zillah, or, if possible, one village to another, its attendant meteorological phenomena, its mortality, its peculiar habitats, its modifications in different latitudes or altitudes, its concomitant Epizootic disease, if any, and the diseases of plants, which may accompany it."

3. By hereditary or personal taint, in which unhappy circumstances but little improvement can be hoped for.

4. By non-obedience to the physiological laws governing private health, a disregard of which will always have a large influence upon the existing character of disease.

5. By non-obedience to the laws which govern public health—a matter of enormous moment, when we see by unexceptionable evidence, the waste of life hitherto attendant upon their being ignored; and of grave interest to a country like India, the Government of which is *directly responsible* for the lives and health of 500,000 human beings, who are either bearing arms in its defence, or incarcerated in its Jails. Nor does the responsibility end here.

Our central and local authorities are, of necessity, so despotic, and our Indian fellow-countrymen so ignorant of the demands of public health, and so disinclined by nature and relative position to make the first move in any great system of reform, that they become the absolute arbiters of life and death to 100,000,000 of mankind, and between them must be shared the imputation of every life, which is sacrificed unnecessarily.

The Supreme Council has done its best to facilitate the Sanatory Reform, for which we plead, by an Act to be subsequently examined: but the Government must render this effective by appointing an Inspector General of Health, to see that its provisions are carried out. If this be neglected, the Act in question may be viewed as consigned to the safe keeping of the Government Gazette, from which it will never emerge. The cause of this apathy to a subject of such deep importance is to be found in the fact, that a conviction of the strict relation between unsanatory conditions and certain forms of disease is not yet brought home to those, who have the power to aid in the great movement which we advocate.

Throughout the extracts we have given, the writers on Epidemic diseases have chiefly dwelt on their meteorological rela-

tions. The atmospheric constitution of the seasons plays, doubtless, a very important part in their development: but there cannot be a doubt that narrow and impure streets, imperfect drains, swamps and dirty tanks, with various other municipal evils, hereafter to be mentioned, modify, in no inconsiderable degree, the character of the disease. Endemics, such as Intermittent and Remittent Fevers, with which we may combine Cholera, as being at present naturalized in this country, are due, we conscientiously believe, almost entirely to the defective sanatory state of the rural districts. Those, who have lived in the vicinity of the Cambridgeshire or Lincolnshire fens, must know by tradition, how Intermittent Fever once prevailed; and how, by drainage and cultivation, the health of the district has improved, so that an instance of that malady is now run after as a wonder. Bengal may be regarded as one huge marsh, abounding with malaria, poisoning quickly, as in cases of Remittent, or slowly, as in Intermittent Fever, all the residents within its bounds, who are unfortified by good dwellings. We would that, for a single hour, some tutelary genius of the land could endow with physical consistency the noxious exhalations, hourly rising from each stagnant ditch, each dirty tank, and festering hole, within the limits of a single town:—we would, that our perceptions might be so increased, that the insidious vapour could be made visible to our corporeal eye, wreathing itself in fatal eddies round the sleeping peasant, entering with the air he breathes, vitiating his blood, and heating it to feverish paroxysm, then circling to his spleen, which becomes its abiding place, until driven out by death! We would that, for a single hour, this, which occurs invisibly with each succeeding minute, could be seen and noted:—then would the beholder be truly horror struck, and devote each after moment of existence to the task of removing the causes of such dire distress;—and this effort would constitute Sanatory Reform. What says Dr. Stewart of evil municipal arrangement, as affecting Small Pox?

It is foreign to my present object, to describe minutely the well known evil effects on public health, produced throughout the whole native town, and to a frightful extent in certain Thannas, by the original defects and errors in the plan of the city, the distortion, the malposition and mis-direction of its principal thoroughfares, the narrowness and confinement, and consequent bad ventilation of its lanes and gullies, the bad construction and faulty arrangement of its dwelling houses, the smallness of the sleeping apartments, the perpetual dirty and damp state of the court yards, the crowded condition of the inmates, the disgusting stench from the public cesses and privies, the stagnation of tanks, drains and sewers, the scantiness and badness of the water supplied for domestic uses, &c., &c. All those matters have been often pointed out and lamented, talked of for

time, forgotten, and re-discussed on the recurrence of some sweeping pestilence, to be again consigned to temporary oblivion. The attempt to remedy them seems to be abandoned as too arduous and almost hopeless. The origin of all these evils, their number and extent, with descriptions of their actual effects, and plans for their removal or amelioration, have, from time immemorial, engaged the consideration of individuals and of Governments; and are they not all fully chronicled in faithful and filthy detail, in the recently printed Report of the Municipal Committee, and in the ample pages of its voluminous appendix? Sufficient information on the subject, for general readers, will be found in the able exposition of their results on civic health, contained in Mr. J. R. Martin's "Topographical Memoir of Calcutta." His predictions, founded on close and long observation of the devastating mortality, caused amid the dense population of Bengal "rice eaters" by the combination of such natural and artificial elements of disease, as the climate and town of Calcutta present, have been abundantly verified during the late Epidemic, and have made it sufficiently easy to point out those districts and Thannahs, where pestilence would surely be found most rife, and death's harvest greatest.

Our illustration has been limited to Fever: but Dysentery and Rheumatism have been, with great show of truth, assigned to the same cause. The most recent researches too on Cholera tend to prove its close connection with miasma and malaria. On the subject of this mutual relation, Dr. Mackinnon, in the Transactions, Vol. VI. says:—

The year 1831 was remarkable for a degree of sickness and mortality, beyond what had been observed in Tirhùt for many years. There were many deaths from cholera in June, July and August; and remittent fevers prevailed and proved very fatal during the months of September, October, November, and December. The most fatal forms of cholera *were observed in unhealthy and low situations*; and it was very destructive after several heavy falls of rain about the middle of June. Some villages are stated to have been literally depopulated. It was observed that the quantity of stagnant water was greater than usual, in the district during this season.

This is strong evidence from so acute an observer as Dr. Mackinnon. Dr. Ranken, in a paper on Public Health, says, that, in his work on Central India, Sir John Malcolm states, "Cholera Morbus to have been always endemic in certain jungly parts of Malwa." He continues "the same is related of a marshy tract near Chittagong, in the Bengal report on that disease; what have these places in common but Malaria?" Again Dr. Hardie, in a paper on the medical topography of Udipore, writes thus:—

I have here taken it for granted, that Cholera is produced by malaria; and though, some may, perhaps, feel disposed to dispute this point, I suspect that any apparent difference of opinion, which may exist in reference to this question, will be found to be more in *words*, than in reality. * * * * * That Cholera is produced by some such cause, all who are acquainted with its history must, I think, allow; and the peculiarly capricious course, which this disease sometimes follows—sometimes attacking those on the one side of a river, sometimes those on another, sometimes raging round particular

spots, while the inhabitants of these spots escape entirely—clearly indicate that the generation of the poison, which causes this disease, is local, and that it depends more upon a peculiar state of the soil, &c., than on the state of the atmosphere. This doctrine, first promulgated by Sydenham, has found many opponents: and it is only of late years that it has met with that support, which it certainly deserves.

I am not prepared to prove, that it is exactly the same poison, which produces both fever and cholera; but I apply the term malaria to the cause of both—intending by that term, to express that the substance, which occasions all diseases of this nature, is produced by certain combinations of local circumstances in peculiar situations; and that, whether there be only one or more substances capable of producing the same or similar effects, our knowledge of the subject does not entitle us to say.

Speaking of the origin of Cholera in 1831-32, we find from the Report of the Metropolitan Commission that:—

“In Moscow, the place in which it principally prevailed, and was most mortal, was a low quarter, surrounded by a bed of the river Muskwa; at Breslaw it first attacked and principally ravaged that part of the town, which is low and marshy, and which is the constant seat of intermittent fever.

The foregoing extracts will, we trust, go far to prove it highly probable, that Malaria is the common parent of Fever and Cholera. Such a view derives additional force from the circumstance of the latter disease clinging to and revisiting certain localities. The most recent and striking observations on the subject are those of the Board of Health, whose Report heads our article.

As was anticipated and predicted, Cholera, during its recent visitation, returned to the same countries, and the same cities and towns, and even the same streets, houses, and rooms, which it ravaged in 1832. It is true, that many places have been attacked in the recent, which escaped in the former, Epidemic: but very few, indeed, that suffered then, have escaped now, except in some few instances, in which sanitary measures had, in the meantime, been effected. In some instances it had re-appeared on the very spot, in which it first broke out sixteen years ago. The first case, that occurred in the town of Leith, in 1848, took place in the same house, and within a few feet of the very spot, from whence the Epidemic of 1832 commenced its course. On its re-appearance in the town of Pollockshaws, it snatched its first victim from the same room, and the very bed, in which it broke out in 1832. Its first appearance in Bermondsey was close to the same ditch, in which the earliest fatal cases occurred in 1832. At Oxford, in 1839 as in 1832, the first case occurred in the county jail. This return to its former haunts has been observed in several other places; and the experience abroad has been similar. At Gröningen, in Holland, the disease, in 1832, attacked, in the better part of the city, only two houses; and the Epidemic broke out in these two identical houses, in the visitation of 1848.

In numerous instances, medical officers, who have attended to the conditions, which influence its localization, have pointed out, before its return, the particular courts and houses, which it would attack. “Before Cholera appeared in the district,” says the medical officer of the Whitechapel Union, speaking of the small court in the hamlet, “I predicted that this would

be one of its strongholds." 18 cases occurred in it. Before Cholera appeared in the district, the medical officer of Uxbridge stated, that, if it should visit that town, it would be certain to break out in a particular house, to the dangerous condition of which he called the attention of the local authorities. The first cases, that occurred, broke out in that identical house. In a place called Swain's lane, in the healthy village of Highgate, near London, there is a spot, where the medical officer felt so confident that the disease would make its appearance, that he repeatedly represented to the authorities, the danger of allowing the place to remain in its existing condition—but in vain. In two houses, on this spot, six attacks and four deaths took place; yet there was no other appearance of the disease during the whole Epidemic in any other part of the village, containing 3,000 inhabitants.

Before the appearance of the disease in this country, we warned the local authorities, that the seats of the approaching pestilence in their respective districts, would be the usual haunts of other epidemics. Our conviction was founded on evidence, to which recent experience has added a degree of force, that may be judged of by the following examples.

In the year 1838, a report was presented to the Poor Law Commissioners, describing certain localities in Bethnal Green, in which typhus was then, or recently had been, so prevalent, that it had attacked, in some streets, every house, and in some houses every room. From that time to the present, these localities have been the special seats of fever, and of every other Epidemic, that has chanced to be prevalent. From Dr. Gavin's careful and painfully descriptive report on the recent progress of cholera in this district, it appears that in one of these places (Old Nichol street,) in twenty-three houses, fifty persons were attacked with cholera, of whom thirty-three died—three deaths having taken place in one house, and four in another—the visitors finding besides, nine cases approaching to cholera, and 197 cases of diarrhœa. In a neighbouring street, Collingwood-street, six deaths took place in one house. Taking together ninety-nine houses in this immediate locality, the deaths from cholera amounted to the enormous number of 147; being in the ratio of $1\frac{1}{2}$ deaths to each house. In Beckford-row, in the same district, consisting of sixteen houses, there occurred, in the year preceding the outbreak of cholera, twenty-three cases of fever and one of erysipelas: and, on the outbreak of cholera, eight persons perished of this disease, and two others of diarrhœa. In one court, in Rosemary lane, Whitechapel, notorious for the number of fever cases constantly prevalent there, out of sixty inhabitants, there occurred thirteen cases of cholera; that is twenty-one per cent of the whole of the population. In a place called the Potteries, at Kensington, where the causes of disease are so concentrated and intense, that during the three years, ending December 31, 1848, there occurred seventy-eight deaths out of a population of 1,000, the average age of all who died being under twelve years, and where, in the last year, the medical officer attended thirty-two cases of fever, twenty-one persons perished of cholera. These deaths took place in the same streets, houses, and rooms, which had been again and again visited by fever; and the medical officer pointed out rooms, where some of these poor people had recovered from fever in the spring, to fall victims to cholera in the summer.

Dr. Milroy says:—

From an instructive report, published two years ago, by Dr. Cookworthy, the senior physician of the public dispensary at Plymouth, presenting a topographical account of upwards of 2,000 cases of fever, which had occurred in that town, I find that the two localities, that stood highest on the

list, were Tower-street, where, in 1832, the cholera raged with the greatest violence, and Stone house-lane, which was so severely visited last summer.

Mr. Noble of Manchester, says:—

The great bulk of cholera cases, that have arisen in my district, have been in localities distinguished as the *habitat* of fever.

Much evidence to the same effect has been recorded, by our superintending inspectors in their preliminary inquiries into the condition of towns, petitioning for the application of the Public Health Act. Thus, Mr. Ranger, in giving an account of Barnard Castle, among other instances, states the following;—there is one particular house in Galgate, notorious for its unhealthiness; whenever typhus is in the town, it always prevails in this house; in three years, there have been nine deaths in four rooms. There is always an accumulation of filth in the cellar, which the occupiers are in the habit of removing, from time to time, in pails. In this house, there occurred three cases of cholera, all of which proved fatal within twenty-four hours.

In Swinburne's, alias Peart's, yard, containing eleven houses, occupied by thirty-five inhabitants, there being to the houses no outlets at the back, and but one privy for the use of all the occupiers, fifteen persons died of Cholera. Mr. W. C. Russel, medical officer of the Doncaster Union, states that cholera, typhus, scarlet fever, measles, hooping-cough, erysipelas, and remittent fever, all prevailed in the same localities.

“In Whippingham, the cases of cholera and diarrhœa, which occurred, were all in the fever localities.”

Such evidence can hardly leave a doubt upon the mind that the Cholera and Fever tracks are identical. If this be once assured, we may safely look forward to the day, when both shall disappear before scientific skill, and India be rid of the two fell-est scourges, that ever walked the earth. But why should we hesitate uncertain upon the threshold? The question of their connection might be settled in twelve months by a mapping out of the localities affected by them, as recommended by Mr. Bedford. If the results on trial prove confirmatory of the theory, Cholera will be brought into the category of preventable diseases:—or, putting aside the universality of the opinion that Intermittent Fever is due to removable causes, we have philosophical proof afforded by Dr. Dempster, that Spleen disease (an undeniable consequence of Intermittent Fever) exists in an intensity, directly proportional to the vicinity of tracts of malarious character. If therefore Fever be clearly traced to certain unsanitary conditions of the soil, and Cholera be shown invariably to select the same localities only, we may safely regard the latter as a disease susceptible of annihilation. We cannot claim the same companionship for Small Pox, which seems far more erratic in its course, varying with each Epidemic attack; but we may conclude, on Dr. Stewart's authority, that dirt, imperfect drainage, and over crowding, play an important part in its development and dissemination.

The advantage of a different state of things is admirably demonstrated by the condition of Fort William, during the Epidemic of 1849.

The very remarkable healthiness of the native troops and residents in the Garrison of Fort William, during the past eighteen months, while small pox was decimating the surrounding population, is attributed by Dr. Montgomerie (Appendix page xlvii.) mainly to the exclusion of all the known sources and carriers of contagion, by means of the admirable system of drainage and sewerage, now effectively adopted within and around the walls of the Fort, the strict enforcement of perfect cleanliness, and a free ventilation of the Barracks. It has also been greatly owing to the careful avoidance by the soldiers themselves, of all unnecessary intercourse with the towns people, and to their confining themselves entirely for the supply of their wants to the well kept, and well superintended military market place, called Cooly Bazar, in the neighbourhood of the Fort, which, in consequence doubtless of its excellent regulations, has been almost entirely free from the small pox this year, as on a former occasion. To the same causes, undoubtedly, and to the general high discipline of that fine corps, H. M.'s 70th Regiment, in respect of cleanliness of person and healthful exercise in the open air, must be in a great measure ascribed the almost entire exemption from small pox of this corps, which has garrisoned Fort William during the whole of the past year; though to the inestimable protection and modifying power of vaccination is owing the fact, that but one casualty from the disease has occurred in the regiment, mustering, as it does, 1,168 individuals, including women and children.

Could we but hope, by one well regulated system, to abolish simultaneously those fell scourges of the Indian race, what a victory would be ours ! Fever prostrates its victims day by day, with slow deliberation. Cholera gives little time for thought; and thence the horror of its sway.

Have any of our readers ever seen an Indian town stricken with this plague? Have they left the broad highways, and visited the huts amid the jungle, where mothers lay dying, with a child breathing its last cold gasp on either arm, whilst other sufferers implore their aid in all directions? Have they been mingled up with crowds of pilgrims, hurrying from the Ganges, whose trail, along a road of thirty miles, was formed by dead and dying fellow creatures? Such scenes are not the occurrences of a century, borne aloft upon the wings of history to be viewed by after ages in quailing awe, but facts of every day's existence in Bengal, and cognizant by all men from the day of their arrival in the country, until, at last, their occurrence is regarded as a matter of course, and no steps taken to effect improvement. And what has been done to relieve this mass of human ill? What commissions have been formed for its investigation? What rewards have been offered for a remedy? What state honours have been promised to the man who should stay the sword of the Destroying Angel? Not one of all these. With the

exception of some special reports, in reply to a circular of the Medical Board, from local officers, we have folded our hands in meek complacency, hoping for impunity for ourselves and those dear to us. The battle cry announcing an enemy's attack, the bells in ringing out the near approach of fire, would rouse each heart to superhuman effort; but disease, armed with tenfold powers of destruction, is quietly awaited in an easy chair, and scarcely an arm is raised against it.

Oh, for a tongue of Demosthenic power, or a pen flowing with fiery eloquence, to prove the truth of all that we have so feebly urged! We trust, however, that the evidence, which we shall now adduce in connection with our detailed proposition for reform, will force its way to everlasting remembrance and conviction. The great end and aim of Sanatory Reform is the economy of life and health. Before this expression can be understood, we must lay down a standard of inevitable vital expenditure, all excess above which must constitute waste. Two per cent per annum is the standard set up in England; and the fraction in excess, which obtains in the total mortality of the United Kingdom, gives an annual waste of about 60,000 lives:—that is to say, this large number of deaths occurs annually from diseases due to imperfect sanatory conditions. But the suffering does not end here: for every death from preventable diseases, there are, we are assured, on the most moderate calculation, twenty attacks of sickness. This calculation alone affords 1,200,000 annual cases of disease, which never should have occurred. Whether this golden standard of mortality can ever be reached in India, it would be premature to guess. Judging by the very imperfect data we possess, an annual decrement of 5 per cent. is what obtains amongst the free population surrounding us. But we can at least try for it.

On such a subject as life and health, prolixity may well be pardoned: but having glanced at the history of Epidemics, and cursorily examined them in their meteorological and municipal relations, the task devolves upon us of inquiring into the health and economy of Indian towns—an almost unbroken subject. Efforts have now and then been made, it is true, by active magistrates to cut away the jungle, repair the roads, and cleanse the principal streets; but although the highways, as an exceptional case, are looked after, we venture to assert that the bye-ways are a mass of reeking filth, the untouched legacy of a thousand years of sanatory neglect. How powerful for evil such a state of things must be, and how it may be remedied, we proceed to shew.

Sanatory Reform in its most extended sense embraces a

consideration of every Hygiénic measure, including vaccination: but the latter is so vast a subject, that we must leave it for future consideration, limiting ourselves at present to municipal matters.

ROADS AND STREETS form the keystone of municipal improvement and Sanatory Reform; but let those, who have taken the trouble to investigate the interior of an Indian town, say in what condition they are to be found during the rains. Of a most insufficient width, twisting in all directions, ranging from twelve to twenty feet in breadth, and composed solely of the natural soil, they become, after a heavy fall of rain, one sheet of tenacious mud, which, from the imperfect ventilation, dries but slowly. In some of the most neglected towns, ruts six inches or a foot in depth will occasionally present themselves by way of variety. So much for the rains. The hot season scarcely improves them; for what was mud now becomes dust, which, obedient to every puff of wind, flies about in all directions, blinding the residents, and constituting a considerable source of annoyance to any stranger, who may wander by. In cases, such as we describe, metalling should be universal. Every road within the town limits should be so repaired at once: the result might appear rather a municipal than a sanatory gain; but such is not the case. The advantage would be of a united kind. Magistrates and civil surgeons, the natural guardians of public health, would be enabled easily to penetrate into nooks and corners, which are now unknown to them. Dirt would thus be seen; and all the abomination, concealed by narrow and impassable roadways, brought to light.

The rights of property are sacred up to a certain point: but as the few must concede their wishes to the welfare of the many, advantage should be taken of fires to widen and make straight the streets. No main road of a town should be less than fifty feet in width, from house to house. This generally constitutes the principal bazar, and, in commercial districts, is traversed every hour of the day by hackeries, bearing bales of cotton and other bulky goods, which are subsequently deposited before the merchant's door. Natural ventilation from the prevailing winds can only be attained in full perfection by a system of straight lines: and full access of the breeze, so mercifully given to Bengal, is essential, be it remembered, to health. In Europe, a very little modicum of wind may well suffice: but here, where stagnation of the air is almost equivalent to putrefaction, every facility for its free passage is demanded.

HOUSE NUMBERING.—In a sanatory, no less in than a social, point of view, a visible enumeration of all houses within the limit

of town *muhallas* is essential. Without some such positive index to locality, investigation into the contagious property of Epidemics is impossible: nor can we project the Fever, Cholera, and Malaria maps, which have been suggested by Mr. Bedford. Such a system of house numbering would afford no mean aid to civilization, by facilitating postal delivery: and this is a matter of no small moment, at a time when Government meditates the sacrifice of a part of its revenue, in the hope of stimulating correspondence. We should like to obtain an accurate return of the number of letters "not delivered," or of the hours wasted in search by new delivery peons, in any given time, during a single month, from the addressée of letters not being known. Add to this the length of time occupied in the search for individuals;—and ample proof will be afforded of the necessity of house numbers. In case of its adoption, however, we would enter a *caveat* against the practice of Cossitollah, where every man, who changes his residence, carries his number with him; and thus the anxious seeker for some particular tradesman, instead of finding the house numbered by the authenthical progression likely to facilitate his search, is wearied out of his seven senses, if he have so many, by sixes being jumbled up with ones, and tens with forties, in the most distracting way. Indeed, if we mistake not, the meditative traveller will even now find one house, whose owner, being evidently in a state of high perplexity as to his legitimate "belongings," and vacillating between a five and nine, has compromised the matter with his conscience and his customers, by inserting one within the loop of the other.

We know not to whom the department of house "numbers" in Calcutta may belong; but we do know that such a state of things would be a disgrace to the humblest village in England.

HOUSES.—Of Houses, we have on this occasion but little to say. Their consideration belongs to private Hygiène: but we may remark that much good, even in a public sense, would be effected by increasing their means of ventilation. In many houses, as at present built, the doors and windows are all on one side, whilst the opposite exhibits no aperture for the passage of air.

DRAINS.—Of all circumstances determining disease, few are more powerful than ill constructed and imperfect drains, whether viewed as conduits for the natural rain fall, or as means of removing fluids, impregnated with animal and vegetable matter. We turn to what our most recent authority, the Report of the General Board of Health, says on the subject;—

The object of efficient drainage work is two-fold; first, the removal of decomposing matter in suspension in water; and secondly, the removal of sur-

plus moisture. But ample experience has proved that drainage, empirically conducted, in the hands of those who have given no special attention to the subject, increases the evil intended to be obviated, by extending the noxious evaporating surface, or by shifting the decomposing matter from one place to another. The superintending inspectors, in their reports on the various towns they have examined, concur in stating that the force of fever and of cholera in general falls on those localities which are without drainage, or in which the drainage, that has been attempted, has been so unskillfully performed, as to have increased the evil. Dr. Sutherland and Dr. Clark give a remarkable example of this in their reports on Bristol. Dr. Sutherland, in describing the condition of certain courts, covering a piece of land, fifty-six yards in length by thirty seven yards in breadth, and containing sixty-six dwellings, in which there occurred forty-four deaths from cholera, says :—

“A more deplorable event, perhaps, never occurred than these tables describe. A very slight consideration of the whole circumstances is, in my opinion, sufficient to prove that this great sacrifice of human life was occasioned by ignorance, or negligence, as flagrant as any which, from time to time, gives rise to railway, or other, accidents. A glance at the plan will show that something like sanatory improvements had actually been contemplated ; and no doubt, it was believed, that the object would be attained, if only a sufficient number of drains and privies were constructed. Like every other step taken in a false direction, the so-called improvements increased the evil they were intended to mitigate, and, with the other circumstances above detailed, caused the untimely death of many innocent persons.”

The evidence of Dr. Rigby, physician to the General Lying-in-Hospital, York-road, Lambeth, before the Health of Towns Commission, is very interesting, and conclusive as to the importance, both of drainage and ventilation. Puerperal fever is shown in the clearest manner to have been connected with neglect of these important measures, and to have been removed by their enforcement.

“I am at this moment,” says Dr. Rigby, “attending a lady in confinement (in the Mary-le-bow district), whom I have, with some difficulty, rescued from an attack of puerperal fever, which threatened to assume the malignant form. On being summoned to her when in labour, I was struck with the offensive drain effluvia, which not only pervaded the lower parts of the house, but rose perceptibly from the area, as I stood at the hall door ; and I cannot help attributing this attack coming on, under all the possible circumstances of wealth and station, to the deleterious influence to which I have just alluded.”

Dr. Emerson, in his *Medical Statistics of Philadelphia*, writes :—

Fever, in some of its forms, is almost universal among the inhabitants of the undrained and unpaved outskirts ; but of rare occurrence in the central parts, which are well paved and drained. By far the greatest proportion of the annual sickness and mortality of an ordinary season is furnished by the narrow and confined alleys and courts, existing in various parts of the town. The difference, though sufficiently obvious in adults, is most lamentably conspicuous among children. Deaths from cholera are rare in houses with large and well aired apartments ; the influence of meagre and unwholesome food and immoderate indulgence in strong liquors, though

usually mentioned as the chief causes of the excessive mortality of the labouring classes, are insignificant, when compared to that of breathing air that has been previously expired, and which, moreover, is commonly charged with animal and vegetable effluvia.

Dr. Arnott's views on Fever, and the conditions by which it is accompanied and produced, are embodied in the following passage:—

Our inquiries give us the conviction that the immediate and chief cause of many of the diseases, which impair the bodily and mental health of the people, and bring a considerable portion prematurely to the grave, is the poison of *atmospheric impurity*, arising from the accumulation, in and round their dwellings, of the decomposing remnants of the substances used for food and in the arts, and of the impurities given out from their own bodies.

Mr. Chadwick affords us some curious comparative tables, shewing the high rate of mortality, which obtains in undrained, as compared with drained, districts.

After such evidence, no doubt can remain as to the urgent necessity of removing all superfluous moisture and putrescent fluid from the soil. What attempt has yet been made to secure this desideratum? Road-sides have been flanked with ditches, not for drainage, but as the consequence of removing earth for the formation and repair of roads. Every here and there they come to a dead stop, from having been built into, or dammed up with a bridge of solid earth-work. Such are the suburban roads—but surely we shall find improvement on inspecting the bazar, the principal street. Yes, good reader, if fortune has placed you in a go-ahead community, you will, on walking down the Regent-street of the locality, find, perchance, every third or fourth shop fronted by a neat square pukka open drain, some six inches in width by four in depth. The next door neighbour has the same, with the simple difference of its being covered in throughout. Next to him is again a proprietor, too poor or too indifferent to incur such an expence, and before whose house the washing of his own and his neighbour's spreads out and stagnates into a miniature pool, checking the water circulation of the street, and spreading upon the road in heavy rain, thus soaking into and destroying its level. Each man builds according to his fancy. We lately paused, during our morning tour of inspection, to admire a new and well made pukka drain: when on viewing it more closely, our first emotion of delight was changed to sanatory consternation, on finding it *built up at both ends!* It thus appears, that the drainage of our Mofussil towns, although a primary element of health, is effected in the roughest and most unscientific way. Continuity is uncared for, levels eschewed, and regular curves repudiated. In such a state of things, stagnation

of water and the collection of decomposing animal and vegetable matter must ensue—with what result, let the authorities, we have quoted, bear witness.

In towns upon the river side, a system of drainage might be instituted with little difficulty: whilst, for those inland, a chain of well kept tanks, placed at short distances, would answer the same purpose.

Every principal road and street should be flanked on either side, by an open semi-circular pukka drain, eight inches, or a foot, in diameter, by six in depth. We say an open drain, because a closed one, such as we often see, becomes a receptacle of filth and dirt. It would be hopeless to attempt “a fall,” in towns situated on the dead level of Bengal: but the same object might be attained through the agency of public sweepers. Even where drains exist, they are built, as we have said, in defiance of regularity and system. This must be altered; and the whole should be arranged by the local authorities in strict conformity with scientific principles.

TANKS.—Bengal is a land of tanks; and every town is an exaggerated epitome of the country. It would be difficult to state the comparative area of land and water in Indian cities; but we shall hardly err in roughly estimating it as averaging twelve to one. This large supply of the pure element has arisen out of the demand natural to a warm climate, which has induced wealthy and philanthropic men to dig receptacles for it. To form a tank, or build a temple, secures, among the natives of Hindústan, a larger amount of respect and admiration than can be secured by any other public work;—and hence their number. It has unfortunately happened, however, that the desire of making a name has preponderated over a more deeply seated love for posterity: and, as the tendency of native society is to pay more homage to a man who makes a tank, than to him who keeps it in order, repair, and cleanliness, we have a constant succession of new ones, whilst those, whose builders are dead, fall into decay, dirt and filthiness. A well formed turf-banked tank, filled with clean pure water, is an object no less pleasing to the eye, than grateful to the body: but an irregular shaped hole, bounded by broken dirty banks and ruined ghats, and covered with a coat of slimy duckweed, is painful to the sight and deeply injurious to health. Which of these conditions prevails in Indian towns, we leave it to Mofussilites to tell. Our own experience dwells upon an array of green stagnant pools, out of which the neighbouring residents bathe and drink, generally forming a little bay of clean water in one corner, by warding off the weed by bamboo barriers. Such is the appearance of

the pure element in the open parts of towns: but if we inspect the tanks in the more secluded portions, we shall find many instances of their being fringed with Privies, which actually project over their surface. In some stations, during the dry season, the level of the water falls, leaving a muddy surface, rich with decomposing matter, thus assuming a similar character to sewers in England. On this subject, we find, from a report of one of the English Registrars to the Health of Towns Commission, that ;—

Typhus is still prevalent, but confined to one or two districts, viz., a row of houses built back to back, the lower floors below the bottom of the adjoining canal, and the north side of castle Foregate, which consists of many lodging houses, situated in close passages and in small squares, having entrances under archways, and frequently having pigsties, and open privies, and heaps of ashes, within a few yards of the doors. The cases of typhus have, nevertheless, generally done well—only three deaths, having occurred in this quarter.

Lynn Regis, East Retford, and Canterbury, furnish subjects for description, in strict keeping with those just adduced.

Within a space of 100 yards square, and constituting the following places, Chapel-lane, North-end and yard, North Street, St. Ann's Street and fort, with a yard there, the disproportionate number of fifty-seven of the whole number of 187 deaths from small pox occurred. Nine deaths out of sixteen in the whole district, happened from convulsions, in four of the places named, and occupying a space scarcely half the size of that referred to. So in proportion to the whole number of 187 deaths in the district, no fewer than nine occurred in the limits alluded to from small pox.

New Conduit street and South Clough-lane are on either side contiguous to the fleet running by Purfleet-street; and here the greatest number of deaths from small pox occurred. As with the streets, so with the yards;—nineteen deaths, out of fifty, from small pox taking place within them.

A large open common sewer existed at the end of Sutton's-row, which was most offensive: and it was predicted by the medical-gentlemen of the town, should this fearful scourge (cholera) visit Retford, that this ill-drained, ill-ventilated, and densely populated place, would prove its advent. At length the fearful reality appeared. On the 19th of July 1831, a labourer, residing in this locality, was attacked and died.

During its five or six weeks' continuance in the town, there were fifty cases reported, of which thirteen died and thirty-eight recovered. *With one or two exceptions, the malady was altogether confined to Sutton's-row.*

We have mentioned that, at certain seasons, the falling of water leaves a surface of decomposing mud exposed. What says the Report of the General Board of Health on this head?

While epidemic cholera was prevailing in the town of Cardiff, in the month of June, 1849, a sudden attack of the disease took place in a cluster of houses, about a mile and a half from the town, situated near a canal, from which the water had been drawn off, leaving a large surface of black putrescent mud, to the direct action of a hot sun; and the result was, that very offensive effluvia were immediately perceptible. The smell was complained of by the inhabitants of all the adjoining houses, and produced a

variety of symptoms, varying in intensity in different individuals. There were, in this spot, twenty-two houses, three of which were vacant, and the total population was 117 souls. Out of the nineteen inhabited houses, fifteen were affected, so that only four escaped. There were, in all, forty-eight cases of diarrhœa, thirty-three of developed cholera, and thirteen deaths; so that nearly one third of the inhabitants were attacked with cholera. The works of the canal were finished as expeditiously as possible, and the water admitted. Persons on the spot stated, that the air felt purer immediately; and the disease was arrested.

Dr. Milroy has called attention to the effect of foul canals and ditches in the neighbourhood of London, in predisposing to severe attacks of cholera.

I have reason to believe, (he says) that the severity of the disease in some localities in the metropolis, was attributable to their proximity to canals and basins, in which the water was nearly stagnant, except when it was stirred by the passing of barges. One of the most striking instances, of this source of insalubrity, which came under my notice, was, what occurred in the neighbourhood of the Cumberland basin of the Regent's canal, situated about midway between the Hampstead road and the Regent's-park. During the prevalence of the Epidemic, there was a great amount of cholera in all the adjoining streets—a much greater than might have been expected, when we consider that the locality is generally regarded as salubrious, being open, rather elevated, and by no means densely peopled. The street, which suffered most severely, is Edward-street, on the west side of the basin. Only one side of the street is entirely occupied with houses, the other being but partially so. In some of these houses, as many as four, and even six fatal cases occurred, besides a very general prevalence of diarrhœa among the residents. Mr. Johnson, the parochial surgeon of this district of St. Pancras, informed me, that within a space of 200 feet in length, twenty fatal cases of cholera occurred. Augustus-street, on the other or east side of the basin, also suffered, although much less severely; and two (if not more) fatal cases occurred on the north side of Cumberland Market, the rears of the houses there being open to the canal. I find, also, that there was a great deal of choleraic disease among the men who were employed in the barges, and that most of the families living in the houses on the wharves, were more or less affected, in some cases, with great severity, and in one instance fatally. One woman informed me, that she and her family were ailing chiefly from bowel complaints, during nearly the whole season. Her house is clean and well drained; and the only reason she could imagine for the constantly recurring illness of herself and children was the unpleasant smell from the canal. From all accounts it appears, that the water was in a most offensive state, and, indeed, no better than that of a stagnant putrid ditch. Its surface was entirely covered with duck weed, so that it looked more like a meadow, than the basin of a canal; and when anything was thrown into it, streams of fœtid gas came bubbling up. Mr. Johnson assured me that he has known the men obliged to leave their barges, in consequence of the foul smell, when the water was disturbed. So putrid had it become, that not a fish was to be seen in the basin, although it formerly teemed with them. When drawn, it was observed to contain myriads of insects and animalculæ, and the men were unwilling to use it even for boiling potatoes, especially, as it was dark coloured and also offensive in smell at the same time. I have conversed with several medical gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and find that they had long regarded the state of the canal as injurious to the health of the residents near it; moreover, they all agreed in believing that the effluvia from it, tended

very much to increase and aggravate the Epidemic of last season. So strongly convinced was Mr. Johnson of this, that he made a forcible representation to the parochial authorities of St. Pancras on the subject—and with the good effect of having the Directors of the Canal Company summoned before a magistrate, for the purpose of compelling them to have the basin cleaned out. This was agreed to be done; but it was judiciously postponed, until the Epidemic had ceased, and the weather had become cool. The quantity of mud removed was enormous, amounting to between two and three thousand tons; and there is reason to believe, that nearly as much was left behind, in consequence of the inefficient manner in which the process was conducted. It was black and foetid, like that from an obstructed sewer. No one will wonder at this, when he learns that the basin had not been cleaned out for 25 or 30 years, and that the water had never been renewed during the whole of that period, while every year it was becoming more and more offensive from the pollutions that were thrown into it. All the people engaged on the basin admit, that a great improvement has been effected by what has been done; they are now no longer annoyed with any disgusting smell from it, although the re-appearance of duck weed on its surface pretty clearly shows how stagnant the water must be. Swarms of small fish have returned to it.

I find that complaints have been made of the exhalations from the canal, at a considerable distance from the basin near Cumberland market; but without detailing any particulars at present, I shall merely mention that a good many severe cases of cholera occurred last year, in James' street and Grove-street, Camden town; and that, in Mr. Johnson's opinion, the effluvia from two or three small docks, where the water of the canal is usually stagnant and more or less offensive, which are in the immediate vicinity of the streets in question, were not without a most pernicious effect upon the health of the residents.

The exhalations from the muddy banks or bottoms of ditches and canals were observed, in many parts of the country, to promote the development of cholera. I saw a striking instance of this at Oxford. In a house recently built, clean, and standing by itself, six persons were attacked, and four died of the disease. There did not appear to be any cause of insalubrity within the house; but it stood upon the very edge of a lengthened ditch or canal, which communicated with the river, but was generally left nearly dry, during the summer months, and then exhaled an unpleasant smell. It is quite a spot where we should expect to meet with ague-ish disease.

Surely this is conclusive; but, were more required, we might cite our own painful experience to the fact of the injurious exhalations arising from stagnant water and putrescent weed, by stating, that a family of three heretofore most healthy children, well-known to and constantly seen by ourselves, having been condemned by the paucity of houses to dwell in one flanking such a tank, as we have above described, were simultaneously attacked early in the last hot season, one with Cough, the other two with Fever, in the same night; and, up to the present moment, have been labouring under a succession of Dysentery, Diarrhoea and Fever, all of which stopped like magic, on temporary removal to a well situated house, and again made their appearance on return to the seat of evil. This rare exposure of

European children to concentrated malarious influence is, be it remembered, the daily and hourly fate of thousands of our native fellow subjects, living in Indian towns. Who shall wonder that Dysentery, Cholera and Fever decimate the population? In some towns, as we have said, the water of tanks is polluted by neighbouring privies. What evil is likely to follow, we cite the Board of Health to prove.

At Hamburg, (says Mr. Grainger,) in those streets, which immediately face the spot, where the numerous canals, that have traversed the city, and have become loaded with the excreta of 175,000 people, concentrate to pour their foul contents into the Elbe, the cholera raged so violently, as to destroy 3.01 per cent of the inhabitants: while residents near the other and purer parts of the river suffered much less. The street in Berlin, distinguished above all others for its excessive mortality, occupies on the map of that city precisely the same spot as the above locality at Hamburg—being in fact, placed just where the numerous branches of the Spree, which go off from the river at its entrance into the city, again re-enter it like a huge Fleet-ditch, after being loaded, as was pointed out to me, with all the filth from the drains and *debris* of the houses. In the small town of Chesham, where a severe out-break of cholera took place in 1848, I found that the focus of the disease was a place called Waterside, situated below the town, and close to the little river Chess, which, entering the place as a sparkling stream, becomes subsequently poisoned by the putrid matters from tanner's yards, slaughter houses, and cess pools.

But these stagnant weedy pools must, in many cases, when low, possess the characteristic proprieties of marsh water; in regard to the danger of imbibing which, again hear the Board of Health:—

Observations of the analogous influence of polluted water in producing fever, have been made in other countries. Dr. Boudin, a French writer on medical geography, relates a marked example of marsh water exciting fever.

In July, 1834, 800 soldiers, all in good health, embarked on the same day, in three transports at Bona, and arrived together at Marseilles; they were exposed to the same atmospheric influences, and were, with one essential difference, supplied with the same food, and subjected to the same discipline. On board one of the vessels were 120 soldiers; of these, thirteen died on the passage from a destructive fever, and ninety-eight more were taken to the military hospital of the Lazaretto, at Marseilles, presenting all the pathological characters proper to marshy localities; so that "by the side of a simple intermittent, was seen a pernicious fever. Here was a type, recalling the yellow fever of the Antilles; and there was the cholera of the Ganges, with its most terrible traits." On an inquiry being instituted, it was ascertained, that on board the affected ship, the water supplied for the soldiers, owing to the haste of the embarkation, had been taken from a marshy place near Bona, whilst the crew, not one of whom was attacked, were provided with wholesome water. It further appeared, that the nine soldiers, who escaped, had purchased water of the crew, and had consequently not drunk the marshy water. Not a single soldier or sailor of the other two transports, who were supplied with pure water, suffered.

Dr. Evans, of Bedford, relates an equally definite instance:—

A few years ago, he was staying at Versailles with his lady, when they both became affected with ague, and, on enquiry, the following facts were disclosed :—The town of Versailles is supplied with water for domestic purposes from the Seine at Marli. At the time in question, a large tank, supplying one particular quarter, was damaged ; and the mayor, without consulting the medical authorities, provided a supply of water, consisting of the surface drainage of the surrounding country, which is of a marshy character. The regular inhabitants would not use this polluted water ; but Dr. and Mrs. Evans, who were at an hotel, drank of it unwillingly ; and it was also used by a regiment of cavalry. The result was, that those, who drank the water, suffered from intermittent fever of so severe a type, that seven or eight of the soldiers, fine young men, died on one day, September 1, 1845. On a careful investigation, it was ascertained, that those only of the troops, who had drunk the marsh water, were attacked—all the others, though breathing the same atmosphere, having escaped, as did also the towns people.

From these extracts, the result of the most extensive inquiry by some of the most intelligent men in England, it would appear, that Intermittent Fever, Diarrhoea, Dysentery and Cholera, are clearly traceable, not only to the imbibition, but to the exhalations arising from stagnant polluted water.

How is the remedy to be found ?

In maintaining a perfect cleanliness of the water surface, preserving the banks from irregularity and dirt by turfing them, and making a good pukka or grass ghaut on each of the four sides, varying from twelve to sixteen feet in width, and by removing the Privies. Tanks, as we have said, are powerful for good or evil ! If clean, well kept, and full of pure water, they cool the surrounding air and form a rarely failing source of life's most urgent necessity to the neighbouring population. If dirty, polluted by excreta, covered with weed, and thus permitted to become a receptacle for all the neighbouring filths, they constitute a focus of disease. The most practical mode of repairing the evil, is to consider every dirty tank " a local nuisance," and insist upon its being kept clean by the owner, under penalty of the law, which has clearly provided the means of dealing with such offences. Another, but, perhaps, less desirable plan, would be, to deem the formation of a tank as strictly an act bearing upon the public health, and, with this view, permitting it only, on the condition of its being endowed with sufficient funds to keep it in repair. Such a regulation might, perhaps, act injuriously by diminishing the water supply to the people : but it would be the most effectual method of putting a stop to the evil of which we complain, until magistrates are uniformly agreed, as to the definition of a " local Nuisance" and prepared to punish its perpetrators.

NECESSARIES.—The filthy habits of the denizens of Indian towns arise more, we believe, from the want of means of cleanli-

ness, than any inherent partiality for dirt. It is, however, sufficient for our purpose, to call attention to the fact, so painfully patent to all residents in this country, that defilement abounds in every direction. It has been often urged, with an apparent shew of truth, that a European in the tropics forgets the use of his legs from failing to employ them; but if those, who taunt us with this failing, could experience but for one day the disgust and misery of seeking to inhale the morning air on foot, whilst every breath comes laden with pollution, they would quickly retract their words. Not content with rendering the earth impure, instances are very common, where water, intended for the use of people distant from any other supply, is rendered poisonous by overhanging Necessaries. The Board of Health writes thus of the injuries, likely to accrue, in consequence of such pollution:—

During the late Epidemic, much additional evidence has been elicited, proving the influence of the use of impure water, in predisposing to the disease. There has been scarcely a town in the kingdom, in which cholera has been prevalent, that has not afforded some instance of it; and, when the water has been contaminated by the contents of sewers or privies, or by the drainage of grave yards, the seizures have been more sudden and violent, and the proportion of deaths to attacks greater even than from over crowding. * * * * * Five houses in Windmill-Square, Shore-ditch, occupied by twenty-two inhabitants, were supplied with water from a well, into which surface-refuse and the contents of cess-pools percolated. Of the inhabitants of these houses, eleven, that is one-half of the whole number, died of cholera within a few days.

The first out-break of cholera in Rotherhithe, occurred in sixteen houses, which were supplied with water from a well, that was expressly ascertained to be contaminated by infiltration from a foul open ditch. In these sixteen houses, there were twenty cases of cholera; and several of the persons, who died, were decent mechanics, and not in destitute circumstances. The water, which supplied twenty-five houses in another street, was taken out of a ditch, that received the contents of privies. In these twenty-five houses there occurred fifteen deaths from cholera.

But the pollution of the surface of the earth is scarcely less injurious. The evidence afforded by the Board of Health, on this point is again very strong:—

When an atmosphere, contaminated by the emanations that arise from filth, accumulated in and about dwellings, is respired, the noxious matters dissolved or suspended in the air are carried directly into the blood. The extent, to which such matters may poison the blood, may be understood when it is considered, that, in the space of every twenty-four hours, an adult person breathes thirty-six hogsheads of air; that there pass, at the same time, through the lungs, to be brought into contact with this bulk of air, twenty-four hogsheads of blood; and that the velocity of the circulation is so great, that the whole mass of the blood is carried round the body in one minute. * * * * * It is, therefore, still not unnecessary to call attention to the evidence, which recent experience has afforded, with reference to this subject.

Immediately opposite Christ church work-house, Spitalfields, belonging to the White Chapel Union, and only separated from it by a narrow lane, a few feet wide, there was, in 1848, a manufactory of artificial manure, in which bullocks, blood and night soil were desiccated by dry heat in a kiln, or sometimes by mere exposure of the compost to the action of the sun and air, causing a most powerful stench. The work house contained about 400 children, and a few adult paupers. Whenever the works were actively carried on, particularly when the wind blew in the direction of the house, there were produced numerous cases of fever, of an intractable and typhoid form; a tendency to measles, small pox, and other infantile diseases; and for some time, a most unmanageable and fatal form of aphthæ of the mouth, ending in gangrene. From this cause, above twelve deaths took place among the infants in one quarter. In the month of December, 1848, when cholera had already occurred in the White Chapel Union, sixty of the children in the work house were suddenly seized with violent diarrhœa, early in the morning. The proprietor was compelled to close his establishment, and the children returned to their ordinary health. Five months afterwards, the works were recommenced; in a day or two, subsequently, the wind blowing from the manufactory, a most powerful stench pervaded the work house; in the night following, forty-five of the boys, whose dormitories directly face the manufactory, were again suddenly seized with severe diarrhœa; whilst the girls, whose dormitories were in a more distant part, and faced in another direction, escaped. The manufactory having been again suppressed, there has been no return of diarrhœa up to the present time.

Again, in the Reports of the Health of Towns Commission, we read as follows:—

The medical officer of St. Saviour's Union, in answer to the question, "What is the state of the sewers for the houses of the poorest classes of the population in your district?" says, "They are in a dreadful condition. On one side of Broadwall, at the back of the houses, there is an open sewer into which the privies empty themselves. There is a second open sewer, situate between Hatfield-street and Brunswick-street, which extends its course from Brunswick-place; and there is a third open sewer in Boundary-row, all places thickly inhabited. These sewers are the receptacles of all kind of refuse, such as putrid fish (thrown in by the coster-mongers living about the New-Cut), dead dogs, oats, vegetables, &c. These two latter sewers also receive the soil from the privies of the houses situate near them. All the sewers are always offensive, but disgustingly so at particular seasons." These sewers are only emptied once or twice a year. In answer to the question, What is the general state of the health of the people exposed to the effluvia from the open sewer? the same gentleman states, that "low and malignant fevers are much more frequent and fatal in their effects in these localities, than in the other low neighbourhoods better situated. It is not uncommon to have two or three consecutive cases of fever in the same house; and, year after year, the father or mother of large families is carried off by the frequent occurrence of the disease." Malignant cholera commenced, in this locality, and spread to a much greater extent, on the line of these sewers, than in the other poor, and densely inhabited places. "In Brunswick place where the disease first began, five fatal cases occurred in one house (here the open sewer runs within two yards of the houses); and in many instances, in the direction of the ditches, in a better class of houses, two or three cases terminated fatally from malignant cholera, in the same dwelling. There are

other diseases produced by the malaria emitted from the decomposed refuse in these open sewers." Mr. Clarke the medical officer of St. Olave's Union, says, that the residences of the poorer classes in his district are filthy in the extreme. The chief drainage of the district, inhabited by the poorer classes, is by uncovered sewers, which are a sort of ditches, very sluggish, and emitting constantly most offensive odours. The line of houses, where fever prevails at some periods, often marks the line of defective drainage and open sewers.

Of all reforms this clearing away of Privies must be the first. Without it, every attempt at tank cleansing will necessarily be imperfect. The only fair and practical mode of remedying the evil is by the formation of cess-pools throughout every town. Each should be about twelve feet in diameter, by twenty or thirty in depth, edged with brickwork, crossed by iron bars, divided into halves by a central planking, and surrounded by a hedge. Such a convenience, separately accommodating the sexes by its two compartments, should be formed in the centre of every town Muhulla, and bricked up when full, at which time, another might be opened. The town sweepers, already indicated as employed upon the drains, should visit them twice a day, for the purpose of throwing in a sufficient quantity of chloridizing liquid. Such places of resort are, of course, intended for the poor; but they would also serve the purpose of the better class by forming convenient receptacles for house cleansing. Once instituted, all defilement, of course, would become penal. That such an arrangement would meet with the hearty concurrence of the native community, we have amply tested by inquiry, and, indeed, could point to one town, where it is already a progress.

HOLES AND IRREGULARITIES OF SURFACE, chiefly caused by deporting earth for bricks, and houses, abound in Indian towns. Every dwelling is raised one or two feet above the surface, at the expense of the neighbouring soil, which is excavated in the same proportion. The surface of a town becomes thus full of irregular holes, averaging from one to twenty feet in depth, and presenting universally a rugged outline. In close contiguity to houses, they become the repositories of the dirt, and filth of every kind, and constitute, in the rainy season, a kind of marsh, fruitful of Fever and its cognate diseases. In places of old date, they possess the prescriptive right of ages; but it is lamentable to see the same error perpetrated in new cantonments, raised under European orders, by which the soldier's life and health is sacrificed. The following extracts from our daily Journals offer painful proof of this:—

THE SICKNESS AT LAHORE.—We alluded in our last to the mortality in H. M. 96th Foot, as having been considerable during the present week. We regret much to learn that eleven men have been committed to the

grave since Saturday last. We learn also that 238 patients have been admitted into the regimental hospital during the same period ; and that 152 only have been discharged. There were yesterday 244 on the sick list, being a slight improvement on the return three days before, when the number of patients under medical treatment was 286. If our readers will take the trouble to look over the table we published on Wednesday last, they will find that of the European Foot Artillery, also quartered in Anarkullee, and next to H. M. 96th Foot, there were 17 per cent. in hospital on the 22nd of August. The number has, we believe, not materially increased during the last few days. In the Royal Regiment the average has risen to upwards of 30 per cent. ; and it becomes a matter of serious consideration to discover the cause or causes of such a material difference. Some of them are, no doubt, local—there being, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Infantry lines, still large patches of broken ground that must engender malaria under the present state of the atmosphere. The Sanatory Committee, appointed during the past year, recommended the filling up of two main receptacles of filth and putrid water, that poisoned the atmosphere around them ; and the Governor General sanctioned the estimated outlay with most commendable promptitude, putting to shame the notorious delays of the Military Board in similar cases. But the estimate in one instance, made by an officiating executive, fell short of the required expenditure ; and much that should have been done was left undone. There is, besides this, ample room for the untiring labours of the Committee.

Of the sickness amongst the native population of the town we have no authentic information. The mortality is certainly increasing ; and the Hakims are so much in requisition, that they can no longer pay domiciliary visits, but compel most of their patients to visit them. The sickness prevails to a much greater degree outside of the town, in the suburbs and habitations to the south and east, than in those to the north : the cause of which may be traceable to the immense tracts of broken ground, that exist and will continue to exist, until some comprehensive measure is adopted for levelling the whole, and ultimately draining those parts where drainage is necessary. A plan for drawing off the waters, that accumulate in the hollows at some distance south and south-east of Lahore, has been matured by Col. Napier, and will, we hope, be carried out as a commencement of one general plan for improving the sanatory condition of Lahore, and relieving the station from the imputation it now bears, of being, during the months of August, September, and October, " very unhealthy." Let every feasible means for removing this state of things be adopted ;—let the town ditch, especially, be cleared out ;—and the Government will have the satisfaction of knowing, that they have done all that can be done, even if unsuccessful, towards improving the condition of a considerable section of the population of their newly acquired territories.—*Lahore Chronicle*, August 30, 1851.

PESHAWUR. *August 7th*—We regret to learn that sickness and mortality still prevail at this station. The 98th Highlanders is represented as a mere skeleton of a regiment, the body being consigned to the Peshawur dust, and 114 of the survivors now in hospital, dangerously ill. The 61st (Queen's) has nearly as large a proportion on the sick list, and both corps are anxiously looking forward to their relief. Much of the unhealthiness of the place is attributed to the wretched barracks assigned to the European troops, which shelter them from neither sun nor rain. After an average shower, several of the barracks appear like islands in a lake, and so remain, until the waters have evaporated or been absorbed. It is true that new barracks are in the course of erection : but, at the present rate of

progression, they are not likely to benefit the existing generation. The water collects in the numerous hollows or pits, from which clay has been dug to make bricks; and thence a deadly miasma arises and poisons the air for miles around. If the Government have any real regard for the health and comfort of the troops, any care for their efficiency, or any sympathy with their sufferings,—this will not be permitted to continue much longer; or, otherwise, Peshawur will become the grave yard of the North-West.—*Delhi Gazette, August 16, 1851.*

FEVER AND CHOLERA.—We regret to hear that Lahore is suffering severely from sickness. The city numbers thousands, who are prostrated by fever; and the cholera also is carrying on its dire work—forty to fifty are being conveyed out daily, victims to these two maladies. While at Anarkullee also, in cantonments, as well as in the parts inhabited by the European population, fever is raging, hospitals are filling rapidly, and efforts are being made by the military authorities for the speedy removal of the artillery and other European troops to the purer and more healthy air of Mean Mir. We are informed, this insalubrity, which last year cost us the valuable lives of so many of the Fusiliers and other European soldiers, is owing entirely to bad drainage! Where a heavy shower of rain falls, the parade ground, the Sudder bazar, and several other considerable parts of the station, become so many marshes, which, on being dried by the heat of the sun, exhale noxious vapours, and become so many hot-beds of disease and death. Wuzirabad, Peshawur, and other of our Punjab stations, are suffering from the same cause—bad drainage. This is the penny-wise-and-pound-foolish system of our Government. The lives of the numerous soldiers yearly sacrificed, taken only on a L. s. d. calculation, are surely deserving the outlay of a few lakhs of revenue in the proper and immediate drainage of the stations. And the Board of Administration should not longer delay in carrying out such sanatory measures as will effectually prevent, in future years, the sickness and mortality, which has visited our European troops during the present and the last twelve months.—*Ibid.*

We have received several letters from correspondents at Barrackpore, drawing our attention to the state of that station and cantonments. The writers inform us, that they are in the most disgraceful condition; the roads bad, the drains worse; the ditches and water courses choked up with jungle; and the compounds of all the unoccupied, and of some of the tenanted, bungalows, covered with forests of the same kind. We are assured that the station now looks more like one that had been abandoned on account of unhealthiness, and delivered over to the jackals, than the head quarters of a Division. All the weeds and jungle, that are now having it their own way, must be eventually cut down, and left to decay and infect the air: and then come fevers, heavy sick lists and full hospitals, and possibly deaths and such other pleasing results. Those who have the charge of the Barrackpore Conservancy arrangements, would do well to remember that officers don't always die of fevers, dysentery and other tropical diseases, which are the result of malaria and a neglect of cleanliness, but sometimes escape with their lives, and get into great expense and debt by travelling to endeavour to recover their health and strength.—*Morning Chronicle.*

In towns already built, the evil, thus so powerfully depicted, is most difficult of cure; but the public authorities are bound to make the attempt in restoring the level by earth brought from a distance. Its future practice should be strenuously interdicted, and house-builders compelled to raise the dwellings, either on a brick foundation, or on imported earth.

To secure cleanliness, and avoid the heaps of broken pots, which constitute an attractive nucleus for dirt of all kinds, it should be made imperative on every house, to have a dust-bin, or clay vessel, which might be emptied weekly into the public cart or carts, to be appointed for the purpose of daily perambulating the town. Such refuse might be conveniently disposed of, in a pit formed in the vicinity of the town for the purpose of supplying earth, and a daily compensation for loss would thus be effected.

BURIALS.—Nothing can more powerfully illustrate the silence or non-existence of public opinion in India, than the fact that, whilst the subject of intra-mural interment has afforded full scope for the energies of European sanatory reformers, and given ample employ to legislative activity, it has not even been treated of amongst us. And yet the evil, if possible, exists to a more grave extent.

Are our readers aware, that Mussulman burials invariably take place in the close neighbourhood of the deceased's dwelling—frequently, indeed, within its boundaries? Every Indian town is thus converted into one huge grave-yard, in which the injurious results are not confined to certain spots alone, as in the London abominations, but spread over the whole city. But the evil is not limited to this. The depth of interment ranges between six inches and two feet: the body is simply placed in the earth, excepting in the case of wealthy men; and, in many instances, the jackals exhume it before the expiration of twelve hours, thus facilitating decomposition with all its attendant evil consequences, and familiarizing the public eye with sights, which tend to blunt its moral sensibility, and constitute, we firmly believe, one of the causes of that recklessness of life so characteristic of Bengal.

After the mass of evidence, parliamentary and otherwise, which England has produced; positively demonstrating the injurious influences exercised upon the living by emanations from the dead, but little necessity exists for dwelling on it here. Out of the long list of sanatory evils this is acknowledged to be the greatest: and yet our Indian towns sicken under its sway, without an attempt at amendment. The following most recent illustrations of the injurious consequences of such a custom may strengthen the impression on the reader's mind.

Speaking of grave-yards, the report of the Board of Health says:—

After the evidence, which we have elsewhere adduced, of the injurious effects of graveyards, on the crowded populations in their immediate neighbourhood, we shall cite the two following occurrences, in further illustration of the fact, derived from recent experience.

At Bristol, at a place called the Backbay, there is a burial ground, about eighty feet in length and between forty and fifty in breadth, the surface of the earth of which is four and a half feet above the level of the pavement in the adjoining courts. It is completely surrounded by houses, thirty-three in number. Under the external walls of the burial ground, there are drains with open gully grates, from which, at the time the medical inspector examined them, issued the most offensive odour, having the unmistakable graveyard smell. Out of those thirty-three houses, one of them being empty, cholera broke out in fifteen, chiefly in those on the side next the burial ground. In one house there occurred no fewer than eleven cases, and in several from five to six;—in all forty-seven cases and thirty-three deaths.

"There were no local sanitary defects," (says Dr. Sutherland), "which tended to make this place more liable to an Epidemic outbreak than other districts in the same neighbourhood, except the presence of the burial ground, and the polluted state of the drainage to which it appears to have materially contributed. "It is known," (says Mr. Grainger,) "that a most distinguished surgeon, Mr. Key, whose valuable life fell a sacrifice to the late Epidemic, resided in a house, the back windows of which looked directly into a graveyard; that he was much in the habit of sitting at these windows when opened; that he had complained to his servants several times, shortly before his attack, of the offensive smell proceeding from the burial ground, in which some cholera corpses had been entered; and that, on the very day of the fatal seizure, a grave had been dug, which attracted his attention, as having increased the noxious effluvia.

To this we must add the very remarkable statement in an article on Plague, from the *British and Foreign Medical Review*, July 1847, shewing the disease to have been unknown in an Epidemic form before the practice of embalming gave way to sepulture.

The question is of extreme interest, why Egypt, described by Herodotus, as the most healthy country of the world, a country which was free from pestilential Epidemics during 194 years' occupation by the Persians, during 301 years under Alexander and the Ptolemies, and during a great part of the Roman domination, which commenced 30 B. C. and continued until 620 A. D., has, since the commencement of the Arabic rule, been so often decimated by the plague. The statement of Rufus, before alluded to, although proving that the disease was known, also proves that it was nothing more than a sporadic disease in his time; and a casual allusion only of Galen, who was of the school of Alexandria, would prove the same, at a like period. The Committee state that Alexandria, which was founded 331 B. C., was, according to Galen, attacked by plague for the first time as a pestilence A. D. 263. But they have made a strange mistake in Chronology, for Galen was born 131 A. D., and, if he spoke of the plague of 263, he must have written when he was 132 years of age. The fact is, it is Eusebius, an author by no means noted for accuracy, who describes the epidemic of 263; and the disease, he describes, appears to have been simply a contagious typhus. Galen, as we have said, only incidentally alludes to plague, while Celsus, Praxagoras, Serapion, Saranus, and above all, Cælius Aurelianus, who lived in the fifth century, and practised in Numidia, have been quite silent with regard to any Epidemic disease, accompanied by buboes or carbuncles. It must therefore have been a rare disease, until the great plague of 542, in the time of Justinian, broke out, which we know was regarded by contemporary writers as a new disease.

The ancient salubrity of Egypt must, doubtless, be ascribed in a great degree to the general prosperity of the people, the canals of Sesostris, and the elevation of the towns upon artificial mounds; but we believe, above all, to the practice of embalmment. Ancient Egypt, the mother of the sciences, had recognised the effect of the periodical fertilizing inundations of the Nile, and of the burning heat of the sun upon the deposit left on the subsidence of the waters of the river, over spots where men or animals were buried. What was the result? Inhumation was forbidden, embalmment enjoined; and now, instead of tombs and cemeteries, the traveller observes along the ranges of hills, which border the Nile, immense subterranean cavities, miles in extent, which are filled with embalmed organic remains. The living were thus protected from the dead: and to ensure the observation of the laws, religious influence was called in to the support of human wisdom. The law became a religious rite; the influence of the divinity was employed to protect Egypt from the evils of her physical formation. The salubrity of the country ceased with the practice of embalmment. The Christian Missionaries proscribed the ancient usages as idolatrous and sinful; and this mode of sepulture gradually fell into disuse, and was finally prohibited and abolished, 336 A. D. We have seen that the plague, though before not unknown, was a rare disease; but, in 542, sprung up the terrible plague, which devastated Egypt, Turkey, and Europe, to the borders of the Atlantic, and, according to Gibbon, destroyed a hundred millions of people.

In our former article we gave our reasons for believing that the emanations from the dead bodies, buried in lower Egypt, are the real cause of the persistence of the disease in that country; that the disease is sown and preserved by the mode of the sepulture; that the living are poisoned by the emanations of the dead. A porous level soil, filled with dead bodies, penetrated universally by moisture during the overflowing of the Nile, is, after the subsidence of the waters, heated by a burning sun, and a vast cemetery, in the language of M. Pariset, is converted into a "true distillery of dead bodies."

Where is the remedy for this state of things to be found? In the formation by Government, from the public funds, of a Mussulman cemetery in the vicinity of every town, to be maintained in a state of decency and cleanliness, and in which alone burials shall be permitted. We are not unaware of the opposition, which may be expected to attend this measure, especially on the part of the ignorant and bigotted of the faith of Islam; but we assert that such difficulty must be met by law and decision. Such a practice was common in the old Mussulman cities of Delhi and Agra, where the passing traveller will find himself surrounded at certain points by tombs congregated together; and it now prevails in Calcutta. We have lately discussed the subject with many Mussulman gentlemen of intelligence, who all concur in stating, that no objection can possibly exist, as far as the Koran is concerned. Indeed, one has spontaneously offered a piece of land for the purpose, accompanied by the following extract from a "commentary on the Koran." By this it would appear that not only is a cemetery perfectly unobjectionable, but that burial near roads and bazars is absolutely forbidden: and that the Mussulmans of our Mofussil towns

are thus daily transgressing the ceremonial form of their Holy Book.

The extract adverted to was forwarded to us in the following letter from one of the most intelligent native gentlemen in Bengal :—

You requested verbally, my opinion, a few days ago, on the propriety and practicability of erecting public cemeteries here for burying the dead of the Mussulmans. That they will be a great boon and tend in no inconsiderable measure to promote the healthiness of this town, can scarcely admit of a moment's question. The present practice, of burying the dead in the compounds of houses and in the heart of large and populous towns, is very reprehensible, and is the cause of much of the sickness which prevails there. Its discontinuance ought therefore to be considered as one of the first and most important sanitary improvements that can be effected in the Mofussil.

I believe the erection of public cemeteries is not opposed to or irreconcilable with the tenets of the Koran. That they have existed in Arabia and Persia, from time immemorial, is evident from the ancient traditions and records of those countries. It is true they are not expressly promulgated in the Koran, but this is not, because they are prohibited by it, but because they had prevailed long before the time of Muhammad, and required no fresh religious sanctions. The Koran prohibits the burial of the dead on the road side, or in the vicinity of bazars, &c., and it may fairly be inferred, that if the prohibition had extended to public cemeteries, it would have been distinctly mentioned; I beg to annex an extract from the Ticca, or commentaries on the Koran, which would fully warrant this inference. I beg to add that I have conversed with several Muhammadan gentlemen on this subject, and that they approve generally of the erection of public cemeteries. One of them, Mir Muhammad Ali, has furnished me with the extract alluded to, and would be happy to grant a site for a public cemetery in this town.

The book enjoins that the dead should not be buried in a "bad place;" that no dwelling should be erected over the grave, nor any person should sleep, walk, sit, or satisfy any of the calls of nature over it; that the burying of the dead in a lane or bazar, is improper, and that, if any person is interred in ground, belonging to another, without his permission, the owner has the right of removing the corpse, or levelling the ground and cultivating it.

How the present most vicious custom ever became introduced, it would be idle to speculate; but, if we would seek to confer the blessing of health upon those beneath our sway, it must be immediately abolished. Whilst we are upon the subject of cemeteries, we would draw the attention of our fellow-countrymen, to the painful condition, which too many of our Christian ones exhibit. A small walled enclosure, set thick with tombs, whose pretensions, size and decorations, offer the most painful contrast to the decay and neglect with which they are surrounded, is the too frequent sight which greets the inquiring traveller, fresh from Europe, and still glowing with that holy feeling of respect for the dead, which forms so strong and admirable a characteristic of English communities. Why is this so? Are we more

thoughtless of the past, and anxious for the present, than our fellow-countrymen? We would fain believe that such is not the case, but rather deem that the desolation and apparent forgetfulness we deplore, is owing to the rapid changes of society, which leave none behind, who mourn the dead, and also, perhaps, to a natural disinclination to visit a spot possessed of so few attractions for the eye. All this should be changed! "Local funds might certainly provide a gardener to keep the place in order, and cultivate some few simple flowers, whilst those, who lavish no inconsiderable sums to build a tomb, might assuredly provide sufficient, on their departure, to repair or preserve it from decay.

BURNING GHAT.—Although our Hindu fellow-subjects trouble not the earth in burial, they very seriously pollute the water;—a circumstance of no mean importance, in narrow rivers, which furnish drink for the living.

Our readers need not be informed, that destruction by burning, or, as we may more briefly term it, cremation, is the ceremonial law for disposing of the dead, enunciated by the Shastras; but they are not, perhaps, equally aware, that no other mode of dealing with the corpse is recognized or permitted, except in rare instances. What is the daily custom of the Hindu race? About one-half of those, who die, are strictly treated according to this edict; one-fourth are partially consumed, and their scorched trunks cast into the nearest stream, or tank; whilst the remaining portions are at once thrust into the water, and float downwards to the sea, in a state of horrible decomposition, poisoning the water of narrow streams, or sickening the eye, whilst tumbled in the torrents of the Ganges, becoming entangled amongst the shipping in its waters, or clinging to the banks of the gardens which adorn it. Will our distant readers be startled, if we assure them, that in Garden Reach, the pride and boast of our palatial city, we have actually known servants employed at intervals, throughout the day, in thrusting these decaying vestiges of mortality, from the vicinity of their master's grounds, to float out into the stream, only to be sucked in again by the next turn of the current? These horrible sights have furnished food for written descriptions of the first appearances in India, from the earliest days of British India authorship; but how few have ventured to inquire, as to their necessity and prevention, as far as Calcutta is concerned. Government has taken the first step in Sanatory Reform, in relation to this practice, by enclosing a certain space by the river-side, termed a Burning Ghat, to which all cremation is limited. But sanatory science and public decency claim yet another, which is "full and perfect destruction of every corpse admitted within its gates, thus putting a stop at

once and for ever to the horrible sights we have described. The advantage would not be limited to this, but we might safely calculate upon the system of ghat murders being much checked by its adoption. At present, we have reason to believe, many sufferers from disease, reduced to the last stage of weakness, are brought to the river-side, and, too poor to afford cremation, are thrust into the stream, directly life appears extinct, who might, on the application of fire, have given such unmistakable signs of life, as would have induced their friends to pause before hurrying them into eternity.

Even the inclosed Burning Ghat* is wanting in the Mofussil, where a spot of ground, in close contiguity to the town—often, indeed, almost surrounded by houses—is devoted to the purpose, as chance, or the hereditary Ghat keeper's convenience, may determine. In order, certainly, to determine the feasibility of Government interference, we lately submitted the whole question to a conclave of Pandits, the translation of whose united reply is as follows:—

According to the Hindu Shastras, it is absolutely necessary that the dead of all classes should be burnt. If an accident, or some other cause, renders the burning of any corpse impracticable, the image of a human being should be made with straw, and this should be burnt; or else no ceremonies can be performed for the dead. When a corpse is not burnt, or (in case burning be impracticable) the rite of image burning is not observed, the dead is considered to have been impious.

Exceptions from this law.

1. Infants dying before their teeth are grown up are not to be burnt, but buried.

2. A person infected with leprosy should not be burnt, unless his ablution is performed by his son.

3. One, who dies by accident or suicide, should not be burnt, but his corpse is to be recklessly thrown into the desert, like wood.

4. A person who, renouncing his family, becomes a mendicant, should not be burnt after death; and a religious sect, called Joghis, practice burying according to their principles. Even these partial and infinitely small exceptions, need present no difficulty to a Government enactment, whilst Hindus recklessly break through their law. An apt illustration of this has occurred within our own experience, during the past week, in which a Kūlin Brahmin, having committed suicide, was instantly carried to the funeral pile, instead of being thrown into the Jungle, as directed by the Shastras."

Supported by the authority of the Shastras and the universal opinion of all those Hindus, whom we have consulted on the subject, our proposition is, that perfect cremation should be made imperative at burning places set apart near every town;

* We are informed that, from some cause unknown, burning is very little practiced in Murshedabad, a city containing about 1,65,000 souls. During the cold season, when the river flowing by it becomes narrowed to between 1 and 200 yards, bodies may be seen floating about in groups of twenty, or more.

and that where poverty is the obstacle, the expense should be met from the local funds. We are satisfied by personal inspection, that a body may be perfectly consumed by four or five maunds of wood, which will average ten annas in price; four annas might go to the officiating Brahmin, and the remaining two annas to the expence of the establishment, making a total cost of one Rupee per body. If, in a town of 20,000 inhabitants, where Hindus and Mussulmans are in equal number, such a system were in force, our expenditure would be, assuming mortality at five per cent., and one-half of those, who died, too poor to afford fuel, an annual sum of Co.'s Rs. 250; or, taking Calcutta, as an illustration, and basing our calculations upon the Ghat Records, furnished by Dr. Stewart, in his report on Small Pox for 1843, we involve ourselves in an annual outlay of only Co.'s Rs. 2,000, for the abatement of a practice, which strikes with horror every thinking mind, vitiates the air, pollutes the water, leads to a reckless disregard of life, and facilitates Ghat Murders. *

We cannot permit this opportunity to pass without recording our deliberately formed opinion, that cremation is the only mode of disposing of the dead, worthy of a civilized nation. We have seen the fearful evil attendant on our crowded grave yards. Happily the better sense of Europe is now forsaking them for suburban cemeteries: but who shall say how long these, at present, admirable resting places for the dead, will remain in rural districts? London is spreading out in every direction, and, within the next fifty years, must embrace them all within her limits. Again, have our readers ever reflected upon the possible number of those who have been consigned to the tomb, before life was extinct? Calculations, sufficiently appalling, have been made. Our personal experience comprehends two instances, when such a fearful fate was only prevented by the merest accident. It seems to us, that *one* such alone should suffice to introduce a mode of decomposition, in which, did the smallest spark of life exist, it must become apparent. Far be it from us, to detract one tittle of that respect, with which Christianity loves to surround its dead. But we would suggest, that cinerary urns, containing the ashes of the dead, might well adorn our present cemeteries.

That the contemplation of such a mode of burial, if we may so term it, is not confined to ourselves, is evidenced by the formation of an association in England, in 1850, "for promoting the practice of decomposing the dead by fire." Such are the amiable prejudices of mankind, jealously guarding the worn out garments of those we loved from all appearance

of suffering, that the idea we promulgate, if destined to take root at all, must do so by very slow degrees. We sincerely trust, however, that a more able and powerful advocacy than our own, will ere long arise, to urge upon the nineteenth century the wisdom and perfect propriety of so disposing of the dead, that no harm shall, by any possibility, accrue to the living. Let a few energetic lovers of their race will such a testamentary disposal of their mortal shell; and we may hope that their moral courage will confer incalculable benefits upon mankind.

DISPENSARIES scarcely enter into the category of Sanatory Reform; but, as no system would be complete without them, they may fairly claim a few words.

In spite of the most perfect application of Hygiène, disease and death must prevail within certain limits. The object of sanatory science is to obviate any excess above this. Two per cent. per annum on the population is the probable minimum, to which, with our present knowledge, we are sanguine of reducing mortality in England. Making every allowance for the tropics, we see no reason, why the mortality of Indian towns, provided Sanatory Reform, such as we have indicated, be carried out in the right spirit, should exceed 3 per cent. The ground on which we base this aspiration is, that in the Bengal army, a portion of which is serving in climates notoriously inimical to the constitution of the men, the ratio of deaths to strength is only 1.79, or, including invaliding, 3.25. Admitting, however, the unavoidable mortality to be reduced to three per cent., we must still provide for the alleviation of the sickness, which accompanies it, as well as that not ending fatally; and this can only be accomplished by disseminating European skill throughout the country, and affording it a fitting field for exercise, by the establishment of dispensaries and hospitals, united in one. Government have done much to meet this want; but, aided by local funds, they are bound to continue the good work, until every town in India, with not less than 5,000 inhabitants, is so provided for.

SERAI.—In close vicinity to all dispensaries, we would gladly see established a Serai, which, if built of a square form, containing, in its interior, accommodation for travellers, and externally, a range of pukka rentable shops, would largely benefit the way-faring public, at a very moderate expense to the local funds. With such a building in existence, we should be spared the painful sight of pilgrims dying from cholera on our roads, or carried by convicts to some hastily prepared receptacle.

Such are the reforms which, we believe, would tend to liberate the millions beneath our sway from the heavy pressure of disease and death, now weighing so heavily upon them. The mortality of Indian towns, as we have seen, is probably more than double what obtains in England; but the proportion of sickness far exceeds this, and is mainly due, we conscientiously believe, to remediable circumstances. Our *extra* tropical readers can form no conception of the occasional almost universality of disease in India. At certain times, especially in the conclusion of the rains, when all the injurious influences, we have endeavoured to depict, come into active operation, families are one and all prostrated:—fathers, mothers, children, servants, all succumbing to the malady of the hour, which is generally Fever of malarious origin. The task of removing such a mass of human suffering is worthy of the mighty Government we serve: and, should our humble efforts but pave the way, even by a single stone, for such a consummation, the remembrance will gild our life with the reflection that we have not lived in vain. If such a feeling be uppermost in the mind, that has, we fear, but imperfectly pointed out the evil and devised the remedy, what a noble task will await that man, who shall be deputed by Government to be the active agent for carrying out its philanthropic intents!

Let us now consider the means at hand, for putting our suggestions into operation for this purpose. Towns may be divided into two classes. 1. Those which have availed themselves of the Act, or Acts, at the head of our article. 2. Those which have not.

We blush to say that so little has the vital importance of Sanatory Reform impressed itself upon the public mind in India, that, throughout the whole length and breadth of our dominion, we doubt, if five cities can be found enjoying the benefit of either enactment. Even when the attempt to introduce it has been made, as at Howrah, ignorance and a sordid and blind preference of money to health in the many have prevailed over the intellectual philanthropy of the few. Act 10 of 1842 provided, that the application of two thirds of the resident householders of any town was necessary to its authorization. Such is the *vis inertiae* of Indian life, that no one stepped forward in any single town, as far as we are aware, excepting Howrah, to urge his fellow citizens to make the necessary application: and the whole piece of legislation thus became inoperative. Had the European officers of Mofussil towns, especially the Magistrate and Civil Surgeon, done their duty, a different fate might have befallen it. However, as we have

before said, it is no easy matter for any man, be he ever so zealous, to stir up two thirds of a householding community to a movement, which shall end in taxation.

Thus foiled in its benevolent intentions, the Supreme Council was again invoked for aid, and Act 26 of 1850 made its appearance, simultaneously repealing Act 10 of 1842, on the ground of its having proved ineffectual.

The new Act provides, in section 2, that, if it shall appear to the local Government, "that the inhabitants of any town, or suburb, not within the towns of Calcutta, Madras or Bombay, are desirous of making better provision for making, repairing, cleansing, or lighting any public streets, roads, drains, or tanks, or for the prevention of nuisances, or for improving the said town or suburb in any other manner, the said Governor, or Governor in Council, or Lieutenant Governor, may order this Act to be put in force within such town or suburb."

The 3rd section provides for a public notification and proclamation of any such application, so that any, who are so inclined, may declare themselves for or against it.

The 6th section provides for the appointment of administrative commissioners, in case of its becoming law, and sanctions the preparation by them of subsidiary rules, especially those relating to taxes, and the definition and prohibition of nuisances. Such is the spirit of the new Act.

The expression "if it shall appear that the inhabitants * * * * * are desirous of making," is a vast improvement upon "two thirds of the householders." In the present case we may conclude, that the application of any number of individuals, however small, would suffice to bring the subject forward, and, in the majority of Mofussil towns, the wheel, once set a going by a few energetic Europeans, would not easily be stopped. The great omission of the Act is failing to point out the nature of the offices to be constituted by the Commissioners, contemplated in its 6th Section. The "Towns improvement Act" of England, passed with similar views, expressly notifies a Surveyor, Officer of health, and Inspector of nuisances, as the active agents of its operation. In the smaller towns of India, a surveyor might be dispensed with: but upon the due fulfilment of the other two offices hinges the successful prosecution of the measure. The Civil Surgeon would naturally become the Officer of health: whilst the Inspectorship of nuisances should, in all practicable cases, be entrusted to a respectable non-commissioned officer, who would not only make it his business to be constantly perambulating the town to discover them, but should

personally see to their removal. But where is the golden stream destined to arise, which shall vitalize the whole? The seventh section provides for assessment: the fund, resulting from which, will be at the entire disposal of the Commissioners, merely saddled with the condition of their furnishing Government with an annual account of all works executed, and sums spent and received during the past year. This is as it should be: but what is to become of the present surplus of chowkidari tax, and the 75 per cent. on profits of jail manufactures, both wholly available by regulation, for the work contemplated by the Act? They will, of course, be made over to the municipal commissioners to be amalgamated with their own funds, and dealt with accordingly. We should much like, however, to have seen the appropriation more distinctly recognized.

Such is the latest machinery established by Government to purge this interesting land, in which Providence has cast us for some great ends, of the manifold physical evils which afflict it; but it is a machinery, which will never work, unless it be set a going, and its spring maintained in action, by some master mind. Government may facilitate the reform we advocate; writers may plead its cause; but our experience of Mofussil life assures us, that nothing will be done until an Inspector of health be appointed to traverse the land from east to west and north to south, visiting every city in his route, advising, suggesting, and finally reporting to Government. Without the presence of such an officer (and no common man must be selected) to infuse life, zeal, and sanatory animation into our local authorities, the Act, we have been discussing, will fall lifeless to the ground. But once deputed, and vested with sufficient power, India, we venture to assert, would undergo, within the next decade, a revolution in her physical characteristics, such as, with eyes accustomed to the daily pestilence around us, can be hardly dreamt of. Every department of the state but this, possesses an office, such as we advocate. There is a Surveyor General to map out the country; superintendents of survey to check the loss of revenue; superintendents of Police, to render efficient the machinery for repressing and detecting crime; and Inspectors of prisons to perfect a system of prison discipline; but the public measures demanded by science for the prevention and repression of disease are left to chance. In the formation of such an office, we know of no better plan than that suggested by Mr. Bedford, who would combine such an inspectorship with the locomotive superintendents of vaccination. The report of the Board of Health,

almost entirely based upon the researches of its inspectors, Dr. Sutherland and Mr. Grainger, shows what may be effected by such an arrangement. Whether towns placed themselves under the operation of the Act or otherwise, the officer, we propose, would suggest to the authorities all necessary improvements, and report upon their being carried out. His wide experience of sanatory science, and constant supervision of the country, would enable him momentarily to point out what essential changes were required, and render the adoption of some uniform system, simple and easy. Even where the Act adverted to is not in operation, much might be done by medical officers directing their attention to the changes we have suggested. Magistrates have no leisure for the task. Upon the civil surgeon lies the whole responsibility. He should make himself thoroughly acquainted with the town under his charge; and a certain number of convicts, not less than fifty, ought to be placed under his orders, by the Magistrate, that the delay of correspondence, so fatal to energy, might be avoided. In conjunction with this, the surplus chowkidari tax and profits on jail manufactures, should be entrusted to the Magistrate for immediate expenditure—an annual account of work done and outlay incurred being required from him. The present system, which renders a reference to Government necessary for every separate anna of expenditure for public works, is altogether fatal to their prosecution. Officers, unless animated by energy and enthusiasm, will not sit down, day by day, to correspond for every trifling want. We have lately met with a most remarkable instance of the practical injurious result of the impediment so created, in which a town, reeking with disease and death for want of improvement, was actually found, on inquiry, to be possessed of an untouched, but available, fund of Co.'s Rs. 20,000, which had lain rusting in the Treasury, for some seven or ten years, whilst the town had continued a neglected swamp, and hundreds had perished unnecessarily. The towns of India, as we trust has been shewn, are now hot beds and nurseries of disease. Their roads, with few exceptions, are neglected; their drains, stagnant pools of decomposing filth; their tanks, made for the refreshment and health of man, converted into a polluted source of slow insidious poison; their houses, surrounded by pestilential marshes; whilst the dead lie mingled with the living, and the very streams, that lave their banks, are rotten with the fostering remnants of humanity. What a huge mockery it is to fill these people's mouths with Shakespeare, to bid them study Bacon, to practise on them the refinements of law, and to demand

daily increasing civilization, whilst that health, which is essential to the full perception and enjoyment of all and every one of these goods, is utterly neglected. This must be so no longer! Government cannot now sit down in meek complacency, and fold its hands in the conviction, that every future step rests with its subjects. The train of Sanatory Reform is not continuous. It requires to be lighted at every fresh point, and its blaze maintained by knowledge and enthusiasm. When this is done, beacons will blaze up from a thousand hills, sufficient to irradiate the land for ever, and cast a reflection on the green shores of Britain, such as will awake our fellow countrymen to the conviction, that we "exiles of the East" have lived for others than ourselves.

- ART. VI.—1. *Thirty-Eighth Report of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. Calcutta. 1851.*
 2. *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society. Madras. 1851.*

INDIA is the largest appendage of a great empire, which the world ever saw. It is not merely a country, but a continent, which, in ancient days, contained numerous kingdoms, independent of one another. Stretching 1,800 miles in extreme length and 1,300 in extreme breadth, it includes within its mighty boundaries all varieties of climate, scenery and soil. The giant range of the Himalaya, capped with eternal snow; the sandy deserts of Rajputana; the fertile plains of the lower Ganges and of Tanjore; the mighty Ghats and the salubrious plateau of Mysore, alike rank among its territories. It contains at least one hundred and thirty millions of people, distributed in twenty-four provinces, and speaking thirteen polished languages. The resources, with which Providence has gifted it, are fitted to promote the comfort of human life in a thousand ways. It supplies the cheapest food of numerous kinds: and the warmth of its largest provinces requires but scanty clothing. It furnishes fields of coal, beds of copper, lead and iron, and mines of salt. It has giant forests of the most useful trees, especially sal, teak, segun and oak; while its bamboo topes, its cocoanuts and palms, furnish the poor with the posts, roofing and thatch of their houses, and with a variety of articles besides. Its dry plains produce in abundance varied kinds of pulse and vegetables, together, with wheat, indigo, cotton, sugar and opium: while, in its vast swamps, are grown luxuriant crops of rice. The noble rivers of Bengal and the N. W. Provinces furnish a ready highway for trade, while the cheapness of labour brings their vast produce into the market at a low rate. Not only in the necessaries of life, but in its luxuries, does the value of this mighty continent appear. It has given to the world its largest jewels and finest fabrics. The shawls of Cashmere, the muslins of Dacca, the filagree jewellery of Cuttack, are to this day unrivalled. The might of European machinery has, in these things, yielded the palm to the taper fingers and ingenious skill of the natives of India: while their carvings in ebony and ivory, their curious musical instruments, their rich embroidery, viewed in connection with other features of their character and occupations, prove them to be a unique and wondrous people. The population has its features of interest, as well as

the country. It includes the clever and cunning Brahmin; the submissive and patient Sudra, the poor outcast Paria of Madras, and the licentious Mussalman. It includes the coward yet cunning Bengali; the spirited Hindustani; the martial Sikh, Rohilla and Gurkha; the fighting Mahratta and Rajput; the mercantile Armenian; the active and honest Parsi; the busy Telugu; and the uncivilized Gonds, Khunds, Bhils, Todawars, Garrows, Lepchas, Kassias, and the like, who now inhabit the hill forests, but who once roamed as lords over the outspread plains. The revenue paid to the Government is equal to twenty millions a year: and the annual trade of the three ports of India amounts to not less than forty millions of pounds sterling.

But its people are not happy. Though the land contains immense resources for the production of wealth, and the population, that must develop them, swarms upon its surface, the motive to industry is wanting. The cultivator is in the hands of a grasping landholder and greedy underlings. Caste divides the nation into sections, setting tribe against tribe, family against family, and one pursuit against another. A tyrannical priesthood lays its grasp upon every source of gain, and exacts fines and fees from every transaction of the Hindu, from the time of his birth till he is burnt on the funeral pyre. A debasing idolatry, which has sanctified by religious worship the most odious vices, and calls the vilest of characters incarnate Gods, rules over millions of votaries. To the *dicta* of their priests and the assertions of their Shastras, they yield implicit obedience; sacrificing to their cruel sway the appeals of conscience, the conclusions of reason, and the evidence of their very senses. Can it then be wondered at, that all the power of this people is grossly mis-used—that their intellect is debased and perverted, or that their moral sense is often all but dead? Is it strange that there should be found among them so little of truth, patriotism, justice, or heart-purity; while covetousness, revenge, licentiousness and lying, are as common as the light of day? The Hindus may be clever, acute and skilful to a certain point, but their moral character as a nation is debased in the extreme.

For what purpose then, we may ask, has this great continent, with its vast resources and countless population, been placed under the rule of a small island in the western world? Why is it that, in the far east, 'regions, Cæsar never knew,' should be governed by the people of that barbarous island, which Cæsar's legions were the first to conquer; and that their steamers should bring within five weeks distance of each other, countries, which

to him were the extremities of the earth? Why is it that this conquest should be effected without great cost to England by the people of India themselves, in spite of Charters, Acts of Parliament, and the voice of public opinion? The hand of God has been in it. Even statesmen and politicians, who never acknowledged a Providence before, have confessed that they see it here. But for what *end* has it thus been given? Not that the pride of England may be flattered by tales of prowess and deeds of arms; not that its armies may reap 'imperishable glory' on well-fought fields, or that its generals may be raised, by their victories, to an English peerage: not that India may provide place and pay for the numerous relations and dependents of its governors; not that it may yield three quarters of a million in dividends to East India proprietors, or that it may enlarge the trade of English merchants, give work to English artisans, and bring an annual gain of eight millions sterling to the English nation: not for these and a thousand other earthly objects, has this mighty trust been committed to England's charge. It is given to her, that the blessings, which have made England great, may elevate degraded India too; that her high civilization may be shared by her dependent; that the knowledge, which has enlightened her intellect, may enlarge the mind of the Hindus: that the mental vigour of the conqueror may be imparted to the conquered; that the justice, the moral tone, the truth of England, may be infused into a people, who have not known them for ages. Above all, that the BIBLE, which has made England and America the missionaries of the world, may destroy India's idolatries and caste; raise her people from their degradation; purify them from the immoralities, which their religion now teaches; make them just, truthful and happy; raise the female population, give them joys in this life, and animate them with the hope of eternal bliss. It is that Christianity may "raise the poor out of the dust, and lift up the beggar from the dunghill; to set him among princes, and make him inherit the throne of glory."

In accomplishing this end, all, who come to India, have a work to do. The Government, in all its branches, civil, military and financial, has to show the influence of Christian principles in wise legislation; in the just administration of sound laws; in the faithful protection of the life, the freedom, the conscience and the rights of all its subjects; in justly apportioning the burdens of taxation among all classes of the community; in promoting intercourse between all parts of the country, and in endeavouring to preserve peace. Merchants,

traders, factors of all kinds; officers of Government in all grades; and all Christians, whatever be their station, ought to shew the excellence of their faith in their consistent life, and by taking all proper opportunities of pointing out the errors of false religion, and using efforts to remove them. "Seek ye," said the prophet, "the peace of the city, whither ye are carried captive; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace." But by far the largest share of the great work of India's renovation belongs to the Church of Christ; and all the agencies, which it can put forth, it is bound to exert to its utmost power. The door is now open for the fulfilment in India of the great commission, which its master has appointed as its duty through all time.

Now that the opportunity of discharging this important duty has existed for many years, the questions naturally arise, how has the trust been fulfilled, or what measures are in progress for its faithful discharge? These questions we propose to take up in the present paper, deeming the close of the half century just past a fit opportunity for reviewing what has been effected, and for enquiring what amount of agency is being employed for carrying out the end designed. We do not now enquire at any length, what the Government has done. We make no search into the character of its legislation, the efficiency of its army, its magistracy, or police; into the state of its roads, its revenue and public debts; neither shall we examine into the character and proceedings of the merchants, the planters, and other classes of English Society, scattered throughout the country.

We fear that, on several points, we should derive little satisfaction from either investigation. There are great leading facts in the history of the Court of Directors, which might well serve to moderate the warmth of their admirers. They opposed the opening of England's trade with India in 1813, and the opening of her trade with China and the free settlement of Europeans in India in 1833. They now derive a vast revenue from supplying opium for the iniquitous traffic, in which men calling themselves Christians seek gain by selling poison to myriads of Chinese. In the battle between Christianity and Hinduism, throwing their sympathies and aid into the scale of idolatry, they imparted fresh vigour to the falling cause, by renewing the temples and beautifying the pagodas; they compelled their officers to take charge of the funds, brought their troops to attend the festivals, and received the fees of pilgrims at the pagan shrines. They opposed the abolition of

Suttee ; they resisted the introduction of missionaries into India, and sanctioned the deportation from its shores of men like Judson and Gordon Hall. They have done little to promote the simple vernacular education of the great mass of the people. They govern the country by means of a small exclusive service, the members of which are, every one, sent out to be provided for life with large incomes, however unserviceable they may prove : and the monopoly of this service, consisting, as it does chiefly, of their own relatives and connections, they preserve, with a jealousy, which every Governor General lives to find, is one of the chief elements of their policy. Of the Europeans in India, generally, we must equally fear, that the truest account would be the most unfavourable. We have heard of some, who regarded themselves as Hindus, rather than as Christians : of others, who deemed Muhammadan festivals fit objects for special patronage ; and of others, who directly counteracted the instructions of missionaries, by advising young men not to become Christians, and teaching them that Deism was the true religion for men. We have heard too of thousands, who lived, as though they regarded gentleness, mercy and spiritual worship, less than the heathen, by whom they were surrounded.

It would be unjust to deny or conceal, that, in recent years, there has been a considerable improvement both in the spirit of the Government and in the example of the European population. In the Madras Presidency especially, there has been a large increase in the number of the Europeans, who fear God and count his service an honour. The days, when a sepoy could be dismissed from the army, simply for becoming a Christian, (a fact in the time of Lord Hastings) have, we trust, passed away, and the influence of upright Christian laymen is rapidly on the increase. There is too a decided improvement in the character and principles of our rulers. Doubtless there were, in former years, a Charles Grant and a Parry in the Court of Directors, but the predominant influence was that of the Scott Warings and Twinings, who wished to exclude all Christianity from India. Things are different now, as many recent despatches show ; and far be it from us to pass lightly over the gratifying fact. But much remains to be improved. When it is remembered that only three years ago, the acting Resident at Nagpore compelled the missionaries to give up a convert to be imprisoned by the heathen Rajah, on the ground that the treaty forbade the English authorities to ‘ aid ’ his ‘ discontented subjects ; ’ and that this extraordinary measure, justified by this strange reason, was formally sanctioned by the present Governor General—it will be seen at

once, that the improvement we speak of, is only comparative. But on these topics we shall not enlarge further than to express our earnest desire that men of Christian zeal and courage may be raised up to rule this land; and that henceforth the name of Christian may not be spoken of among the heathen, as it was in former days.

At present we shall confine our view solely to the direct promotion of Christian Missions in Hindustan by Christian men, as such, and to the efforts of Missionary Societies. And when we consider the gigantic field open to those efforts; when we consider the perfect freedom, protection and safety, with which they may be carried on; when we survey the vast regions, the thickly peopled towns and villages, the millions of people within our reach; when we see the strength of those superstitions, which hoar age has hallowed and a spurious learning has defended and explained; when we behold the power of the Brahminical priesthood and the firm bonds of the caste system; when we see how, in the vast population, reason has been perverted and conscience degraded—we shall feel compelled to ask;—“*Is there not a cause*” for the warmest zeal, the purest self-denial, the greatest tenderness, and the most scrupulous fidelity, on the part of all, who are called to take up this great duty, and to engage in this gigantic toil?

Attempts to Christianize India, in whole or in part, have been repeatedly made, during a period of more than three hundred years; and four distinct plans of operation have been adopted, for accomplishing that end. The Portuguese, backed by King John, and led on by their fighting priests, endeavoured to compel the people of Ceylon and South India to receive their faith, by bloody massacres, cruel persecutions, imprisonments and fines. We read of no sermons preached; no distribution of the Bible effected by them; but we find, that they ‘demolished, burnt and rooted out’ the ‘pagan temples,’ sought to abolish the heathen sports, and ‘severely punished’ obstinate recusants. The Jesuits, in the same part of the country, endeavoured to accomplish the same end more thoroughly, by a persevering system of the most stupendous frauds ever committed under the sun. They pretended to be Brahmins of the highest caste; they dressed like Sanyasis; adapted their manners, dress and food to those of the heathen; forged a Veda; denied that they were Europeans; and, to support their character, resorted to the most unblushing lies, during a period of many years.

The Dutch Government next entered the field; and, in

addition to setting before the heathen the same example of dishonesty, covetousness, falsehood, licentiousness, cruelty and intolerance, which they had seen in their predecessors the Portuguese, they sought to bribe the Singhalese to adopt Dutch Presbyterianism by the offer of places and situations; and to terrify them into it, by refusing all Government employ, and even the farming of land, to all who were not baptized, and had not signed the Helvetic Confession of Faith. Each of these three plans acquired thousands upon thousands of nominal converts, but nothing more. Neither cruelty nor fraud, nor appeals to self-interest, laid the foundation of a sincere and permanent Christian community. It naturally followed, therefore, that these thousands of converts returned to the Heathenism of their fathers, as soon as the efficient cause of their profession was withdrawn.

‘ They melted from the field, as snow,
When streams are swollen and south winds blow,
Dissolves in silent dew.’

In 1802, there were 136,000 Tamil Christians in Jaffna: but in 1806, after the English conquest, Christianity was ‘*extinct*.’ Of the 340,000 in the Singhalese district, in 1801, more than half had relapsed into Buddhism by 1810, and others were fast going. The Roman Catholics of South India, the descendants of the Jesuits’ converts, and numbering some 40,000, are at this day scarcely distinguishable from the heathen. Their ceremonies are, to a great extent, the same; the names only of their deities differ. Such are the results of the early attempts to convert the natives of Hindustan: attempts, of which two were made, not by the teachers of Christianity, but by the Governments of Europe.

The *fourth* and last plan of missionary operations adopted in India, is that employed by modern Missionary Societies. It is that of endeavouring to convince the Hindus of the evils of idolatry and of the truth of Christianity, by preaching to the old, by teaching the young; by giving to all the Bible and Christian books in their own tongues; by endeavouring, in a word, to enlighten their understandings, to instruct their ignorance, to convince their judgments, and draw their hearts; so that they may become willing converts, and abide in the faith, which they are persuaded to embrace.

The series of efforts made in India, on this plan began with the labours of the Tranquebar missionaries, in 1706. In that year, Ziegenbalg and Plutsch, the well-known founders of that useful mission, entered on the work of preaching the gospel

in the vernacular tongue, and, for more than a century, did they and their successors continue to carry it on. Until a few years ago, little was known of the extent and character of their work, of the stations they had founded, the missionaries who had laboured, the incidents which had happened, and the results by which their labours had been followed. A recent work,* however, has brought the subject prominently to light, and has enabled the Christian Church to see on what an advantageous ground the work of missions was placed in South India during the last century. But that mission was almost entirely a Continental one. Begun by the King of Denmark, it was supplied almost entirely in men, and subsequently in money also, from the Evangelical Church and University of Halle, sustained by Augustus Herman Francke, and his illustrious successors. The light, which God had kindled in that Prussian town, sent its rays far into Southern India: so long as it continued steady, the mission stations prospered greatly: but, when it faded and at last expired, the missions languished and expired too. During last century, more than fifty missionaries arrived in India, in connection with the Tranquebar Mission. Amongst them, Ziegenbalg, Schwartz, and Gericke, are well known to English readers. But Dr. Schultze of Madras, the first Telugu scholar and translator of the Telugu Bible; Huttemann of Cuddalore; Breithaupt, Fabricius, and Dr. Rottler, all of Madras—the last, a man of science and a scholar; Kohlhoff of Tanjore, the companion of Schwartz; Dr. Cæmmerer; Dr. John of Tranquebar, the first founder of English Mission Schools; with Klein, Zieglin and Weidebrock, Pressier and Pohle, Horst and Kiernander, some of whom continued their patient labours for more than fifty years, deserve no less esteem. Through those labours the mission branched out in various directions. From Tranquebar it spread first to Tanjore, then to Madras and Cuddalore; then to Negapatam and Palamcottah: and from these servants of Christ, the province of Tinnevely received its first right impressions of Christian truth. They employed the same agencies in their work, as others do at the present day. They preached in the native languages: they undertook extensive journeys; they gathered Christian congregations, taught numerous schools, translated the Bible into Tamul, and laid the foundation of a Christian literature. Several of their native converts were ordained to the ministry, while others aided them in their schools. The

* Hough's History of Christianity in India, vols. iii. and iv.

number of their baptized converts amounted, altogether, to more than fifty thousand: and, had their labours been properly sustained, and the places of those who died been filled up, they would have done much towards bringing the whole of Southern India under Christian instruction and influence. But the springs, whence their waters came, began to dry up. German neology usurped the place of Bible truth. The missionaries, that came towards the end of the century, were few and far between: and at last ceased altogether. In 1806, only six missionaries, and in 1816 only three remained, supported, with one exception, entirely by English funds. Under these circumstances, many of the native churches, as was natural, fell away and were scattered; the schools were closed; the missions lost their distinctive character; and at length, their remnants became totally absorbed in the proceedings of other and more active missionary agencies. Perhaps one cause of their rapid decline arose from the mighty error, which had been committed from the first, of allowing native converts to retain the caste usages, which they had followed as Hindus: an error, which long existed in subsequent missions, and is retained, by the successors of the Tranquebar missionaries at the present hour.

The modern era of missions in India begins with the founding of the Serampore Baptist Mission in 1799. The continental Christians had retired from the work; but the churches of England and America had awoke to their duty, and were seeking to fulfil it. Within a few years, stations were established in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and began to push outward into all the Presidencies of Hindustan. The beginnings were slow but sure. One society, then another—one missionary and then another, landed on the coast, and took up their posts on the great battle-field of idolatry. The LONDON Missionary Society sent missionaries to Chinsurah; to Travancore; to Madras, Vizagapatam and Bellary; to Surat; and lastly to Ceylon. The AMERICAN Board, after some opposition from the Government, occupied Bombay. The CHURCH Missionary Society entered first on the old Missions at Madras, Tranquebar and Palamcottah: but soon began an altogether new field, among the Syrian Christians in West Travancore. They planted a station at Agra, far in the north-west, and maintained the agency, which Corrie had employed at Chunar. A native preacher began the work at Meerut, while two missionaries were stationed in Calcutta. The BAPTIST Missionary Society soon occupied Jessore, Chittagong, Dinagepore and other places; and also began its mission in Ceylon. In the latter island, the

WESLEYANS speedily followed them ; and to them succeeded the missionaries of the American Board. North, south, east and west, the church of Christ was pushing forth its men and means into the land with vigour and earnestness of purpose. The Bible Society aided the missionaries in translating the inspired word, and, within a few years, it was circulated among the various nations of India, in several languages, for the first time. In thus endeavouring to occupy the vast field opened before them, the missionaries and their advisers were at first compelled, from want of experience, to act much at random. Numerous were the errors and mistakes they fell into ; mistakes to which all new colonists are liable in all lands. Much of their time and energy also was devoted to the spiritual benefit of their destitute countrymen, who suffered from a most grievous deficiency of the means of grace. They had to create facilities for acquiring the languages of India, for learning the superstitions, notions and habits of its people. They had to create their various agencies, and to begin the very simplest plans for applying gospel truth to the ignorant objects of their care. But they had a spirit powerful to meet difficulties and put them down : they had a noble object in view ; and they laboured, looking to that fruit which begins already to gladden the eyes of their successors. In spite of inexperience, in spite of discouragements and difficulties, arising from the language, the people and their irreligious countrymen, they laid a broad and solid foundation for future sure success. And now their successors can enter at once upon their work, with abundant facilities of every kind, for its speedy and effective application. Honour be to the men, who thus bore the burden of the first and hardest toil ! Eternal honour be to that Lord, who enabled them to exalt the valleys and make low the hills ; to make the crooked straight and the rough places plain, that the glory of the Lord might be revealed and all flesh see it together !

Steadily advancing in their efforts, in the year 1830, after a lapse of twenty-five years from the entry of most societies into India, the missionary agencies stood thus : There were labouring in India and Ceylon, TEN Missionary Societies, including the great Societies of England and the American Board : the missionaries were A HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN in number, and their stations were A HUNDRED AND SIX, scattered over all parts of the country. Since then, however, the interest felt by European and American Christians in the conversion of this country, has greatly increased, and renewed exertions to secure it have been put forth with vigour. The discussions concerning the

Suttee; the removal of old restrictions by the last charter; the publication of numerous works on Indian Missions; and the appeals made to Christian churches, have shown that India is one of the noblest fields where missionary labour may be carried on. The result is that, during the last twenty years, those churches have nearly TREBLED the agency previously employed, have greatly enlarged the sphere of their operations, and are beginning to reap the most substantial fruits. With a view to exhibit these results completely and with scrupulous exactness, we have lately entered into very extensive correspondence with missionaries in different parts of India, and passed under careful review a large collection of Missionary Reports, together with the recent religious literature of the various Presidencies. The facts thus elicited have been formed into a statistical table, and the following is a brief statement of its results.

At the close of 1850, fifty years after the modern English and American Societies had begun their labours in Hindustan, and thirty years since they have been carried on in full efficiency, the Stations, at which the gospel is preached in India and Ceylon, are two hundred and sixty in number; and engage the services of FOUR HUNDRED AND THREE MISSIONARIES, belonging to twenty-two Missionary Societies. Of these missionaries, TWENTY-TWO are ORDAINED NATIVES. Assisted by FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-ONE NATIVE PREACHERS, they proclaim the word of God in the bazars and markets, not only at their several stations, but in the districts around them. They have thus spread far and wide the doctrines of Christianity, and have made a considerable impression, even upon the unconverted population. They have founded THREE HUNDRED AND NINE NATIVE CHURCHES, containing seventeen thousand, three hundred, and fifty-six Members, or Communicants, of whom five thousand were admitted on the evidence of their being converted. These church members form the nucleus of a NATIVE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY, comprising ONE HUNDRED AND THREE THOUSAND individuals, who regularly enjoy the blessings of Bible instruction, both for young and old. The efforts of missionaries in the cause of education are now directed to thirteen hundred and forty-five day-schools, in which *eighty-three thousand, seven hundred boys* are instructed through the medium of their own Vernacular language; to seventy-three boarding schools, containing *nineteen hundred and ninety-two boys*, chiefly Christian, who reside upon the missionaries' premises, and are trained up under their eye; and to one hundred and twenty-eight day-schools, with *fourteen thousand boys and students*, receiving a sound Scriptural educa-

tion, through the medium of the English language. Their efforts in FEMALE EDUCATION embrace three hundred and fifty-four day-schools, with *eleven thousand, five hundred girls*; and ninety-one boarding schools, with *two thousand four hundred and fifty girls*, taught almost exclusively in the Vernacular languages. The BIBLE has been wholly translated into *ten languages*, and the New Testament into *five*, not reckoning the Serampore versions. In these ten languages, a considerable Christian literature has been produced, and also from twenty to fifty tracts, suitable for distribution among the Hindu and Mussulman population. Missionaries have also established and now maintain twenty-five printing establishments. While preaching the gospel regularly in the numerous tongues of India, missionaries maintain English services in fifty-nine chapels, for the edification of our own countrymen. The total cost of this vast missionary agency during the past year amounted to ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS; of which thirty-three thousand five hundred pounds were contributed in this country, not by the native Christian community, but by Europeans. A few comments on these expressive facts may put them in a clear light.

The various Missionary Societies, from whom these efforts spring, are twenty-two in number. Besides the great Missionary Societies of England, the Established and Free Church of Scotland's Missions, and the American Board, they include the American Presbyterian Church; the American Baptist Missions; six societies from Germany, of which the Society at Basle ranks first in its amount of agency: the General Baptist Society; the Wesleyan Society; the Irish Presbyterian Church, and others. To these we must add the six Bible and Tract Societies of England and America. It is a most gratifying fact that, notwithstanding the numerous and sometimes bitter controversies, which occur among Christians of the western world, their missionary messengers in the East Indies exhibit a very large amount of practical and efficient Christian union. While occupying stations apart from each other, and thus avoiding occasion of mutual interference with each other's plans, in numberless instances the labourers of different societies cultivate each other's acquaintance, and preach together to the heathen. Almost all use the same versions of the Bible; and the Christian tracts and books written by one missionary become the common property of all others. At Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the missionaries of all Societies are accustomed to meet monthly, for mutual conference and united prayer. In these meetings, all general questions relating to the more efficient

conduct of missionary operations, to common difficulties and common success, are brought forward and discussed; while frequent occasions are furnished in private, for cultivating personal friendships of the closest kind. Of the exceeding value of such union, as well as of its duty, scarcely too high an estimate can be made. In a land so given up to all moral abominations, as India is, never could 'the Prince of this world' obtain a greater victory over the preachers of the cross, than by inducing them, on trivial grounds, to turn their arms against each other. And never can the agents of Christ's church so justly hope for a sure triumph, as when they obey their Master's command in striving, with common efforts, with undivided affection and united prayers, for the extension of His kingdom and the conversion of perishing souls. Let us hope that the 'Evangelical alliance' of Indian missionaries, throughout this great continent, may become more close, more pure, more sincere and more efficient every day; and that the few, who, in pride of sect, stand aloof from others, may lay aside their estrangement, and become *one* with their brethren and fellow labourers in the Lord's work! It is when men "see eye to eye" that the Lord has mercy upon Zion.

The Missionary agency, connected with the direct preaching of the gospel to young and old, is thus distributed:—

	Missionaries.	Native Preachers.
In Bengal, Orissa and Assam	101	135
In the North West Provinces	58	39
In the Madras Presidency.....	164	308
In the Bombay Presidency	37	11
In Ceylon	43	58
	403	551

The numerous band of missionaries here mentioned constitutes more than one-fourth of the entire body of missionaries sent into all parts of the world; and furnishes a splendid proof of the deep interest, which Indian Missions have aroused in the church of Christ. It must, of course, be supposed, that of the whole number, some were absent from their stations during the year, through ill-health; and we believe, that *twenty* were so situated. The number of missionaries, that died during 1850, was four. A careful examination of the different periods, during which these missionaries have laboured in India,

will at once explode a fallacy, widely circulated among the friends of missions, in relation to the length of missionary service. It is generally believed that in this country, owing to the deadly climate, the average duration of missionary life is seven years; and many have come out as missionaries under the idea, that they would be certain to meet with a premature death. But this is a great mistake. From a careful induction of the lives or services of two hundred and fifty missionaries, we have found, that hitherto the average duration of missionary labour in India has been sixteen years and nine months each. It was, doubtless, much less at first; and numerous cases can be adduced, in which young missionaries were cut off after a very short term of labour. But a better knowledge of the climate and of the precautions to be used against it, the use of airy dwelling-houses and light dress, with other circumstances, have tended very much to reduce the influence of the climate and preserve health: so that the average duration of life and labour is improving every year. As an illustration of this fact, we may state, that out of the 147 missionaries labouring in India and Ceylon in 1830, fifty [we can give their names] are still labouring in health and usefulness; while of the ninety-seven others, who have since died or retired, twenty laboured more than twenty years each. Several living missionaries have been in India more than thirty years. It is a remarkable fact, that the average missionary life of *forty-seven* of the Tranquebar missionaries, last century, was *twenty-two years each*.

The NATIVE PREACHERS associated with missionaries form, on the whole, a large body, though in each station they appear few in number. They constitute the best portion of the native church in India, and are engaged in the useful work of instructing their converted countrymen, or of preaching to those still in idolatry. Whilst missionaries rejoice in the co-operation of these native fellow-labourers, they are quite alive to the imperfections of their religious character, and their want of ability to carry on the work of missions by themselves. Some have attained to character of a high rank, and give much satisfaction by their consistency, their earnest zeal, and readiness to seek other's good: but the majority share in the weaknesses and defects of their fellow countrymen, and often give pain to their friends by the inconsistencies and follies, into which they occasionally fall.* Were the great body of native Christians better, some, who are now native preachers and

* It is but fair to state that not a few of the better educated converts are young men of distinguished ability and exemplary life, and give promise of great future usefulness.—Ed.

have been appointed from the necessity of the case, would be set aside for others of a higher Christian character. Efforts are being made in all parts of India to train a superior class of preachers; and, if it be made a *sine qua non* in all missions, that native preachers shall be men of clearly manifested piety and of active intelligence, and that they shall receive a good education (especially in their own language) before they are appointed, we may hope to see the great body of teachers greatly improved in character and influence during the next thirty years. The rule to be adopted in choosing them is clearly stated in the Bible, and ought to be scrupulously observed;—"The things which thou hast learned among many witnesses, the same commit thou to *faithful* men, who shall be *able to teach* others also."

The various STATIONS occupied by missionaries throughout India are TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY in number. They are scattered very unevenly over the surface of this great continent; but form a pretty continuous chain throughout the three Presidencies and the island of Ceylon. They are thus distributed:—

Bengal, Orissa and Assam have	69
The North West Provinces.....	24
Madras Presidency	113
Bombay Presidency	19
Ceylon	35

In the Bengal Presidency, they are situated chiefly in the larger towns, that lie on the great rivers by which the country is intersected, as the Ganges, Hooghly, Jumna, Megna, and Brahmaputra. In that of Madras, they have been fixed in the towns between the hills and the sea, on both sides of the continent; and in Ceylon, along the sea-coast. A few mission stations are located in the salubrious climate of the hills. A slight glance at the map of India will shew how little these stations can effect for the thorough proclamation of the gospel in all parts of India: and how thoroughly insufficient the present amount of agency is for the grand object which it is intended to effect. It is true that the chief towns of the Presidencies, as is most just, are not ill supplied with missionaries. Calcutta, the metropolis, has twenty-nine missionaries, labouring at twelve different stations in the city; Benares has eleven; and Agra eight. In Madras there are twelve stations and twenty-five missionaries: in Bombay, four stations and thirteen missionaries; while Colombo has but two missionaries at two mission stations. Other stations have but two or three missionaries; and the majority only one each. Scattered

throughout the country, there are whole districts, with numerous towns, villages and a dense population, that never hear the word of God at all. The position occupied by Europeans in India proves that "the Lord hath surely called us to preach the gospel" to its idolatrous people: but the cry "Come over and help us" is in many places unheeded. Were missionaries to be thoroughly successful in their present spheres, they would have yet to acknowledge; "There remaineth much land to be possessed."

The NATIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES in India, established by missionaries, now amount to THREE HUNDRED AND NINE. Some of these contain numerous members; but the great majority have but a few. It must be remembered, that the standard of admission into these little societies is not every where the same. Some missionaries admit members only upon good evidence of their conversion, arising from competent knowledge and consistency of Christian conduct. Others require merely a certain amount of knowledge in their communicants, and the absence of great inconsistencies. By some the Communion of the Lord's Supper is considered a church privilege, to be enjoyed only by those who can appreciate it. By others it is counted a means of grace, which shall fit men for understanding its ends. The number of members admitted on the higher standard is *five thousand two hundred*: of those on the lower *twelve thousand*. The care of these infant churches constitutes one of the missionary's hardest trials. While it is a matter of thankfulness and joy to see their members forsaking idolatry, seeking the true salvation, and attending regularly the means of grace, their defects, their backslidings and the grievous falls into sin, which sometimes occur, prove how imperfect their character is, and give him many a bitter hour. It is scarcely just to look for any high general development of Christian excellence, amidst the dense heathenism of India, and amidst a people as low in moral goodness as any in the earth. The evil may be accounted for; how to devise a remedy is more difficult. Careful pastoral superintendence, and instruction, raising the standard of admission into the body of communicants and members, and the faithful administration of Scripture discipline, may, under the divine blessing, tend to the elevation of native Christians, and by degrees, diminish the evils which prevail among them.

Connected with the native churches, is a body of individuals, cut off entirely from the great communities of Hindus and Mussulmans. It includes not only the families of native Christians, but of many others, who have cast off the restraints of Heathenism, and placed themselves under the influence of the

Gospel. Though but nominally Christian, they are all under regular Christian instruction; the children especially are cared for in schools; and, under the blessing of God, much good may be effected among them in the future. It only remains to state how they are distributed:—

	Churches.	Members.	Christians
Bengal, Orissa and Assam ...	71	3,416	14,401
North Western Provinces ...	21	608	1,828
Madras Presidency	162	10,404	71,512
Bombay..... ..	12	223	554
Ceylon	43	2,645	11,859
	309	17,356	103,154

The labours of missionaries in the education of the young occupy an amount of time and attention, second only to those connected with the preaching to adults. The share, which Education occupies in the great work of India's renovation, must, from its amount, greatly astonish, as well as gratify, all who are interested in that object. The schools for boys are of three classes. **VERNACULAR SCHOOLS** have been established, chiefly, for the benefit of the heathen; but are, in many localities, beneficial also to the children of native Christians. Of course, the Scriptures are taught in them all, either by a missionary or native preacher, or both. In the majority of these schools, the general education given is not of a high character; consisting of reading, writing and the elements of general knowledge, in addition to Scripture instruction. In some, however, in North India, and in others among the large Christian congregations of South India and Ceylon, the education is of a very superior kind.

BOARDING SCHOOLS have, in many stations, been established upon missionaries' premises, for the benefit of orphans and the children of native Christians. Besides imparting a good Vernacular education, they have the advantage of keeping their young charge away from the evil influences of private heathen life, and retaining them continually under the power of Christian example and discipline. Several of the boarding schools in South India and Ceylon, exhibit this extraordinary peculiarity, that *Hindu boys and young men reside on the mission premises and eat food there, without losing their caste.* Such a fact is utterly unheard of in North India, and shews, how different, in some of its practical details, the caste-system of

South India is from that of other parts of Hindustan. The same is true also of Female Boarding schools.

THE ENGLISH Missionary schools are confined to those parts of the country, where a strong desire is felt for acquiring the English language. They are most numerous, and have the largest number of scholars, in and around Calcutta. In that city and its neighbourhood they amount to nine schools, or Institutions (as they are generally called), and contain more than *five thousand scholars*, of whom three hundred are young men, deserving the name of college students. The same desire for an English education, though to a smaller extent, we find in Benares, in Bombay and Madras; in which cities also most efficient missionary institutions have been established. In other parts of India, the scholars are comparatively few in number. The English Missionary Institutions occupy a sphere of usefulness peculiar to themselves. They convey Bible truth, in connection with a high degree of intellectual training, to the minds of lads and young men some of them belonging to the upper and wealthy ranks of Hindu society. This class is left almost untouched, in many districts, by vernacular education, or vernacular preaching; but, through the English schools which they attend so eagerly, they receive the gospel as well as others. A great change has already been produced by means of these schools. Missionary schools are distributed throughout Hindustan, as follows:—

	Vernacular day Schools.		Boarding Schools.		English Schools.	
	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Boys.
Bengal, Orissa, and Assam	127	6,369	21	761	22	6,054
N. W. Provinces	55	3078	10	209	16	1,207
Madras Presidency	852	61,366	32	754	44	4,156
Bombay Presidency	65	3,848	4	64	9	984
Ceylon	246	9,126	6	204	37	1,675
	1,345	83,787	73	1,992	128	14,076

FEMALE EDUCATION has occupied much of the attention and anxieties of missionaries; but such powerful hindrances lie in its way, as to have greatly crippled the efforts, which they were desirous of making. Boarding schools for orphans and

the daughters of native Christians have been most successful; many of the most intelligent and best-behaved of the native Christian women have there received their education. Many of the orphans, saved from desolating famines, or from the murderous Meria sacrifice, owe life and name to these Christian sanctuaries. But female day-schools have, in most parts of India, met with little encouragement. The habit of secluding females prevents the wealthy from attending them; and the early marriage of the scholars (at the age of eleven or twelve) takes away those who do attend, just when they are beginning to learn. In Bengal there are very few of these schools now; though at one time they were most numerous, especially in Calcutta. In Madras, however, and in Bombay, they flourish much better. The female schools are thus distributed:—

	Day Schools		Boarding Schools.	
	Schools	Girls	Schools.	Girls.
Bengal, &c.....	26	690	28	836
N W. Provinces	8	213	11	208
Madras Presidency	222	6,920	41	1,101
Bombay Presidency	28	1,087	6	129
Ceylon.....	70	2,630	5	172
	354	11,549	91	2,446

A portion of missionary labour in India is employed in ENGLISH RELIGIOUS SERVICES, for the benefit of our European countrymen. Though this is not professedly the duty of a missionary, it is frequently beneficial to many, who would otherwise be deprived of the means of grace altogether. By maintaining such services, missionaries may 'save souls from death;' may remove hindrances to their work among the heathen, and raise up friends, who will aid them in carrying it on. The total number of such services regularly maintained is FIFTY-NINE; of which twenty-one are in the Bengal Presidency, seventeen in that of Madras, and twelve in that of Agra.

Lastly, the work of TRANSLATING the Word of God and of publishing Christian works in the various languages of India is another object, to which considerable missionary labour is

devoted. There are in India eight Bible Societies in all, auxiliary to the two great Societies in England and America, and to those of the Baptist churches. During last year, they published 130,000 copies of the Bible, or selections from it, in thirteen languages; and distributed 185,400 copies. These Societies are endeavouring, in some parts of India, to supply every family with a portion of the Word of God. There are also fifteen Tract Societies, who receive grants of money, paper and books from the English and American Societies, and are engaged in supplying works for native Christians, short tracts, or expositions of Bible truth for the heathen, and school books for missionary schools. These Societies help greatly to make the preaching and teaching of missionaries more effective, and to render their agency more lasting.

The total cost of all these missions, as we have already stated, including all items of expenditure, amounted in 1850, to ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS. The items included are, the salaries of missionaries, the expenses of missionary journeys, the expenses of native preachers, of schools, and of the circulation of Christian books. Of the whole sum, £153,460 were drawn from Europe and America; and the munificent sum of £33,540 was contributed by Christians in this country. It is surely a remarkable fact, that while the East India Company, with an annual revenue of twenty millions, has expended so little for the physical improvement of their great empire, for roads and bridges, and the acceleration of safe and rapid communication, the Christians of Europe, America, and Hindustan, are found devoting of their own accord the sum of more than *eighteen lakhs of rupees* to the spiritual interests of the Hindus; a sum not drawn from Government resources, but made up of the free-will offerings of Christians of all denominations.

Such is the amount, and such are the varieties of agency, employed at the close of the half century just past, for spreading Christianity among the people of India. Each kind of agency has long been in operation in the older localities; and missionaries are seeking to render all efficient, wherever they are employed. Each too has met with the most gratifying results. The public preaching of the gospel in the bazars and markets, in private houses, and in the great assemblies of idolatrous pilgrims, has led many a Hindu to become the disciple of Christ, and has induced many more to doubt about the efficacy of their own religion. The instructions of day-schools have brought numerous young men to give up all for the gospel; and the Christian influence of boarding schools has led those, who were Christian in name, to seek for conversion of heart. Through

their means, Christian young men have come forward to teach their countrymen ; and Christian women have maintained a consistent profession before many witnesses. The circulation of the Bible and of religious tracts has not only excited enquiry and given instruction, but has proved, in numerous individual cases, the direct means of converting the soul. And the continued preaching of the gospel and administration of the ordinances of the church have been the means of building up small bodies of native Christians, the nucleus of larger communities yet to be gathered. The approval of the Lord, in whose name the work is carried on, has rested upon all these branches ; and, amid many difficulties, has encouraged his servants to persevere.

But the question is often asked ; Does the number of native church members, and of natives under Christian instruction, exhibit such a result, as all the great labours of the past fifty years lead us to expect ? In other words, have missions been successful, or a comparative failure ? Missionaries and others interested in the conversion of India have often discussed the matter ; but different opinions have been entertained ; some considering that the results are fully equal to what might have been expected ; others thinking that, for some reason or other, they fall short of them. It is not difficult to perceive that these differing conclusions arise from the different expectations, which their advocates had previously formed, from the kind of results looked for, as well as from the standard, by which those expectations were measured. Before examining into the question, we must remember *first*, that a large portion of the missionary agency now employed has been in operation too short a time to allow us to judge definitely of its final fruits. Nearly two thirds of the missions existing in Hindustan have been established less than twenty years ; and several even less than ten. How could they have brought forth finished results within so short a time ? We must remember also the peculiar manner in which missions work on the country. An indigo planter or sugar manufacturer can soon tell whether the district he cultivates gives him a due return for his labour and for the expensive factories he has erected. A farmer can tell, after a complete season, the capabilities of his farm. But it is not so with missions. Human society is slower in changing its views, than is the physical world in bringing forth its fruits. In undertakings beset by great obstacles, as in railroads, vast labour is expended before the uses, to which they are designed, are effected in the smallest degree : and for many years after they have begun to succeed, the 'block,' the 'fixed capital' expended at first, is regarded as the source of present gain. Apart from the actual

converts already gained (no mean number, however), we consider the 'block' of Indian missions one of the greatest results attained. A most valuable and effective agency has been prepared and set going; and long will it be before the results of labours, hitherto done, are exhausted and cease to flow. Of this we shall speak more fully hereafter. We will only mention a single fact here, to show the folly of too great haste in looking for the spiritual fruit of missions in India. In the beginning of the present century, the Rev. D. Palm was sent by the London Missionary Society to the province of Jaffna in Ceylon: but, after several years' labour, the mission was reported a failure; and it was abandoned. The missionaries of the American Board entered upon the abandoned station; and, on coming to Tillipally, the natives immediately brought to their notice a lad, who had been one of Mr. Palm's scholars. He became their *first* Tamul schoolmaster, was baptized in 1824, was licensed as a catechist, and died as such, after exhibiting for many years a consistent Christian deportment. "The fruit of six cocoanut trees, near the mission-house, planted by Mr. Palm, and of which the American missionaries have eaten for thirty-five years, is but emblematical of the higher fruits they have gathered from the labours of one, whose mission was accounted a failure."

To form a sound and correct judgment on this matter, we must examine the missions in Hindustan by the measure of success, which has been granted to other missions in other ages and in other countries of the world. We must find cases parallel to our own in all their bearings, and judge of our results by theirs. To do this thoroughly would require an immense induction of a great variety of particulars, and would lead us away from the immediate object of this paper. We can only indicate therefore, in few words, the view we hold of this important subject. We cannot compare the modern missions in Hindustan with the establishment of Christianity among the Franks by Clovis; among the Saxons by Charlemagne, after a thirty-three years' war; among the Danes by Otho the Great; in Norway, by Olaus Trygvesen, or his successor Olaus the Saint; among the Slavonians, by the Dukes of Saxony; among the Russians, by Vladimir; or in Prussia, by the Teutonic Knights. Most of these missions were missions of force, not of persuasion: they were carried on by warlike Governments with swords and spears;—not by believing men, who aimed to enlighten and convert. Neither can we compare them with the Spanish missions to Mexico and Brazil, or with the missions of the Portuguese and Dutch in this very country. Persecution, civil disabilities and

fraud, are not the agents, which the Saviour of men bade his followers employ in Christianizing the nations ; and we have wisely given them up. We must, therefore, for a just comparison, fall back upon the early missionary success of the apostolic age, or look to modern missions in other lands. A glance at both will help to put our position in India in a clear light.

The missionary labours of the apostolic age were grand in their character, rapid in their operation, and gigantic in their results. But from what agencies did those results spring ? We must look for them not merely from the day of Pentecost ;—not merely from the time, when the preachers began to declare their gospel message of mercy. The work of preaching to be successful must have ready hearers, as well as zealous teachers : and although it was only from the day of Pentecost that men began to preach, yet the Providence of God had been preparing the minds of the hearers for more than three hundred years previously. For more than three hundred years, He had been moulding the nations, uniting them together, removing hindrances and creating facilities, for the conversion of the world : and it was not till “ the fulness of time ” was come ; not till all the preparations were completed, that “ God sent forth his Son.” Without due attention to this important fact, we cannot correctly estimate the progress of Christianity on its first establishment. By the wars, which took place during those centuries, old societies were broken up and old notions scattered ; while the frequent intercourse of different nations with each other tended to expand the minds of all. The universal empire of Rome became the means of binding all those nations by one common authority under one common law : especially when accompanied by the great privilege of Roman citizenship. The wonderful spread of the Greek language, of Greek manners and Greek notions, tended to the same end. The different religions of the world were brought into contact, and their follies and mutual contradictions, brought them all into contempt. Philosophy tried to fill up the void produced, but miserably failed : and the desire for religious truth, being unsatisfied, led men to look for a special deliverer, who was to enlighten all nations. The dispersion of the Jews also wonderfully aided the desired result. From the days of Shalmaneser, they went east-ward ; from the days of the Ptolemies, they went west-ward ; until Syria, Asia-Minor, Greece, and Italy, were filled by their synagogues and their religious discussion. By their zeal for Judaism, they gained over thousands of proselytes, and so annoyed the old idolatrous parties, as to draw down on their head severe persecutions. Under these circum-

stances it was, that the pure gospel of Christ was preached, 'with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven,' accompanied with the gift of tongues and the power of working miracles; and the influence of this grand and extensive preparation met with magnificent success. How differently placed is the work of missions in India at the present day! With the Apostles the preparations were completed: with us they have had to begin. With them old things had passed away; with us they exist still. They had but to reap: we have to sow. Who can wonder then that with few agents, in a foreign clime, and speaking foreign tongues, the work in Hindustan has fallen, and will continue to fall short, of the splendid results which they attained?

Neither do we find an exact parallel between missions in India and the successful missions of modern days elsewhere. We cannot compare them with those in Greenland, or South Africa, or the West Indies, or among Brainerd's Indians, or in the South Sea islands. A mighty difference meets us at the very outset. The tribes in these localities were uncivilized in the last degree; while the Hindus have a civilization, extending back more than three thousand years. Those were without a written language: these have thirteen polished languages, each with its own character, and an extensive literature in one of the oldest languages of the world, the Sanskrit. Those were debased and ignorant; while the Hindus are educated. In those, reason was undeveloped: in the Hindus it is perverted, and has become an enemy far more difficult to deal with. Those had but few gods and a small number of priests; these worship numerous principal deities, honoured by expensive festivals, by a daily ritual, and upheld by a powerful and exacting hierarchy. Those had fettered the natural ties of kindred and social union with no unnatural laws; but these have superadded to natural ties the stringent rules of *caste*, the breach of which renders the transgressor a vagabond and outcast. Even with all the facilities for the progress of truth among those tribes, years passed in each instance before great results were attained in the conversion of many souls. What delay, therefore, might we not expect in Hindustan, amid the numerous difficulties which its case presents?

The circumstances of our Indian missions seem to us altogether unique and peculiar. In its idolatries, India resembles other lands, it is true; but in its numerous ancient and venerated Shastras; in its lordly and powerful priesthood, the monopolists of its ancient learning; in its well-bound family-system; and above all, in its bonds of *caste*, it presents difficulties and obstructions to the progress of Christianity, such as it has not

met before. Triumph it will over all these obstacles; it has begun to triumph already: but there may, there must be delay, before the complete triumph is achieved; and when it does come, it will be one of the most signal and illustrious that the world has ever seen. The dam, which stands before the trickling rill, and leaves its tiny waters to fall in slender strings over its grassy ridge, shakes, quivers, falls before that rill, swollen to a mountain torrent, and pressing forward its pent-up waters. And thus is it with Christianity in this 'day of small things.' Caste may form a barrier to its passage; but the knowledge of the gospel is increasing and accumulating among the people, whom the bonds of caste restrain. Already has it begun to shake, and its defenders, fearful of a crash, have rushed to its defence: but they cannot stay the weight and force of Christian truth. In due time their system must give way; and there will be a steady and continuous flow of Hindu families into the church of Christ.

We look, with some satisfaction, on the little band of native converts already gathered from among the people of India. They may be few in number; but they are proofs that the work of the church has not been carried on in vain. They are an earnest of the great results, at which missionaries aim, and which must ultimately follow. They may be few in number; but considering the difficulties, that have been encountered and overcome, we need feel no surprise. Even in their fewness, we learn a fact most encouraging in relation to the future. It has been shown that the ratio of their increase is steadily progressing. A statistical paper, laid before the Missionary Conference in Calcutta, a few years ago, shewed that in Lower Bengal, exclusive of Krishnaghur, the accessions of native converts to the Christian church had been made thus:—

● From 1793 to 1802.....	27
„ 1803 to 1812.....	161
„ 1813 to 1822.....	403
„ 1823 to 1832.....	675
„ 1833 to 1842.....	1045
In 1843 and 1844, <i>two years</i>	485

With the increased agency now employed, and its greater efficiency, we may hope for results far higher and more numerous than these.

But the accession of native converts is but a small part of the results, which missionary labour has secured in India and Ceylon. The wide and extensive preaching of the gospel; the spread of Christian knowledge; the infusion of Christian ideas

into native minds: the preparation of an efficient system of agency, and of materials which that agency may employ; the acquisition of valuable experience, and similar results,—all find their use in smoothing the path of future labour and securing future and more rapid success. Such a result of past efforts has frequently been noticed by missionaries of long standing, who knew, from their own hard experience, what valuable helps are now provided for the missionaries of modern days. The following testimony of the Rev. W. Fyvie of Surat, given in 1847, on his departure for America, illustrates the case so clearly, that we quote it:—

“Persons arriving at Bombay now visit it under different circumstances, from what it was twenty-five or thirty years ago. When I landed on your shores, there was only one church in Bombay, and one service on the Lord’s Day, very thinly attended indeed. There are now six places of public worship on this island for divine service in English, and a seventh is now building. Thirty or thirty-five years ago, evangelical preaching was, I fear, but little known on this island; but now the case is happily very different and has long been so. Less than thirty-five years ago, there were no Educational, Bible, Tract, or Missionary Societies here. Is not the case now very different? Then one hardly knew where to look for a decidedly pious person, for the worship of God in families, and prayer meetings in public. In how many pious families, in this place and at other stations, is the voice of prayer and praise presented to God, morning and evening, at the family altar: while weekly prayer-meetings are also numerous. In viewing all that has been done among our countrymen, have we no cause to say, ‘what hath God wrought!’

“Thirty years ago, if any native had wished to become acquainted with Christianity, there was then no Bible, Tract, or Christian book in Mahrathi or Gujurati, to put into his hand. During the last twenty-five years, however, the Bible has been translated and printed in both these languages, so that the people can now read in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. Tracts, discourses, prayers and catechisms have been prepared and widely circulated, and are read by thousands throughout the length and breadth of the land. Some of the heathen at the different missionary stations have believed the gospel-report; others, an increasing number, are convinced of the truth of Christianity, but have not yet sufficient moral courage to put on Christ, and to forsake all for his name: some of the converts have become preachers

‘ of the gospel. When I arrived in India, the American brethren, Messrs. Hall and Newell, were labouring amidst many discouragements to establish their first native school. Now there are numerous schools at all the different missionary stations; and they might be greatly increased. When I arrived, with the exception of the two American brethren mentioned, there were no missionaries in the whole of Western India. Since that time, the great Lord of the harvest has thrust forth many labourers from Great Britain and Ireland, America, and the Continent of Europe. Let us bless God for this: and pray that they may be upheld, directed, comforted, sanctified, and their labours greatly blessed. No doubt, but in due time, they or their successors shall reap largely, if they faint not.”

This interesting passage will apply to the whole of India, except the Serampore mission and a few stations in the Madras Presidency, which had been established previously to the time referred to: and it will suggest to the reader one class of results, which missions have already produced. These results we shall now describe in detail.

In addition to the actual conversion of a goodly number of native Christians, missions in India, in preparing the way for far more numerous conversions hereafter, have spread a large amount of Christian knowledge throughout the country, and have produced deep impression upon the native mind, both in relation to the follies of Hinduism and the truth of the Bible. For many years missionaries have preached with steady perseverance in chapels, bazars and schools, in the neighbourhood of their stations. They have undertaken extensive preaching journeys over districts of the country seldom visited. They have distributed thousands of tracts and portions of the Word of God. They have held conversations, and not unfrequently long discussions with the disciples of Hinduism and of Muhammad in chapels and shops; by the way-side and in the thronged bazars; at the weekly markets, and in the great annual festivals. They have maintained thousands of schools, both in the vernacular and English languages; and thus have brought home the word to young and old.

After all this, is the country the same as it was fifty years ago? Far from it. The knowledge, which they have spread, has sunk among the community, and is working, like leaven, in silence but with certainty. The Hindus have learned that their system is full of errors; that the science of their Shastras is contemptible and worthless; that their idol-worship is foolish and insulting to Him, who is a SPIRIT; that the characters ascrib-

ed in the Shastras to their many gods are full of vice and crime; that those Shastras are full of inconsistencies; that their worship is unworthy of reasonable beings, and their priesthood is grasping and ignorant. They have learned in contrast, that there is but one God; that He loves the souls of the sinful, and has sent His Son to be the Saviour of the world. Many have been led to acknowledge that their system must decay, and Christianity surely triumph. Acknowledgments to this effect are made repeatedly in all parts of the country; and a conviction, more or less deep, that Christianity will destroy caste and idolatry, has entered thousands of minds. Temples are being allowed, to a great extent, to fall into decay, while the number of new ones erected is by no means large. In those parts, where missions have been carried on most extensively, a considerable falling off in the attendance at the great festivals is distinctly observable. The swinging festival, for instance, in Lower Bengal is very different from what it used to be. The number of idols sold at festivals is greatly diminished, and the offerings at the great temples are of far less value than they once were. A great change has taken place in the views and in the spirit of the people at large. Formerly they knew nothing of what true religion really is; but they have been enlightened on the nature of moral obligation, the duty of love to God, of love to men, and the nature and evil of sin. Missions have gone far, during the last fifty years, in developing a conscience amongst the natives, in whom it was in a deadly sleep. Is not this alone a great result? The Hindus, too, have begun to lay aside some of their old notions. The Brahmins are no longer so highly honoured; the clever Sudras thrust them aside from place and power without scruple; by far the greater increase of wealth and wisdom has been diffused among the latter. Thousands now approve of female education; and, in the great cities, the ladies of numerous families are being privately taught. Even the re-marriage of widows is discussed by the native papers, and its advantages fully acknowledged. A numerous body is coming forward in society, possessing far more enlightened notions than their fathers did; a body of men, who put little faith in the Shastras, and look upon the old pandits and teachers as ignorant bigots. The great contrast between these two parties shows how great a step has been made in the process of public enlightenment. The spirit, in which Bible truth is heard, has also greatly improved. Formerly, when a missionary preached, he was compelled to enter into disagreeable and apparently useless controversies; the same objections were brought forward again and again; and

the discussion was frequently closed, with the practical application of broken pots, sand, dirt and cries of 'Hari bol!' But now, in all the older missionary stations and even beyond them, discussions seldom occur. The people come to the chapels, and often listen to the end: frequently acknowledging aloud the truth of what is said. What is even more singular is, that small companies have been found in various parts of the country, who have gathered a little collection of Christian books, and meet together to read and study them. These facts are full of encouragement from the proofs they furnish, that the word of God, though hidden, is not lost; but that, like good seed, it *will* spring up and put forth, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. Only let this word, so extensively known, be applied with power 'by the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven,' and, at once, 'the little one will become a thousand, and the small one a great nation.'

These facts must not, however, be reckoned of more value than they are worth. Much has been done, it is true, to enlighten the Hindus, but infinitely more yet remains. Their ears are opening to listen to the gospel, and their minds are beginning to receive it, while an awakened conscience feels its power. In the neighbourhood of many stations, it is true, that many declare that Hinduism is false and Christianity true; but very few perceive the duty, which arises from a fact so important. Truth and duty are, in their ideas, not necessarily connected. They do not yet possess the feeling that they need the physician, whose skill they acknowledge; and no where has any spirit of enquiry been aroused on an extensive scale. Missionaries have therefore to go on;—preaching and teaching still—preaching and teaching still. They can see that they are not labouring in vain, and that the word of God will not return to Him void. In confirmation of these views, we will quote the testimony of a missionary, who has laboured in Bengal for forty-five years, and mention two most extraordinary facts described in missionary reports. The Rev. W. Robinson of Dacca, after a missionary journey, says:—

This little trip has fully convinced me of one important fact; viz., that the time for *preaching* is come. Go where you will, the people will hear. It was not always so; far, far otherwise was the state of things nearly forty years ago, when Chamberlain and I were together at Outwa. Then the people used reproachfully to ask; "What is the use of all this labour? Nobody will hear you; no one will become a Christian." Chamberlain's reply usually was; "We are throwing a little fire into the jungle—burning the jungle to prepare the land for cultivation." I think we may now boldly affirm, the jungle is burnt; the field is ready for cultivation. Our business is now to drive the gospel-plough through the length and breadth of India. But where are our labourers? Painful thought! we have none. Here are whole districts without a labourer.

The avidity, with which books are now received, is a marked feature in the present state of the Indian mission. Former periods of the mission were those of clearing and ploughing; but now the time for sowing is come. Go and preach where you will, the people will hear you; carry books wherever you please, and they will be most gladly accepted. Tell our good friends at home, that the sowing time is indeed come; and that, if they wish to reap bountifully, they must sow bountifully. We want seed to sow:—books, books in quantities almost innumerable, and we want men to sow the seed. It will be a sad blot on the churches in England, if, after the ground is thus prepared for the reception of the seed, that seed is not cast in abundantly.

The extraordinary facts, described in the following extract, took place, during a fearful outbreak of cholera in Assam, in 1847, and are described in a letter from one of the Assam missionaries:—

The ravages of this disease have been fearful among us. Some days there have been as many as eleven or twelve deaths; one hundred and ten were swept off in twenty days, which is a very great mortality for so small a station as this. During this period of distress, we have seen some striking proofs of the diminished confidence, with which many of the natives regard their own religion. Several of them, in the hour of their extremity, have been found calling upon the name of Jesus Christ. Others have spent nearly all their time in making *pūjas*; and the temples near us have resounded day and night with their idolatrous songs. Soon after the disease broke out, the Brahmins and others of the better class made a grand festival, and sacrificed a large number of goats, ducks, &c. At the close of their celebration, one of the Brahmins, who has been in my employ as *pandit* for the last two years, was called upon to make an extempore prayer to the deity, which he did in the presence of some thousands. Having a curiosity to know how a heathen would pray, I requested of him a copy of his prayer, which he readily gave me; and was not a little surprised to find how nearly he had imitated the prayers which he has, from time to time, heard among the Christians. He had not once used the name of any of their gods, but had simply addressed God as the Supreme and Eternal; in fact, if it had not been for the omission of the name of Christ, it would have been precisely such a prayer as a Christian might make. This, amongst a people like the Asamese, who consider that all religion consists in repeating the name of *Rām*—in whose *Shastras* it is declared again and again, that the word *Rām* is the centre and substance of all religious merit, and the only ground of salvation—appears somewhat extraordinary, and would seem to indicate that the native belief is undergoing an important change.

The last extract, we quote, is, from the Rev. G. Würth of Hubli, on the borders of the Bombay Presidency, and not far from the district of Goa:—

When travelling last year in the southern parts of the Dharwar Collocation, I met with a man, who told me that there was a Lingaite Swami, in a village called Maruli, who advised the people to throw away the Linga, which they wear on their breast, and to put no confidence in their idols, but to believe in Christ. I was very much surprised to hear this; and went one day to the village where the Swami resided. I did not, however, find him at home; but, some of his disciples telling me that the Swami would be very glad to see me, I wrote him a letter, inviting him to come and pay me a visit. He very readily complied with my request, and came to the temple

where I was, followed by many of his disciples (Lingaites-priests), who carried with them a great number of books. Among these were the New Testament, Genesis, the Psalms, and the Prophets, all in Canarese. The Swami having taken his seat in the midst of his disciples, I thus addressed him: "You have, I see, many of our sacred books; you have read them; do you believe what is written in them?" He said, "Why should I keep them, if I did not believe their contents?" After I had spoken to him and his disciples about the necessity of receiving the remission of their sins through Jesus Christ, of whom all these books bear witness, and of confessing him openly before all men, the Swami said, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God, and that the Holy Trinity, God the Father, and God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, is the only true God; and, though the people call me a madman, I shall not give up this my conviction." Then taking the evidences of Christianity in Canarese, he read from it the article on the Divinity of Christ, to show me that he entirely approved of what was written there on the doctrine. He has formed a circle of disciples around him, who are to believe that of which their master is convinced. I was quite astonished to hear a Swami of the Lingaites speak in this way, who was never in close connection with a missionary. He had drawn his knowledge from Tracts, but especially from the Scriptures, which in their divine simplicity are the best teacher for every body. He did not, it seems, till now seek the remission of his sins in Christ, but rather admired the sublime truths of the Christian religion. But I entertain a good hope, that the word of God, which has led him on so far, and which is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, will, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, become to him, in this respect also, "a lamp unto his feet, and a light to his path."

Though missions have apparently accomplished little in most parts of India, in certain districts they have made most substantial progress. Three years ago, considerable religious enquiry was awakened in the neighbourhood of Barisal, to the east of Calcutta. A careful examination has shown, that the enquiry was, in numerous instances, sincere and well based, and is even not yet come to an end. In a short space of time, 188 natives have been admitted to the Communion of the Lord's Supper, and 1,085 individuals been brought under Christian instruction. The great anxiety of these new Christians for further instruction, their willing obedience to church discipline, their patience under much oppression, and the continual accessions to their number, furnish evidence, that the work going on among them is a really Christian work.

The religious movement in the Krishnaghur district is so well known, that we need but name it. The spirit of enquiry, in which it began, seems to have been sincere; but the famine of 1839 brought so many inferior motives into connection with it, as greatly to depreciate, if not to destroy, its usefulness. But as famines in India have, in no case but this, led to large accessions of natives to the Christian church, it must be allowed, that there was something peculiar to give it a religious direction. Be this as it may, by its means, 4,400 natives have been

brought under Christian instruction. Six missionary stations have been established among them, and churches, mission-houses, and schools erected. It is allowed, even by the friends of the mission, that the state of religion is low; and that many old habits still remain among the people. But it is not all evil. One-half of the people regularly attend public worship; and one-sixth is under daily instruction in the boarding schools. Faithful labour will do much, under the Lord's blessing, towards completing the work thus begun.

In the province of Jaffna, in Ceylon, several circumstances evince the deep impression made on the population by the American mission, during the last thirty years:—not that the native Christians are very numerous; but they are intelligent and well educated. This mission has directed its efforts chiefly to education. Under the looser notions of caste prevalent in Ceylon, they have been able to instruct *heathen* boys and girls in boarding schools (a circumstance unheard of throughout North India); and, of the many hundreds trained by their Christian care, a very large proportion have made a public profession. An intense desire for education has spread through the province—for the education of females, as well as males; the whole district has been greatly enlightened; and a conviction established, that Hinduism must be destroyed. So extraordinary is the desire for knowledge now prevalent, that when certain Hindus in Jaffna established a school, in opposition to that of the missionaries, they were compelled *to introduce the Bible*, in order to keep their school open!

By far the greatest progress has been made in South India, in the provinces of Tinnevely and Travancore. Missionary work has long been carried on in these districts, and the people are far more open to the gospel than other Hindus. In Travancore there is a native Government, and the Brahmins are both numerous and powerful. But the majority of the people, both there and in Tinnevely, are not Hindus like those in Northern India. They are Shanars, a large body devoted especially to the cultivation of the palm-tree: and, whether immigrants, or a portion of the aborigines of the land, who have been enslaved by Brahmin conquerors, they still retain their original customs. They are all devil-worshippers, and worship the objects of their fear with horrible ceremonies and disgusting dances. They continually add to the number of their devils: and singularly enough in one district, *an Englishman was worshipped as such*, for many years. The offerings presented on his tomb, were *spirits and cigars*! The Shanars are said to be 'the least intellectual people found in India.' Their long servitude and oppression

have debased them to a very low level : and, though a few are found to possess considerable ability, the majority are marked by apathy, indifference, ignorance and vice, and are unable to carry out a process of thought for any length of time. Their social bonds, such as those of parents to children, are feeble; and their social amusements few. But withal they are a docile and pliant people, and decidedly willing to improve. The causes, which led to such a rapid progress of Christianity among them, are readily discernible. Their religion sat very lightly on them ; their caste is low ; the religion of Europeans was, of course, looked upon with favour. In Travancore a special reason existed. Many years ago, General Munro procured an order from the Rani, that Christians should be exempted from work on their sabbath, and from employment in the Hindu festivals. These circumstances have contributed much towards the easy passage of so many converts from Heathenism to Christianity. The whole number, now under instruction, we reckon to be 52,000. It must not, however, be supposed that they are all true Christians. None know this better, or have spoken it more plainly, than the missionaries, who instruct them. Yet had they only given up their abominable devil-worship, a great thing would have been accomplished. But they have done more. They have placed themselves under an evangelical ministry ; they regularly attend public worship : more than 17,000 children and young people are daily instructed in Christian schools, some of whom are being educated as teachers, and others as preachers to their countrymen. Best of all, a goodly number have exhibited in their lives the fruits of conversion to God. A great improvement has taken place in this numerous body of Christian natives ; a great desire is evinced for increased instruction ; family prayer is not uncommon ; the public services are well attended ; and a large sum in the aggregate is annually contributed for Christian books and for the poor. The whole Shanar population, 120,000 in number, is open to missionaries ; and, if Societies are faithful, and missionaries faithful, we may hope, in two or three generations, to see the whole of the southern provinces of India entirely Christianized.

The wonderful progress of the American missions at Moulmein and Tavoy might well be described at length, even in a short sketch like ours. They are carried on in the territories of the East India Company, and enjoy the protection of its Government. But we have omitted them altogether from our enquiry ; inasmuch as the races, whose conversion they seek, are generically different from those of Hindustan, and their languages entirely of another character. We will only add that the history

of these missions from their commencement by Dr. Judson, including their apostolic success among the Karens, may well claim a notice of its own. Our American Baptist brethren have thrown nearly their whole energies into Burmah, and have reaped deserved success. We trust that they will give somewhat more of their zeal to the work of missions on the continent of Hindustan. Not only is there ample room for all the churches of Christ; but the country appeals to those churches, with the assurance that they can never sufficiently supply the labourers required. Our enterprising brethren then across the Atlantic will find in India an open field, and be welcomed heartily into it, as honoured fellow labourers.

As another fruit of their labours, missionaries are able to point to a large number of individual converts, now dead, in whom the fruits of religion were decidedly evinced. They can show, not merely thousands of Christians under instruction, and a small band of professors, but native converts distinguished from their brethren by the peculiar consistency of their lives, and the triumphant hope, which they enjoyed in death. There is no vague generality here; no mere display of numbers; no boast of thousands of nominal converts, who, on the first opportunity, relapse into their fathers' heathenism. We see the gospel received by individuals on their personal conviction of its truth. We see them adopting it willingly, professing it openly, bearing reproach for it with patience, and obeying its precepts. We see them purified by its law, strengthened by its motives, encouraged by its promises, holy in life, and happy in death. So frequent and so decided is this individuality in Indian missions, that one can scarcely open a Missionary Report without finding evidence of it. It is not confined to one Presidency only, but exists in all; and proves that the Spirit of God is at work in them all, bringing forth the same fruit in all parts of the country—fruit the same as that which the church has borne in all places and in all time. The large number of converts, whose death or conversion is recorded in the history of Indian missions, enables us the better to point out those who have been distinguished above their brethren. Many there are, whose names are known, not only in India, but in Europe. In the recently published 'Oriental Christian Biography,' we find nearly ONE HUNDRED such described. Among them, *Rajanaiken*, the active and devoted catechist of Tanjore; *Abdul Massih* Henry Martyn's convert, and a faithful missionary at Agra *Krishna Pál* and *Pitamber Singh*, the early converts of the Serampore mission; *Hingham Misr*, the first convert at Monghyr *Ramji*, the first convert to the south of Calcutta, and his

excellent son-in-law, *Radhanath*; *Mahendra* and *Khailas*, the first catechists of the Free Church in Calcutta; *Lakhan Das*, *Krupa Sindhu*, *Radha*, and many others, whose holy lives and happy deaths have cheered the hearts of the missionaries in Orissa; *Samuel Flavel* of Bellary, the native ordained missionary of the London Missionary Society; *Nyanamutto* of Tinnevely; *Christian Thomas* of Vizagapatam; *Mohun Das* and *Tajkhan*, the pensioned sepoy of Chunar; *Brindabun*, the disciple of Chamberlain; *Gunganarayan Sil*; *Narapat Singh*, who gave up his property that he might be a Christian; —with many others, are conspicuous and well known. Others not so conspicuous, have enjoyed peace in death, and left to their sorrowing pastors the assured hope, that they have entered upon eternal life. A goodly number of the native converts, as we have shown, have been appointed preachers to their countrymen, and a few have been publicly ordained to the Christian ministry, in the same way as European missionaries. Many others have been appointed as readers, school teachers, and school-mistresses. Thus is the way being opened for making Christianity an indigenous religion; and, though the beginnings are but small, they must not be forgotten or passed by in ingratitude and contempt.

But the pleasing results of missionary labour, in commencing or maintaining spiritual life in the heart, have not been confined to native society. From the first, the destitute condition of our own countrymen at many stations attracted the missionaries' eye; and the fruit of their ministry among them has been seen both in the conversion of some, and the maintenance of true religion in others. *Mr. Robert Money* of Bombay; *Captain Page* of Monghyr; *Captain Paton* of Lucknow; *Mr. Robert Cathcart* of Dharwar, and *Judge Dacre* of Madras; *Donald Mitchell*, the infidel officer of Surat, and subsequently the first missionary of the Scottish Missionary Society; *Mr. Casamajor*, the friend of the Mangalore mission; *John Monckton Hay* of the Bengal Civil Service; *Mr. Cleland*, the Calcutta barrister; *Major Hovenden*, *Captain Mills*, and *Lieut. St. John*, are but specimens of those, who readily acknowledged the lasting benefit, which missionary instruction and counsel had conferred upon them. Many now living, the friends and supporters of missions, we forbear to name. Numerous soldiers in the European regiments have had no other instructors than missionaries; and great have been the benefits they have received. Missionary labour too has done a great deal towards raising the tone of European Society from its thoroughly irreligious condition at the opening of the present century, to that

which it now exhibits, after a lapse of fifty years. Then there were but few churches and ministers of the gospel : now both are numerous. In the Presidency of Bengal, for instance, there were but three chaplains, and three churches. Now there are seventy churches for the use of Europeans, occupied by more than sixty episcopal chaplains and ministers, besides those we have already mentioned under the charge of missionaries. Then the attendants on public worship were but a handful : now every station has its worshippers. Drinking and gambling have greatly decreased, and marriage is honoured. Much, very much of this is owing to the improvement of English society in England itself, which has been reflected upon this and other dependencies of the empire. But much, in all justice, must be attributed to the efforts of missionaries in the country, who, by their character, their spirit and their direct instructions, have aimed to advance the religious welfare of " their kindred according to the flesh."

Again, the LITERARY LABOURS of missionaries in India, have been by no means insignificant. Coming to a foreign land, and to nations speaking a variety of polished languages, it has been their duty to adapt their instructions to the capacities of their hearers, to address them in their own way, and construct, *ab initio*, a system of agency, that shall directly apply Christian truth to the native mind. This object they have kept steadily in view. To missionaries the languages of India owe a great deal. They found the higher range of terms appropriated by the learned, and they have given them to the common people. They found many of the languages stiff; they have made them flexible. They have brought down the high language of the Brahmin; they have elevated the *patois* of the Sudra, and thus formed a middle tongue, capable of being used with ease and elegance by the best educated classes. The Tamul and Bengali languages have, especially, been formed and established in this manner. Missionaries have compiled more DICTIONARIES and GRAMMARS of the tongues of India than any other class of men. We have Bengali grammars by Drs. Carey and Yates; Bengali dictionaries, large and small, by Dr. Carey and Mr. Pearson, with volumes of dialogues. We have a Hindui dictionary by Mr. Thomson of Delhi; a Hindui grammar and dictionary by Mr. Adam of Benares; a Bengali dictionary by Mr. Morton; an Uriya grammar and dictionary by Dr. Sutton; a Hindustani dictionary by Mr. Brice; a Hindustani grammar by Dr. Yates; and Sanskrit grammars and dictionaries by Drs. Yates and Carey. We have Tamul grammars by Ziegenbalg and Rhenius; the Malayalin dictionary and grammar by Mr. Bailey of Cottayam; a Gujurati grammar by Mr. Clarkson of Baroda; and a Sing-

halese grammar by Mr. Chater of Colombo. Of other languages we are unable to speak, but doubt not that many such efforts have been made in them likewise.

Their great work, however, in this direction, has been **THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE**, a work, which ranks first in importance among the agencies employed for India's conversion. Besides the numerous Serampore versions, including thirty translations of the whole, or parts of the Bible into Indian tongues—and which, however good for a beginning, and however useful in powerfully directing attention to the greatness of the object, are acknowledged to be unfit for standard use—apart from the great products of these mighty minds, we have translations of the whole Bible into the following languages, carefully revised during the last twenty years. There are versions into Hindustani or Urdu, and Hindi; into Bengali and Uriya; into Tamul and Singhalese; into Canarese and Malayalim; into Mahrati and Gujurati. We have ten versions of the entire Bible—not first attempts by scholars at a distance, but the work of ripe years, by missionaries, who were constantly in intercourse with the people for whom the versions were intended. The complete New Testament has been similarly revised, and published in five languages; viz, in Assamese, by the American missionaries; in Telugu, with much of the Old Testament, at Vizagapatam; in Tulava by the Mangalore missionaries; and in the ancient languages of India, the Sanskrit and Pali. Besides these again, we have a gospel or two published in four languages, spoken by the barbarous hill tribes; in Santal, Lepcha, Khassia, and the Tankari of Kote-ghur. Translations have also been commenced in the Punjabi. Thus are the civilized Hindus and Mussulmans of all India and Ceylon enabled to read in their own tongues the wonderful words of God, clearly and intelligibly set forth. The value of such a book who shall declare? How many years of thoughtful labour are concentrated in this small library of Bibles! How many millions of immortal minds will draw from it the streams of instruction, which shall convince the sinner, make the Christian grow in grace, comfort the sad, rebuke the backslider, warn all of hell, point all to heaven. Had missionaries done nothing else but prepare these excellent versions, incalculable good would have been effected. Apart from all good to the natives, they have lightened the labours of their successors, and given them an immediate entrance to their work, for which the first missionaries long sighed. This is an effect of past missionary labour, which it will take a long time to develop fully. As an illustration, we quote a passage from the letter of a Ceylon missionary, on lately receiving Mr. Percival's beautiful translation of the Tamul Bible:

“ For several years all the Tamul Scriptures, which I obtained, were some half-a-dozen copies of the Serampore edition of the New Testament, and one copy of the Tranquebar edition of the Old Testament by Fabricius, the printing of which was so bad as to be scarcely legible. What a pleasing contrast to that state of things does our present supply of Tamul Scriptures exhibit ! Now we have the whole of the Old and New Testaments beautifully printed and bound in one volume. We have it also in parts of almost every form and size, suitable for distribution among the people, and for the use of our numerous schools.”

The translation of the Bible constitutes but one portion of the results of missionary labour in the native languages. In all the languages above mentioned, missionaries have prepared a small library of Christian books, to explain and enforce the truths which the Bible teaches. In each of the chief languages, they have prepared from twenty to fifty tracts, suitable for Hindus and Mussulmans, exposing the errors of their systems, and urging the claims of the Bible upon their attention. A few books and tracts also have been similarly published for the instruction of native Christians. In almost all these languages we find translations of the *Pilgrim's Progress* ; *the Holy War* ; *Doddridge's Rise and Progress* ; and similar works. We have books on the Evidences of Christianity ; on the doctrines and duties of the Bible : exposures of Hinduism and Muhammadanism ; and in Tamul, an exposure of the errors of Popery. There is also a goodly collection of vernacular school books, *Instructors*, *Readers*, books of Bible history, and the like. Christian and Papist, Hindu and Mussulman, will find in every language of this land useful instruction in the gospel of Christ : and the stores of knowledge thus opened are enlarging every year. A fresh impetus has been given to these efforts only recently, by the proceedings of the Calcutta Tract Society ; the Madras Society has followed it up ; and there is every probability of two very extensive Christian libraries being rapidly formed in the Tamul and Bengali languages, containing numerous standard works thoroughly adapted to the people who use them.

There is one circumstance, which greatly contributes to the production of these native works, and in connection with which Missionary Societies have not, perhaps, received that meed of praise which is their due ; we refer to the establishment of Mission Presses. At the present time there are no less than *twenty-five* printing establishments, in connection with missionary stations in India : and it is from the facilities they furnish for producing tracts and books, as well as from the liberal donations

of the English and American Bible and Tract Societies, that missionaries have been able to publish so much for the instruction of this country. Not only directly, but indirectly, have they promoted the extension of information throughout India. This example, and that of their countrymen, engaged in the periodical press, have led the natives likewise to import presses for themselves; and at the present time, in the Presidencies of Bengal and Agra, there are no less than fifty-four presses belonging to natives, engaged in printing vernacular works or publishing newspapers and magazines. Of these, twenty-six are in Calcutta.

Missionary literature does not stop here. Indian missionaries have done much towards drawing the attention of the Christian world to the claims of Hindustan upon their sympathies and prayers. Many of our countrymen engaged in Government employ have described its scenery, its productions, its history, its resources, and the social life of the Europeans, that reside within its borders. But to missionaries are we indebted for full accounts of the religious systems professed by its people; of their religious rites, their religious errors, and their social condition; of the character of their priesthood, their caste system, their debasing idolatry, the ignorance and vice which every where prevail, and the great difficulties in the way of the people's conversion. While but three or four such works describe the religious condition of China, or of the South Sea islands, or South Africa, or the West Indies, we can name at least thirty works written about India by missionaries, or containing the lives of missionaries who have died in the country. These works embody an immense amount of information respecting the natives of India, and fully illustrate the attempts which have been made to spread Christianity among them. Neither are these of an inferior kind, nor written by inferior men. They include works by the Serampore Missionaries; by Dr. Duff, and Dr. Wilson of Bombay; the works of Messrs. Weitbrecht, Long, Wilkinson, Buyers, Leupolt and Smith on Missions in the Presidency of Bengal: those of Messrs. Peggs, Sutton and Noyes on Orissa; those of Messrs. Campbell, Hoole, Hardey and Smith on the Missions of South India; and the admirable work of Mr. Arthur, published not long since. They include the Memoirs of Carey, Schwartz, and Rhenius, the 'Sketches' of Mr. Fox, and the 'Journals' of Henry Martyn. Shall we pause to describe the usefulness of these valuable contributions to the missionary literature of our missionary age?

Missionaries also maintain several English periodicals, des-

criptive of their work and its details. Of these two monthly periodicals, and one quarterly, are published at Madras ; two at Bombay ; and four in Calcutta. These have been most useful in recording the difficulties and encouragements of Indian missionary life, in developing the experience of friends, and meeting the calumnies of opponents. Two of them have existed twenty years, and contain a vast accumulation of useful information.

In connection with this subject, we must in justice refer to the speeches and writings of Indian missionaries, when in Europe, and to the good they have done in placing before the Church the claims of missions in their proper light. Missionaries, when they return to their native country even on account of sickness, do not eat the bread of idleness. It is a well known fact that they are extensively engaged in travelling among the churches, imparting information, making appeals, fostering the missionary spirit, and as eye-witnesses relating its results. To such journeys the churches owe a great deal of what they know concerning the heathen world. Many a Christian mother learns from a missionary's appeal to devote her sons to the good cause ; and many a youth receives those impressions, which end in his own consecration to the salvation of the heathen. All the churches are enlightened, and the zeal, the liberality, the prayerfulness, of all are called forth afresh. England, Scotland, Germany and America have all benefitted in this way by the reports of the men, whom they themselves had sent to the eastern world.

Let these literary agencies and literary products of missionary labour in India be taken in connection with other efforts in other departments of their work—and it will at once appear that great things have been accomplished and great hindrances removed. Demands are now speedily met, and wants readily supplied. How differently situated therefore is missionary work now from what it was at the commencement of the present century. When a missionary lands for the first time in this country, he no longer finds himself in the destitute circumstances, which awaited his first predecessors. There are books at his command to inform him of the country and the people, to whom he has come, to describe their superstitions, and shew him how to meet them. He finds grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies to aid him in studying the native languages. He finds, in many places, Hindu students in missionary institutions able at once to receive his Christian instructions, though delivered in his own language. He finds native chapels erected wherein he may preach ; and finds the people

prepared in spirit to understand his message ; he finds school-houses built, scholars gathered, and school-books, suited to his scholars, waiting for him ; he finds Christian tracts and translations of the Bible ready for distribution. His theological nomenclature is already settled, and he has only to learn it as fast as he can. He finds small societies of Christians already gathered, in which his halting efforts in the vernacular may be commenced, and to which converts may be introduced. He finds that a vast amount of secular work, in building houses, churches and schools, has been completed ; all the elements of an efficient agency have been prepared ; an agency suited to the country in every way, in language, and in thoughts, embodying the knowledge and experience of many men, who spent years of toil in acquiring them. The more this matter is studied, the more highly shall we value the past labours of Indian missionaries. If human agency must be employed ; and if efficiency in the agency is conducive to the speedy attainment of the contemplated results ; then it must be allowed that, in their literary and other labours, apart from actual conversions, missionaries have already completed much toward the object of their efforts, the regeneration of Hindustan. "Other men have laboured, and we are entering into their labours." We have been sent to reap ; let us remember those that sowed.

Missionaries, and the religious public, which supports them, have, during the past fifty years, exerted a great influence upon the Government, by inducing it to remove some of the most glaring abominations current throughout India. Dr. John of Tranquebar and Sir Fowell Buxton were the first, who brought before the Government of India and the British Parliament respectively, the dreadful practice of *Suttee*. Under the orders of Lord William Bentinck, that great Indian Governor, the *Suttee* disappeared ; and, when he left the country, the noble Lord declared that nothing in the course of his administration gave him so much pleasure in the review, as did the removal of that great evil. *Infanticide*, too, especially in Western India, has been greatly checked, although not perfectly exterminated. The *Human Sacrifices*, systematically offered in Goomsur, have been forbidden, and an agency has been established to save the unhappy victims, the Meriahs, by removing them from the district. *Thuggee* has been almost entirely put down, and an institution established at Jubbulpore for training the families of Thugs to various useful employments. *Slavery* has been abolished throughout the Company's territories ; though it still exists to a lamentable extent in Travancore. Some of the bonds which connected the Government with idolatry have been sever-

ed. And lastly, by the celebrated Act of last year, it has been declared, that all natives of India are free to hold their own conscientious opinions in religion, without fear of legal penalties. These improvements have been effected within the last twenty-five years ; and the result of the efforts made to secure them cannot but encourage those who strive to see other great evils checked, such as the Charak puja, Ghat murders, and the support of idolatry by the Government itself. To these subjects, over and over again, the attention of the Government and of the public has been called by missionaries ; and the direct and indirect effects of their disinterested advocacy of the claims of humanity cannot be too highly estimated.

These brief statements contain ample proof that missionary labour in Hindustan has been anything but unsuccessful. If the small number of native professors do not inspire entire confidence, or fall short of the high expectations, which some had formed, on a survey of the amount of labour bestowed on the country, we think that a wider view of the results of missions, in not only converting a few, but in consolidating a powerful and widely-spread agency, must tend to excite the strongest hope in relation to the future. In the increased attention directed to India by the churches of Europe and America ; in the large number of missionaries located throughout its great districts and in its most influential towns ; in the complete establishment of many stations, including the erection of buildings wherein all varieties of labour are pursued ; in the numerous and useful translations of the Bible or New Testament : in the formation of a Christian library, suitable both for the conversion of Hindus and the enlightenment of converts ; in the successful study of the native languages and the formation of aids for future students ; in the faithful description of the superstitions and social evils prevailing throughout the country ; in the record of painful and long tried experience ; in the extensive improvement of European society ; in the removal of enormous evils from among the native community, and the public exhibition of the *fact*, that some parts of Hinduism are too monstrous to be allowed, and must be put down by law ; in the securing of liberty of conscience for all ; in the gathering of a native church, some of whose members have been distinguished by their Christian consistency and fidelity to the gospel ; in the substantial progress made in certain provinces of our Indian empire ; and in the deep and wide impression made upon native society by Christian truth, the loosening of the bonds of caste, the extension of knowledge and the enlightening of a seared con-

science;—in all these important results, we think that great things have been accomplished by our Indian missions, and that we have the most ample encouragement to carry out what we have begun. “Thanks be unto God, who always causeth us to triumph!”

It should be remembered, that these results have not been secured without great efforts, without great difficulties, without many trials. Difficulties meet the gospel everywhere—difficulties arising from the sinfulness of the hearer, and from the human weakness of the preacher, in every country of the globe. But in India, there are special hindrances, and trials with special peculiarities, which help to retard the efficiency of the preacher, and the entrance of the word into the hearer’s heart. These difficulties are not connected with physical privations: even the heat, which is so trying to health and patience, is borne by missionaries, in common with thousands of their countrymen with aims far inferior to theirs. They arise from the great power of the superstitions of the country, of the ancient Shastras, of Brahminical rule and Sudra servitude; from the iron system of caste and family connection; from the ignorance of the people; from their great apathy and utter indifference to the subject of true religion; from their constant levity respecting sacred things; from their subtlety and cunning; from their total want of moral courage: and from their dependence upon others. The native churches add to these trials. Their small numbers; their imperfect character; their frequent faults; their want of earnest zeal; their dependence on their teachers; all try the faith and patience of the missionary, and hinder the swift progress of the gospel among the heathen. The worldliness and irreligion of Europeans also increase these difficulties. In past days, much more than at present, the immoral lives, the injustice, and the corruption of Europeans, put a great stumbling-block in the way of many well inclined to the gospel; and the evil, though much diminished, still exists. Again, with one or two honourable exceptions, we believe, the whole political press of India is either indifferent to missionary labour, or downright hostile to it. If occasionally a few encomiums appear upon the missionary character in general—encomiums which are intended to propitiate that powerful body, but are valued at just their proper worth—at other times gross mis-statements and mis-representations of their work are admitted without a word of comment; or principles are advocated, which cut away the very foundation on which missions rest, and declare them to be chimerical and vain. Happily the mis-

sionary body has a press of its own, and contains some of the best writers in India. But surely a class of men, who, with all their deficiencies, have come to India solely for its good, and are spending £187,000 a year within the country for that end, may justly claim a better treatment than some have given them.

One difficulty in the way of their labours deserves special mention, both from its importance and extent; we mean the *support of idolatry* by the Government. There was a time when, through the extensive preaching of the gospel by the Tranquebar and Tanjore missionaries and other causes, the temples in the Madras Presidency began to be deserted and perceptibly to fall into decay. Then it was that the Government of Madras took them under its own protection, appointed the officiating priests, received the offerings, disbursed the expenses, publicly presented gifts, and restored new vigour to the dying system! Voluntarily, deliberately and knowingly the Government of Madras made itself trustee of the pagoda lands, for the perpetuation of that debasing idolatry, which the God of Heaven has determined to overthrow. In times of drought, the 'Collector' ordered the Brahmins to pray to the Gods for rain, and paid money for their expenses. European officers joined in salutes to the idols. Some, of their own accord, would make their obeisance: and others would ride in front of the cars, shouting with the multitude, 'Hari Bol!' Villagers were summoned to draw the cars by order of the Collector, and were whipped by the native officials, if they refused. The temples were kept in repair by the Government; and the illuminations at the festivals were paid for from the treasury.

The same guilty course was adopted at the other Presidencies. In Ceylon, all the Chief Buddhist priests were appointed by Government; and expenses for '*devil dancing*,' continued at Kandy for seven days, were paid, as per voucher, 'FOR HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE!' Again the Government of India, by one of its Regulations in 1810, recognises Hindu and Mussulman endowments as pious and charitable uses; places the superintendence of them in the hands of Christian officers, instead of leaving them, like all other trusts, solely to the parties interested; and, by this regulation and by the practices we have described, has established the closest connection between themselves and the shrines of abominable idolatry. These are a few facts, illustrative of the Government connection with Hinduism: we are acquainted with many more, but find it impossible, in this sketch, to enter into detail. We will add only another fact on the subject of Muhammadanism.

We hear much from England of the endowment of Maynooth by the British legislature ; yet that legislature consists partly of Romanists, and the fact of the endowment, though matter of sorrow, cannot altogether be viewed with surprise. But what shall be said of the Indian Government, calling itself Christian, and supporting a large church establishment, while at the same time, it supports the CALCUTTA MADRISSA—a College for the education of Muhammadans in their own creed ? The privileges denied to the Bible, which is repudiated as a class-book from the Government schools, are allowed to the Koran ; and that false and fanatical system is patronized, and its zealous proselyting priests are trained, by our Christian rulers ! The late Mr. Bethune, we believe, wished to change this system, and to make the college the means of conveying sound knowledge to the scholars. We fear, however, his purpose is not likely to be soon carried into effect. So long as the present system continues, shall we have obvious reason for finding fault with the position of the Government in relation to the false religions of India.

There are some, who make excuses for this open violation of the law of God, who can find reasons for delaying the entire severance of the East India Company from this plague spot. But we are sure that every right-minded man, who looks at the simple fact of a Christian Government's lending the prestige of its name to the cause of Hinduism or of the false prophet, must condemn it as a crime. That the religious people of England so regard it has been shown in many ways. Their numerous remonstrances with the Court of Directors ; their numerous petitions to Parliament ; the declared assent of Her Majesty's ministers ; and the stringent despatches of the Directors themselves, all agree in affirming that the Government connection with idolatry is a thing which *must* be put a stop to. Some features of the case have already been corrected : the Government of India has not been wholly averse to diminish the evils, which it still cherishes. The pilgrim taxes at Allahabad and Gaya have long been abolished, and the temples given back to the Brahmins. Oaths, in the name of Hindu idols, have been abolished. The attendance of European officers on idolatrous ceremonies has, at last, been dispensed with, and salutes in honour of the idols have ceased. The colonial office has given up the tooth of Budh, and determined "to separate the British Government from all active participation in the practices of heathen worship." The Court of Directors, in 1847, gave stringent orders, that the guardianship of the temples and mosques in the North West Provinces, and

the contributions paid to them, amounting to Rs. 1,10,000, should cease. But a great deal yet remains to be done. The temple of Jagannath still receives its Rs. 23,000 annually : and, to this day, the Residents at Nagpore and Baroda, the representatives of the Government, take a share in the heathen festivals. In the Madras Presidency, the evil continues to a fearful extent. Down to 1841, more than £400,000 a year passed through the hands of the Madras Government, in connection with heathen temples ; and the annual profit was £17,000. Even after the receipt of the orders of the Court in 1841, Mr. Chamier, the secretary, in communicating these orders to the Board of Revenue, and informing them, that the withdrawal from the management of the pagodas is to be 'final and complete,' writes thus : "It is not, however, the desire of Government, that the revenue officers should relinquish the management of lands attached to religious institutions, which have been assumed for the purpose of securing the public revenue, or in order that protection may be furnished to the ryots.....*There is no intention of withholding any authorized and customary payments and allowances.*" To this day, therefore, the donations continue. To this day, the temple priests, the dancing women, and the idols' clothes are paid for by our rulers ! With such orders from the Local Government, to *explain* the views of the Court of Directors, we can easily understand the following statement, in Sir Herbert Maddock's Minute in 1844, on the grant to Jagannath :*

"The temple of Jagannath is only ONE of INNUMERABLE HINDU TEMPLES *the establishments and worship of which are partly maintained by money payments from the public treasury* : and it cannot be proposed to commute all these payments in a similar manner (i. e., by an assignment on the land revenue), though there is no other reason for making Jagannath an exception, than such as arises from its greater celebrity and from the notoriety of the Government's late connexion with its management."

It must not be concealed that the complete truth on this important subject remains to be known by the public. We fear that even the Court of Directors themselves, are not thoroughly acquainted with the extent, to which they endow, or take in charge, the shrines of false religions. We require therefore, first of all, a most thorough enquiry into the expenditure, in every zillah of our Indian Empire, on account of mosques, temple and priests, and shall never be content until it is made. The

* In the Parliamentary Blue Book.

mere statement of the bare truth will, we are sure, both astonish the Government and lead to a sweeping reform.

Apart from these definite results, obtained amid many difficulties, the missionary agents of the past fifty years in India have (as already stated) acquired a store of experience, calculated to render their future operations more efficient and more successful. Even their failures and mistakes have not been in vain : and the experiments made have only tended to develop more clearly the character of the field they occupy. We purpose merely to mention one or two of the more important lessons, which experience has taught : though we should like to see the whole matter thoroughly examined by those, who have made themselves acquainted with the history of Indian missions.

1. Experience has shown that in endeavouring to meet a system like Hinduism, the church of Christ may profitably employ a variety of plans. Amid the peculiarities of Hindu Society, the preacher of the gospel has to reach rich and poor, young and old, male and female, Brahmin and Sudra, learned and rude : he has to set right all who have been led wrong. By preaching in the native languages he may reach the lower classes of the adult population : by good schools, both in English and the vernacular, he may reach the upper classes through their sons ; where circumstances allow, he may establish schools for respectable girls, as well as boys. All will profit by translations of the Bible : all will profit by Christian books. And so long as preachers are few, while the greater part of their labour is spent on a special locality, a portion of it may be applied by itinerancy to the general district around. The missionary's object is one : his plans may be many. We think that those therefore err, who would confine all labours to a fixed routine, to be applied in all places and among all classes. Experience has proved the value of all the plans hitherto employed. All have been blessed, both to the conversion of individuals, and the general spread of Christian truth. We may specially observe that the new system of English education, which long suffered so much obloquy, has been proved to be a valuable agent in carrying out missionary ends in a sphere peculiar to itself. Our plans are not antagonists : they are co-agents. "We saw one casting out devils," said the disciples, "and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us." But the master replied, "Forbid him not : for he that is not against us is on our part." It is only required that every plan should be wisely applied to the persons and the places, for which it is suited. That is the very condition of its success.

2. Experience has shown that in the present paucity of

labourers, the large cities and towns of Hindustan are the best mission stations. The same fact has been true in all ages. Great cities contain the most active and intelligent portion of a people, while agriculture has almost always been associated with ignorance and sloth. It is cities that rule the world : and through cities is the world to be converted. It was so in the beginning of the gospel. Antioch, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens and Corinth were the cities, in which Paul opened his commission. Jerusalem and Cæsarea had their churches : so also had Rome and Alexandria. It was while Paul tarried at Ephesus 'for the space of two years,' that 'all they which dwelt in (Roman) Asia, heard the word of the Lord.' It was from the church of Thessalonica, too, that the word of the Lord 'sounded out in Macedonia and Achaia.' The word *pagani* 'villagers,' came at length to denote 'heathen;' because, among the villagers the idol system lingered last. It was the same during the Reformation, and is true in India. In those districts where the deepest impression has been made, that impression has been produced through the medium of the towns. Towns give the largest audiences and the most intelligent scholars. If we would lay a good foundation for the conversion of all India, the great cities must be occupied ; and every available plan set to work therein, systematically and steadily for the end in view. Missions to the hill tribes are greatly in favour with some Christians. They argue that as the hill tribes have no caste and no antiquated religious system, they are the more likely to receive the gospel freely and at once. True : but the hill tribes have no more influence upon India generally than the South Sea islanders. When you have converted them all, you have not gained one step towards the overthrow of Hinduism. Their individual souls are precious, and missions among them must do good. But we want more than this. We want to make every individual conversion tell on the country at large : but that must be among the Hindus or Mussulmans, who constitute the great bulk of the ruling population. The stir that is made in Calcutta or Madras, when a few Brahmins become converts, shews how deadly the blow struck at Hinduism is felt to be.

3. Every mission in order to be efficient, in the way we have described, should contain a plurality of labourers. The scattering of missionaries, in isolated spots, has done great injury in past days. Missions need to be concentrated in well chosen localities. It may seem that more is effected when three missionaries occupy three single stations, than when they act conjointly in one. But experience has proved the contrary. Apart from

the advantage of mutual counsel and companionship, the very combination of efforts gives new power. The sickness and death of single-handed missionaries has frequently interrupted operations in a particular station ; and, in many cases, caused the station to be altogether abandoned. More than *forty* stations have been thus given up at various times ; and almost all the labour and expense bestowed upon them has been thrown away. We need point to only one or two recent instances. Delhi, after having been occupied for twenty-five years, has, since the death of Mr. Thompson, been entirely given up. The Baptist missions at Allahabad and Patna have also been closed after many years of labour. Midnapore has been occupied by single missionaries three times, and three times been abandoned. Kurnal, Mirut, Bareilly, and other stations, were long since given up by the Church Missionary Society ; and only Mirut has been re-occupied. Many other cases might be cited in South India. The principle of Dr. Chalmers's *local system* is peculiarly needed in Hindustan. It is ; that to accomplish a great work, we should *commence, on a small scale, in a sphere that is perfectly under our control ; that we should labour there, till it is accomplished ; and push outwards, as our strength increases.* Better a few mission stations, efficient and steadily maintained, than many imperfectly carried on for years, and finally given up. It seems to us, that all chief stations should have three or more missionaries, and never less than two. Rarely will it occur that there are too many missionaries in one place. So great is the work to be done, that none can be considered supernumerary.

4. Provided with such complete materials for an efficient agency, missionaries, we think, with few exceptions, ought now to give their whole care to the direct work before them. The preparation of agency, however efficient, is but indirect labour, after all. The translation of the Bible and the publication of Christian tracts are only means to an end. They only furnish facilities for getting at the native mind and for making upon it a lasting impression. That impression remains to be made. When the best translation has been prepared, it must still be circulated. When the best school-books have been written, they must be explained. When the best tracts have been published, they must find readers, ere they serve the end for which they have been composed.

This explanation, this direct *application* of truth to the mind, is the work of the preacher and teacher of the young ; and, however excellent be the agents who prepare these materials, the latter class are essentially needed to complete the work of the for-

mer. During the present century, an immense amount of labour has been spent on the indirect branches of missionary work : and though, with the increase of inferior aids, more labour has been expended on its direct branches, yet that labour is neither so complete, nor so decided, as to render a word of caution respecting it unnecessary. It seems to us, that the external facilities to missionary labour are so great, the literary aids so numerous and efficient, the native mind so impressed, as to call for the most strenuous exertions in applying divine truth directly to the hearts of the Hindus. The time, we think, is come, when missionaries should give their best energies, their best men, and the largest amount of their efforts, to the two great works of preaching to the old and teaching the young. These are not the easiest branches of their labour, but they constitute the end, for which others are carried on. We wish that all missionaries, with the exception of a few, peculiarly fitted to amend our Christian literature, should give themselves to the word of God and prayer. Young missionaries, especially, may well endeavour to learn the native languages at once ; and preach and get experience in native modes of thought. Thus they will be well fitted, after a few years, to employ leisure hours from more active labour in adding to the existing agency or amending its defects. Their efforts will be of the most useful kind, never dissipated nor ill-applied. This will be the best use of their predecessors' hard earned experience, and will save them from the disappointments which they had to bear. This is the true influence of the division of labour in science, or in commerce : and the law holds good, when applied to missions. But, though the principle is obvious, it has not always been acted on. Rhenius declares, that he began to edit a new edition of the Tamul Bible, before he had been in Madras *one year-and-a-half* ! Other missionaries have confessed to similar folly, and warned their successors against it. May they be wise in time, and, whether old or young, endeavour to *use up* the materials, provided for their use, in facilitating that intercourse with the heathen, which is their primary object in coming to this land.

The principle, which we advocate, will apply to the subjects of missionaries' preaching, as well as to their plans. Now that the contentious spirit of their hearers has been silenced, they need to be instructed. Now that they have learned so much of the follies of Hinduism, they need to be told more fully the truths of the gospel. If they doubt about their false gods, how earnestly should they be pointed to the only true Saviour. Has not the time come in many localities, when missionaries should endeavour to direct their hearers more thoroughly

and more constantly to the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world? They have long required to have their eyes opened to the follies of idolatry, the character of their Gods, and the inconsistencies of their Shastras. The circumstances of the case compelled missionaries to point out these evils at length, and to hold discussions with their hearers concerning them. Now let us lift the Cross higher; let us preach Jesus, the only physician, the only refuge for a dying world: and let us *live* him more fully; believing that the deepest piety is, in every church, both the means and the guarantee of the widest usefulness.

5. Another lesson of experience bears on the character of the men, most suited to be Indian missionaries. In some countries, artisans have been found exceedingly useful in instructing converts, and in making missions self-supporting. India, however, is not the country for such labourers. Two experiments, at least, have been made on a considerable scale, with self-supporting agents, and have completely failed. The country, the climate, the state of Hindu society, and the low rate of wages, are all opposed to the success of this scheme, as a remunerative one. India wants missionaries, whose whole time and energy shall be spent on their direct work as preachers of the gospel. The money, needed for their support, can be far better produced in Europe, or contributed by Christians here, than made in the country itself. An attentive consideration of the peculiar difficulties placed in the way of Indian missions; of the duties to be discharged, and the circumstances under which they must be carried on; of the acquaintance that must be made with the language, the manners and notions of the people, with their religion in all its ramifications, and with the subtile objections they make to Christian truth; of the peculiar trials to which missionaries are subjected and of the faith, patience and prudence, needed to meet them;—will clearly show the distinctive features of that character, which is best suited to the effective prosecution of Indian missionary work. To meet the climate safely, a missionary should possess a sound constitution. To meet the people and their circumstances, we require men of intelligence and education, men able to master languages and, by largeness of mind, to appreciate modes of thinking different from their own. In regard to the spiritual deadness of the land, we need men of well-established piety, of tried patience, and firm faith. In regard to the weakness of the native churches, and their want of bright examples of Christian conduct, we need men, who, by their superior character, will mould their people, and stamp

them with a high order of excellence. We have no common country to deal with, no common people, and no common religion. In India, therefore, the highest scholarship and the deepest piety will find ample scope for all that they can accomplish.

6. Experience has taught economy, both respecting missionary life and missionary funds. It has taught how, by care and watchfulness, by airy houses, light dress, and avoiding exposure, missionary life and health may, under great disadvantages, be greatly preserved. The climate tries them greatly, as it does all Europeans. The scorching days and sleepless nights encourage peculiar and deadly diseases. But it is the mental anxiety—the round of pressing labour which allows no sabbath rest—that tell most on missionary strength. Yet, even with these disadvantages, their general health has decidedly improved. The number of missionaries, who die or remove annually from the country, is not so large in proportion as it used to be. We have already shewn that the average duration of missionary life and labour in India amounts to *nearly seventeen years*, and is decidedly on the increase.

Our expenditure also has been economized. Missionaries have shared, with their countrymen, in the reduced value of European goods, and their printing presses, especially, are able to work cheaper now than formerly. In general, European and American Societies furnish the salaries of missionaries and catechists; other expenses are provided from local funds. We must, however, mention here (and we wish that the fact could reach the proper parties) that some Societies sustain their missionaries on a starvation-allowance. Numerous missionaries in India receive *less than a hundred and fifty rupees* a month; and some, little more than *one hundred*. This is economy at the wrong end, for it reduces the efficiency of those, who must actually perform the labour. But none can say that missionary funds are extravagantly expended in any way. We have already pointed out, that the whole agency of India and Ceylon, including the support of four hundred and three missionaries, and the instruction of one hundred and thirteen thousand children, costs only £187,000 per annum. Of this sum, the cost of all the agency in the Presidencies of Bengal and Agra, including the support of one hundred and fifty-nine missionaries, amounts to £68,000. This latter sum is not quite equal to two items only of the Government expenditure; viz., the salary of the Governor General (£24,000) and his travelling expenses, (£45,000).

7. We might mention other lessons, taught by hard-earned

experience—all calculated to increase the usefulness of our great work in India : but we must leave them unsaid. We cannot refrain, however, from uttering a single word in relation to efforts among the heathen. In some stations, pastoral work begins to occupy so much attention as to draw off the attention of missionaries from the idolators at their doors. But this should not be. The missionary work must still maintain its aggressive character. Even Tinnevely, Travancore, and Krishnaghur should be occupied, only upon the plan of Dr. Chalmers above referred to. They should be made centres of Christian influence, whence the gospel may spread farther and more effectually. From them both missionaries and catechists may itinerate in favourable seasons : and the Hindus be brought still under the invitations of the gospel. The variety in his work will be a benefit to the missionary ; and new converts will be brought into the church.

Have Indian missions then been a failure ? Irreligion and fear prophesied in former days that they would be. They prophesied that the Hindus would never be converted, and that the attempt to Christianize them would lead to rebellion. Such notions have long been exploded. Looking at the number of actual converts and the still larger numbers under regular Christian instruction ; looking to the character of many, who have died in the faith of the gospel ; looking to the vast amount of efficient agency now at work ; looking to the deep and wide impression made upon the native mind at large ; looking to the improvement in European Society : looking to the removal of several of the most striking evils once prevalent in the land ; looking to the large and valuable experience acquired by past labours, and to the preparation made by those labours for future success ;—we must allow that missions have accomplished MUCH, during the short period in which they have been efficiently carried on. “ The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.” The camp has been planted and the position of the Christian army made good. The battle has begun ; and the various bodies of troops have had their several positions assigned to them. The translators, with their heavy batteries of Bible truth : the tract writers, with their light field guns ; the active cavalry of itinerators ; the preaching battalions of foot ; and the little band of Christian sepoys, are all engaged in subduing this vast continent, to ‘ the obedience of Christ.’ If the work be carried on, what *must* be the end ? “ The LORD gave the word ; great is the company of the preachers.” Shall not ‘ kings of armies flee apace ; while they that tarry at home, divide the spoil ’ and share the joy of victory ?

Every thing calls upon the churches of Christ, both in Europe and America, to complete what they have begun. The claims of India upon their sympathies, efforts and prayers, are becoming stronger every day : and, the more they are appreciated, the more will our great missionary work be prosecuted with earnestness and vigour. In support of those claims, we may appeal to the vast population, which India contains, reckoned as at least one hundred and thirty millions, and by some, as two hundred millions. We may appeal to the vast extent of this great continent, its many nations, and its resources for promoting human comfort. We may appeal to its great influence in Asia in general, and to the fact, that as it spread its Buddhism over China, Thibet and Burmah, it must, as a Christian country, be mainly instrumental in bringing those and other countries, under the power of the gospel. We may appeal to the Providence of God, which has made the whole country accessible in the fullest degree to missionary labour, under the security and protection afforded by the English Government :— a fact, which, contrasted with the position of China, Madagascar, Persia, Tahiti, and even Kaffirland, must shew the immeasurable superiority of the advantages we possess. We may appeal to the debt, which England owes to India, for the commerce it has originated, the support it gives to thousands of our countrymen, and the profits of its merchandise ; to an annual gain reckoned at eight millions sterling in value ; and to the political consequence attached to the Indian empire. We may appeal to the many and powerful religious systems of the country ; to its Hinduism, Muhammadanism and Buddhism : to its ancient Shastras and powerful priesthood ; its system of caste, and the degradation of its women. We may appeal to the labour already spent, and to the success with which it has been followed. Some of these motives exist only in India. What other country has them all combined ? Separately they are unanswerable : united, who can resist them ? But *one* Macedonian called upon Paul to bring the gospel across the Hellespont. Millions of men appeal to *our* sympathies, and with far greater earnestness and with far deeper reason, cry “ Come over and help us.”

The present missionary force in India is utterly insufficient, for the completion of the grand object in our view. New efforts therefore in Europe and America ; new efforts in England, Scotland and Ireland ; new sacrifices, new gifts, new self-denial, alone will avail to secure the men and the money, which our agency requires. It is true that missionaries in India are many in one sense. They constitute nearly one-third of the entire missionary body throughout the world. They are many, as

compared with none : but as regards sufficiency, their numbers are quite inadequate. Neither are they many, as regards the proportion of labourers to the people to be evangelized. The Sandwich Islands, with 80,000 inhabitants, have thirty-one missionaries. The Navigator's Islands, with a population of 160,000, have fifteen missionaries to instruct them. New Zealand, with 100,000, has forty. The population of the South Sea Islands under instruction is 800,000, and is taught by 120 missionaries. In the West Indies, there are not less than *three hundred and fifty* missionaries to instruct a population of *two millions and a half*. More than seventy missionaries are crowded into the 'Five ports' of China and the Island of Hong Kong. But in India, for 130 (or as some say 200) millions of people, we have but four hundred and three missionaries. Whole provinces, and large towns with thousands of inhabitants, are wholly uninstructed. In Bengal and Behar it has been reckoned that eighteen millions never hear the gospel. Within fifty miles of Calcutta, there are towns and villages with 30,000, 20,000, and 10,000 inhabitants, that never saw a missionary till the present year ; and were so unknown, that no map accurately described their position and size. Delhi, with 150,000 people, much more populous than New Zealand, has no missionary at all. Midnapore, with 70,000, has none. Azimghur, Bareilly, Purnea, Mymensing, and hundreds of other important towns and districts, have none at all. Excepting two missionaries at Lahore, and one in Sindh, the Punjab, Sindh, the Bhawalpore states, all Rajputana, all Oudh, Bundelkhund, the Nerbudda valley, and the great state of Hyderabad, have no missionaries whatever. Even Agra, the chief seat of the North West Provinces, has but eight missionaries, of whom one is absent ; and Benares, the 'holy city,' with a permanent population of 300,000, has but eleven. The two towns of Saugor and Dacca alone, contain a population *equal to that of all the Malay-peopled Islands of the South Seas* put together. In those islands *one hundred and twenty* missionaries are labouring ; while in the former two cities, there are but *five* ! In the whole Presidency of Agra, containing numerous large towns, and peopled with the finest races in India, there are only *as many missionaries (57), as are engaged in the small Negro settlements on the West Coast of Africa*. These things are seen in India ; in India, under an English Government ; in India, opened to the gospel ; in India, white to the harvest. Has the church given to it its proper share of agency ? Grand efforts are made to open doors that are closed ; while doors wide open are neglected ! Oh ! for more of the

spirit of Him, who 'had compassion upon the multitudes, when He saw them as sheep without a shepherd.'

This is not the time for the church to withdraw from its appointed duty in evangelizing this great land. During the past ten years, the Providence of God has, in a remarkable way, been calling the attention of the whole world to its interests, and to strange events of which it has been the scene. During the past ten years, the Chinese war has opened a way to the gospel, in the celestial empire : and to the success of that war Indian troops and Indian steamers contributed not a little. Within ten years, the awful Affghan war with its massacres, and captivity, and deeds of prowess ; the war with Gwalior ; the conquest of Sindh ; the two wars in the Punjab, with their murderous battles and final conquest, have directed all eyes hither. And that attention, excited by strange catastrophes and striking occurrences, has been retained. Within ten years, two lines of steamers have been established through the Red Sea and Mediterranean, and have maintained a rapid and constant intercourse between England and India : a new line, it is confidently hoped, will ere long be added, and the present means of intercourse be increased and improved. Communication is improving also within the continent itself. Numerous steamers now ply along the Ganges, and have begun to navigate the Indus. Our railroad is fairly commenced : our postage rules are about to be modified : an immense number of native newspapers have been called into existence ; and the English language has made a giant stride among the young, in the province of Bengal. Within the last year, a regular intercourse has been opened with China by monthly steamers. California and its cities have created new wants and new commerce ; and numerous ships have found their way hither from that newly settled territory. New ties are connecting India with the Australian colonies. The Great Exhibition has shown, upon a large scale, what India contains, and what its nations can produce. In the east and west, its voice is being heard. It is claiming an important position in the public eye, and men are beginning to acknowledge the justice of our appeals in its behalf. It is no time then for the church of Christ to forget it ; to forget that it is open to the gospel ; to forget that the contest between truth and error can be carried on upon fair terms ; or to forget that the hand of God has directed his people hither. As if to compel a greater attention on the parts of religious men, that Providence, which has opened the way to India, has been closing up other fields. Within ten years, missionaries have been driven from Siberia : the Madagascar missions have been

broken up ; Tahiti has been left a wreck ; the Sandwich Islands have been threatened ; cholera has decimated the West Indies ; and the Kaffir missions have been twice destroyed. Have these things no meaning ? Has that Almighty Spirit, who ‘ suffered not’ his servant to go into Bithynia, and ‘ forbade him to preach the word in Asia,’ no object, in thus closing some doors of usefulness, while the largest of all remains wide open ? We trust that these indications of his purpose will be met by the hearty response of a willing church. We trust that, with the increase of communication with Europe, the churches of both Europe and America will put forth new exertions and devise new schemes for extending missions in our Indian Empire. May he be with them, who said to his people in ancient days : “ I will send mine Angel before you, and he shall drive out the Hittite and Amorite from the land.” May He fulfil his promise speedily ; “ The gods, which have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens.” We conclude this brief review in the words of the Bishop of Calcutta :

“ What can exceed the inviting prospect which India presents ? The fields white for the harvest and awaiting the hand of the reaper ! Nations bursting the intellectual sleep of thirty centuries ! Superstitions no longer in the giant strength of youth, but doting to their fall ! Britain placed at the head of the most extensive empire ever consigned to a western sceptre : that is, the only great power of Europe, professing the Protestant faith, entrusted with the thronging nations of Asia, whom she alone could teach ! A paternal government, employing every year of tranquillity in elevating and blessing the people, unexpectedly thrown upon its protection ! No devastating plague, as in Egypt ; no intestine wars ; no despotic heathen or Muhammadan dominion prowling for its prey. But legislation going forth with her laws ; science lighting her lamp ; education scattering the seeds of knowledge : commerce widening her means of intercourse : the British power ever ready to throw her ægis around the pious and discreet missionary.

“ Oh ! where are the first propagators and professors of Christianity ? Where are our martyrs and reformers ? Where are the ingenuous, devoted, pious sons of our Universities ? Where are our younger devoted clergy ? Are they studying their ease ? Are they resolved on a ministry tame, ordinary, agreeable to the flesh ? Are they drivelling after minute literature, poetry, fame ? Do they shrink from that toil and labour, which, as

‘ Augustine says, OUR COMMANDER, Noster Imperator, accounts most blessed?..... Let us unite in removing misconceptions ; let us join in appealing to Societies ; let us write to particular friends and public bodies ; let us afford correct, intelligible information. Let us send specific and individual invitations : and let us pray the LORD of the HARVEST, that he would SEND FORTH MORE LABOURERS INTO HIS HARVEST.”

But in what spirit and in what manner shall such appeals be met ? Will our English friends, especially, meet them on the old cold plan, in which all alike, rich and poor together, too idle to discriminate, and unaccustomed to self-denial even in the best of causes, gave, as their sole contribution to missions—gave to each society, the great and small alike—the formal fee of *one Guinea* ? If we appreciate at all, as we should, the transcendent importance and grandeur of the missionary enterprise ; if we value, as we should, that gospel, which is ‘ the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth,’ we shall not be content to do little, or to spare ourselves in this service. We shall think of the misery that sin now entails upon the earth ; of the value of the souls, that missions may be appointed to save ; of the glorious future for which missions are preparing ;—even that coming time when the Sun of righteousness shall arise, with healing in his beams for every land, where the Prince of this world now reigns. If thus all, who profess and call themselves CHRISTIANS, realize their duties, there will be no lack of labourers and no lack of means. We shall no longer have to beg for more liberal succour—and to beg in vain ! No longer shall we appeal to those whose zeal, piety and talent fit them for labour in the Lord’s vineyard, and be met with fancies and with fears. All *then* will act as men, who count themselves alive from the dead, and their members as instruments of righteousness unto God. All then will remember the text ; ‘ His servants ye are, to whom ye OBEY.’ The days of timid, faint-hearted service will be over. The fruitless sympathy of sentimentality at home will give place to holy and devoted men in every land, where the Lord, by His providence, calls his servants to preach. Then, the love of Christ constraining them, His ministers will offer themselves saying ; ‘ Here am I, send ME :’ and no longer will the soldier of the cross, to obtain the crown which fadeth not away, fear to follow the merchant who seeks in a foreign land for things which ‘ perish in the using.’ And thus labouring in his service, ‘ God, even our own God, shall BLESS US, and ALL THE ENDS OF THE EARTH SHALL FEAR HIM.’

ART. VII.—*Literary Recreations; or Essays, Criticisms, and Poems.* By David Lester Richardson: Author of "*Literary Leaves*," "*Literary Chit-Chat*," "*Critical and Biographical Notices of the British Poets*," &c. Calcutta. 1851.

THE "Literary Labours of D. L. Richardson," so far as they had then been continued, were examined at considerable length, in the issue of this publication for July 1848. To a hint conveyed in that notice, the public is, in some degree, indebted for the work now laid before it. This hint embodied the advice offered to the author to "recast all his works into one great whole." And it was added that "many may thus be cast overboard, and a work produced that may be launched upon the sea of time without misgivings." We cannot say exactly that upon this hint D. L. R. has spoken again. It required—and we are glad to find a poet displaying so much worldly wisdom—it required an intimation from his publisher that he might venture on a *third* edition of his *Literary Leaves*, to inspire our author, "with courage to prepare the present volume." So we are told in the preface. But we are there told also that he was "the more encouraged to act upon the recommendation of the publisher, and to go somewhat beyond it, from the fact that some time before the *Calcutta Review* had suggested the propriety of his preparing a recast of all his works, and accompanied the suggestion with a very flattering prophecy of the probable fate of such a book as he might then lay before the public."

As, then, the *Calcutta Review* has had so potential a voice in calling the book into existence and determining its character, it must not play the part of a churlish god-father and refuse its support and encouragement to this interesting publication, on the plea that it has done so much for its elder brethren. We must give D. L. R. a second notice, though we cannot promise that it will be either so long or so elaborate as the first.

The book is a portly octavo of about 700 pages, in a type very similar to that which the reader has now under his eye, but rather more of it on the page. It is "not to be regarded as merely a new edition of an old book. It is something more"—we quote the preface again—"for every alternate prose article, with only one exception, now appears for the first time in the pages of a volume, and many of the pieces, both in prose and verse, which have appeared in other volumes, and which are now included in this, had no place in the *Literary Leaves*." To make room for this new matter, again, and to render the collection more select, some of the pieces which appeared in the

Leaves are left out ; but on the other hand, some of those selected have been much altered and considerably enlarged. We may mention that the arrangement is of alternate prose and poetry, a chaplet of mingled precious stones, now a large ruby, emerald, or sapphire, in an essay or a memoir, now a few small but brilliant gems of verse. The book thus formed is, says its author and compiler, "not exactly what the reviewer meant, but it makes some approach to it." So we should say, and a very close approach too, to what the reviewer meant when he spoke of recasting all our author's works and throwing much overboard.

D. L. R.—the initials convey as distinct an individuality to the Anglo-Indian reader, as do those of L. E. L.—D. L. R. was spoken of, in the notice to which we have already referred so often, as a literary veteran who had seen service for a quarter of a century. He has not grown younger, of course, nor has the scroll of his achievements been shortened since that time. The three years which have intervened, have not been spent in idleness, as some of the choicest pieces in this volume suffice to prove. But though the poet and the essayist still toils in the literary field, and may still do so for some time longer, it is not likely that the fruits of his labours will be again gathered by his own hand and bound in a goodly sheaf like this before us. The very nature and substance of the book, regarded in conjunction with the time of its appearance, lead us to the belief, that it is designed as a parting memento of D. L. R. On it he would doubtless found his "hopes of being remembered in his line with his land's language." In it he has garnered all those products of his mind which seem, in the ripe judgment of the author, to be best worthy of such immortality as they may attain. Its contents combine the advantages of youthful force in the composition, and the judgment of maturity in the selection. It is by this book that the author's place in posterity's roll of literary worthies must be decided.

The character and position of D. L. R., as a poet and essayist, are so fully discussed and illustrated in the former article to which we have referred, that it is unnecessary and would be impertinent formally to re-open the subject here. We believe that, as an effect of that reaction of opinion and feeling of which his own works of different dates furnish some noticeable illustrations, he is now as much depreciated in some quarters as he was once over-rated. The man and his works have, of late, been subjected to somewhat severe criticism, especially by writers who saw in him rather the rival journalist than the

meek follower of the muses. But let these and others say what they can, we feel assured that those who know or judge him only by the work before us, will class him with a grade of literary men which, if far from the highest, is equally remote from the lowest. They will admit that his poetry, if it exhibits not much force or originality, is distinguished by a gentle grace of thought and expression—that his prose is clear, elegant, and overflowing with literary lore. He is an artist who paints in water colors and in miniature, rather than one who attempts the bold style of a Michael Angelo or a Salvator Rosa. We admire in his works the soft grace of outline and the delicacy of touch, rather than the vigour of handling or the power of *chiar' oscura*.

But it is time that we proceed to illustrate and exemplify the qualities and qualifications of our author, by the aid of his own works as represented in the book now under our notice. We hardly know, however, how to handle the portly volume, so as to place its contents in the fairest and most effective light. A collection of short selected pieces, varying in character as in subject, and alternating in prose and verse, is more difficult to deal with than a lengthy narrative or a continuous discourse, which may be treated as a whole, one and indivisible.

Suppose, however, we agree to consider the various powers and qualifications of D. L. R., as displayed in these his *Literary Recreations*, first as a poet, and then as an essayist. And by the way, we may observe as a preliminary, that his works generally bear in their title, a sort of modest self-disparagement, that should bespeak, though we are sure it is quite fortuitous and not intended to produce such an effect, the kindly and reasonable forbearance of him who criticises them with tongue or pen. Thus we have his *LITERARY Leaves*, his *LITERARY Chit-Chat*, his *Notices* (not biographies or memoirs) OF THE BRITISH POETS, and now his *LITERARY Recreations*—all indicating in their names, the fact that they are not to be regarded as otherwise than the light productions of leisure hours, as “fugitive” pieces, never designed for the *quasi* immortality of a book.—But this volume, in its two principal divisions, presents its author and compiler in the two-fold character of poet and essayist. Let us then view him first as a poet, and then as an essayist; let us first discuss his verse and then his prose.

The sonnet is a favorite vehicle of poetic thought and language with our author, and he is fastidiously careful in the construction of this difficult form of verse. We cannot then, perhaps, introduce his poetry to the reader more fairly and favourably than with the sonnet which he himself has put

forward to meet the reader, almost on the threshold of his work. It is on a subject of general acceptance, and one which D. L. R. ever approaches with the devotion of a true poet:—

WOMAN.

The day-god sitting on his western throne
 With all his 'gorgeous company of clouds'—
 The gentle moon that meekly dis-ensbrouds
 Her beauty when the solar glare is gone—
 The myriad eyes of night—the pleasant tone
 Of truant rills, when o'er the pebbled ground
 Their silver voices tremble—the calm sound
 Of rustling leaves in noon-tide forests lone—
 The cheerful song of birds—the hum of bees—
 The zephyrs' dance that like the footing fine
 Of moonlight fays scarce prints the glassy seas—
 Are *all* enchantments! But Oh, what are these
 When music, poetry, and love combine
 In woman's voice and lineaments divine?

There is, it will be observed, nothing very new or striking in the thoughts here expressed, but it must be admitted that there is much of beauty and grace in the form and mode of expression, and much of true poetic feeling breathed into what is little more than a catalogue of those beauties of nature which poets, in all ages, have celebrated. But D. L. R. is rather strong in the art of "word painting."

The following "landscape with figures," seems to us particularly worthy of admiration. Here, depicted on the leaf from which we have already copied, and on the following page, is a scene viewed from an "English hill," rendered quite in the manner of Gainsborough or Constable:—

Scattered all around were seen,
 White cots on the meadows green,
 Open to the sky and breeze,
 Or peeping through the sheltering trees.
 On a light gate, loosely hung,
 Laughing children gaily swung;
 Oft their glad shouts, shrill and clear,
 Came upon the startled ear,
 Blended with the tremulous bleat
 Of truant lambs, or voices sweet
 Of birds, that take us by surprise,
 And mock the quickly-searching eyes.

Nearer sat a bright-haired boy,
 Whistling with a thoughtless joy;
 A shepherd's crook was in his hand,
 Emblem of a mild command;
 And upon his rounded cheek
 Were hues that ripened apples streak.
 Disease nor pain, nor sorrowing,
 Touched that small Arcadian king;

His sinless subjects wandered free—
 Confusion without anarchy ;
 Happier he upon his throne,
 The breezy hill—though all alone—
 Than the grandest monarch proud
 Who mistrusts the kneeling crowd.

On a gently rising ground,
 The long green valley's farthest bound,
 Bordered by an ancient wood,
 The cots in thicker clusters stood,
 And a church uprose between,
 Hallowing the peaceful scene.
 Distance o'er its old walls threw,
 A soft and dim cerulean hue,
 While the sun-lit gilded spire
 Gleamed as with celestial fire !

This is nature, but nature in a poetic dress. That "small Arcadian king," is evidently of the same royal race as the shepherd boy, whom the Pilgrims encountered in "the valley of humiliation," and who "wore more of the herb called *heart's ease* in his bosom, than he that is clad in silk and velvet."

Here again is a sketch of another character "on the banks of the Ganges":—

At my feet a river flows,
 And its broad face richly glows
 With the glory of the sun,
 Whose proud race is nearly run.
 Ne'er before did sea or stream
 Kindle thus beneath his beam ;
 Ne'er did miser's eye behold
 Such a glittering mass of gold !
 'Gainst the gorgeous radiance float
 Darkly, many a sloop and boat,
 While in each the figures seem
 Like the shadows of a dream ;
 Swiftly, passively, they glide,
 As sliders on a frozen tide.

The minute truth of the last three couplets will be at once seen and acknowledged by the Indian reader. And here we have a more elaborate picture, as true, poetically, to the scenery of Bengal and the banks of the Hoogly, as aught of Daniell or D'Oyly:—

Fair scenes ! whence envious Art might steal
 More charms than fancy's realms reveal—
 Where the tall palm to the sky
 Lifts its wreath triumphantly—
 And the bambu's tapering bough
 Loves its flexile arch to throw—
 Where sleeps the favored lotus white,
 On the still lake's bosom bright—

Where the champac's blossoms shine,
 Offerings meet for Brahma's shrine ;
 While the fragrance floateth wide
 O'er velvet lawn and glassy tide—
 Where the mangoe tope bestows
 Night at noon-day—cool repose
 'Neath burning heavens—a hush profound
 Breathing o'er the shaded ground—
 Where the medicinal neem,
 Of palest foliage, softest gleam,
 And the small-leaved tamarind
 Tremble at each whispering wind—
 And the long-plumed cocoas stand
 Like the princes of the land,
 Near the betel's pillar slim,
 With capital richly wrought and trim—
 And the neglected, wild sonail
 Drops her yellow ringlets pale—
 And light airs summer odours throw
 From the bala's breast of snow—
 Where the Briarean banian shades
 The crowded ghât, while Indian maids,
 Untouched by noon-tide's scorching rays,
 Lave the sleek limb, or fill the vase
 With liquid life, or on the head
 Replace it, and, with graceful tread
 And form erect, and movement slow,
 Back to their simple dwellings go—
 Walls of earth, that stoutly stand,
 Neatly smoothed with wetted hand—
 Straw-roofs, yellow once and gay,
 Turned by time and tempest gray—
 Where the merry minahs crowd
 Umbrageous haunts, and chirrup loud—
 And shrilly talk the parrots green
 'Midst the thick leaves dimly seen—
 And through the quivering foliage play,
 Light as birds, the squirrels gay,
 Quickly as the noontide beams
 Dance upon the rippled streams—
 Where the pariah* howls with fear,
 If the white man passeth near—
 Where the beast, that mocks our race,
 With taper finger, solemn face,
 In the cool shade sits at ease,
 Calm and grave as Socrates—
 Where the sluggish buffalo
 Wallows in mud, and huge and slow,
 Like massive cloud, or sombre van,
 Moves the land leviathan†—
 Where beneath the jungle's screen
 Close-enwoven, lurks unseen
 The couchant tiger ; and the snake
 His sly and sinuous way doth make

* The dog of Bengal.

† The Elephant.

Through the rich mead's grassy net,
Like a miniature rivulet—
Where small white cattle, scattered wide,
Browse from dawn to even-tide—
Where the river-watered soil
Scarce demands the ryot's toil ;
And the rice field's emerald light
Outvies Italian meadows bright,—

We give only a corner of the landscape, but it will serve to illustrate the truth and beauty of the painting. And here, as if to compel us to carry on the comparison of poetry with painting, is a companion-pair of "*Ocean Sketches*," selected from a collection of nine—all of equal or almost equal fidelity and finish. D. L. R., with all his talent of description, never excelled these gems of art:—

A BREEZE AT MID-DAY.

The distant haze, like clouds of silvery dust,
Now sparkles in the sun. The freshening breeze
Whitens the round sea-plain ; and, like a steed
With proud impatience fired, the glorious ship
Quick bounds exultant, and with rampant prow
Off flings the glittering foam. Around her wake,
A radiant milky way, the sea-birds weave
Their circling flight, or slowly sweeping wide
O'er boundless ocean, graze with drooping wing
The brightly-crested waves. Each sudden surge,
Up dashed, appears a momentary tree
Fringed with the hoar frost of a wintry morn ;
And then, like blossoms from a breeze-stirred bough,
The light spray strews the deep.

How fitfully the struggling day-beams pierce
The veil of heaven !—On yon far line of light,
That like a range of breakers streaks the main,
The ocean swan—the snow-white Albatross—
Gleams like a dazzling foam-flake in the sun !—
Gaze upward—and behold, where parted clouds
Disclose ethereal depths, its dark-hued mate
Hangs motionless, on arch-resembling wings,
As though 'twere painted on the sky's blue vault.

Sprinkling the air, the speck-like petrels form
A living shower ! Awhile their pinions gray
Mingle scarce-seen among the misty clouds,
Till suddenly their white breasts catch the light,
And flash like silver stars !

A CALM AT MID-DAY.

Now in the fervid noon the smooth bright sea
Heaves slowly, for the wandering winds are dead
That stirred it into foam. The lonely ship
Rolls wearily, and idly flap the sails
Against the creaking mast. The lightest sound
Is lost not on the ear, and things minute
Attract the observant eye.

The scaly tribe,
Bright-winged, that upward flash from torrid seas,
Like startled birds, now burst their glassy caves
And glitter in the sun ; while diamond drops
From off their briny pinions fall like rain,
And leave a dimpled track.

The horizon clouds
Are motionless, and yield fantastic shapes
Of antique towers, vast woods and frozen lakes,
Huge rampant beasts, and giant phantoms seen
In wildering visions only.

High o'er head,
Dazzling the sight, hangs, quivering like a lark,
The silver Tropic-bird ;—at length it flits
Far in cerulean depths and disappears,
Save for a moment, when with fitful gleam
It waves its wings in light. The pale thin moon,
Her crescent floating on the azure air,
Shows like a white bark sleeping on the main
When not a ripple stirs. Yon bright clouds form
(Ridged as the ocean sands, with spots of blue,
Like water left by the receding tide)
A calm celestial shore !—How beautiful !
The spirit of eternal peace hath thrown
A spell upon the scene ! The wide blue floor
Of the Atlantic world—a sky-girt plain—
Now looks as never more the tempest's tread
Would break its shining surface ; and the ship
Seems destined ne'er again to brave the gale,
Anchored for ever on the silent deep !

But it is not in the description of inanimate beauty or of still life only, that our poet is skilled. Here is a " portrait of a lady" lovely and noble in form and mind :—

It was not the magic spark
From an eye so large and dark,
Nor the forehead high and fair,
Nor the long rich flakes of hair,
Like the floating clouds that grace
The sweet moon's out-brightening face—
Nor the mouth, whose flexile bow
With each movement, swift and slow,
Deadlier than the Boy-God's art,
Sends an arrow to the heart—
Nor the small hand, ear and foot,
That high blood and old impute—
Nor the manner, nobly bred—
Nor the well-set, stately head,
Bending, rising, like a flower
When the breeze just stirs the bower—
Nor the shoulder's sheet of snow—
Nor the little hills below—
Nor the round chin, chiselled fine—
Nor the smooth cheek's flowing line—
Nor the curves the painter loves
When the worshipped model moves—

Oh not one of these, nor all
That have made so many fall
Prostrate on the earth before thee,
Caused *my* spirit to adore thee !

Lady, 'twas a spell refined
Woven by the heart and mind ;
Else perchance had I withstood
Witcheries of flesh and blood ;
But to heighten every grace
And etherialize the face,
Making the bright form more bright ;
Like a vase alive with light,
All my raptured soul to win,
Came a glory from within.

Wisdom, genius, wit and worth,
Sage-like thinking, child-like mirth,
Taste unerring, skill thine own,
Painting's touch, and music's tone,
Meekness in thine happiest mood,
In affliction fortitude,
Firmness ne'er devoid of truth,
Generous tenderness and truth,
And each nameless lesser charm
That can worldly cares disarm,
That to Woman God hath given
To make this else dull earth a heaven,—
These, sweet Lady, these are thine—
A moral galaxy divine !

Of course,—and these lines lead naturally to the declaration, D. L. R., like all other true poets, is, or has been, an ardent lover. But he is not an amatory poet. There are " love verses" in the volume before us, and they evince a delicate sentiment, quite in keeping with that which pervades all the other compositions of the author. But the passion seldom, if ever, rises above admiration. A beautiful scene, or a beloved child, calls forth a more rapturous expression of feeling than all the enchantments of the gentler sex can evoke. Here, now, are some stanzas of farewell, that speak but coldly the lover's despair :—

I
You bid me not repine—
You'll '*love me evermore*.' . .
'Tis this sweet truth of thine
That makes our parting sore.

II
If I could but believe
That fondly trusted heart
Could change, or could deceive,
'Twould pain me less to part.

III.

If I could only deem
Thine heart so false a thing,
One tear for a past dream
Were all my sorrowing.

IV.

But well I know thy worth,
And what my loss must be ;
There is not on this earth
So dear a thing to me.

V.

One kiss—one more—the last
Perchance for many a year !—
The small hand's pressure's past—
She's gone—and *I am here* !

VI.

I wake as from a dream,
And real horrors rise ;
I thought not life could seem
So dark to human eyes.

VII.

The prisoner that can see
The face he loveth well
(Though 'tween his bars) may be
Resigned within his cell.

VIII.

But when malignant fate
Doth that last solace steal,
In his so lonely state
He feels what I now feel.

There are other "farewell stanzas," equally calm as these, but we will not quote them. The following "stanzas" are better and eloquently speak warm natural feeling :—

I.

They tell me health's transparent flower glows freshly on thy cheek,
They say that in the festal hall thy looks of rapture speak ;
They know that boundless love is mine, but do not read my heart,
And little dream their friendly words awake an inward smart.

II.

I well might weep to learn that care had blanched thy lovely brow,
And yet thine happier fate calls forth no grateful gladness now ;
I judge from this sad jealous breast, and deem if thou wert true,
Thou could'st not feel a moment's mirth, nor wear that rosy hue.

III.

I should not thus forget, dear girl, that early years are bright,
That hearts so young and pure as thine are touched with holy light,
And like the fountain's crystal streams that through spring meadows
run,
Reflect alone the fairest things that kindle in the sun.

IV.

They tell me too, that 'mid the crowd thou hast a smile for all,
That oft upon the lowliest ear thy kindest accents fall :
And oh ! I doubly mourn my fate, and breathe an envious sigh,
To think the stranger hears that voice, and meets that radiant eye !

V.

And yet 'tis selfish thus to grieve—'tis base to doubt thy truth,
Those looks and tones of tenderness beseem thy gentle youth;
And if thy soul of virtue's charms displays a bounteous store,
Thou need'st not, sweet one, love the less, though *I* must love the more.

VI.

In fancy's trance I kiss thy brow, and clasp thee to my breast—
But ah! how soon that dream departs, like sun-light in the west!
And then my path is dark as their's who wander through the night,
When suddenly the fitful winds have quenched a cheering light.

VII.

And yet not wholly comfortless is home's deserted cell,
For there thy written words remain of faithful love to tell;
And these are symbols of the soul that life's fond records save,
E'en when the hand that traced the lines is mouldering in the grave.

VIII.

And still around my neck is hung that last dear gift of thine,
So like a fairy talisman—a spell almost divine!
I hold it in my trembling hand—I touch thy braided hair!
I do but press the secret spring—and see thy features fair!

We must extract the following sonnet too, if merely to show that our poet has known enough of love to enable him to give good advice to one similarly afflicted:—

TO A FRIEND IN LOVE.

Believe me, dearest friend, 'twere nobler far
To scorn the prize for which thy soul hath yearned,
Than tamely feed a passion proudly spurned
By one whom thou hast worshipped as a star.
Oh! live not thus eternally at war
With loftier hopes! Before thy young veins burned
With love's sweet poison, who like thee discerned
The glad earth's glory, or so laughed at care?
Arrest then quickly this delirious fever,
Nor breathe again an unavailing sigh;
Forget a cold, disdainful heart for ever;
Seek the green meadows and the mountains high
And crystal rivers. Feast thine amorous eye
On Nature's charms, for she repulseth never.

The sonnet, as we have mentioned, is a favourite form of verse with our poet, and it is one in which he excels. Hence we are tempted to give a few more specimens of his taste and skill in weaving poetical thoughts into this web of linked sweetness:—

SONNET.

Dear G——, old friendships are a welcome theme,
Yet mournful ever, for o'er bright years fled
We muse, and call up faces of the dead,
And pleasures past and many an early dream.
Then the long voyage on Life's mystic stream
Seems all too brief—we turn and gaze a-head,
And watch the dim night gradually spread,
While yet our wake is tinged with golden gleam.
How bland the breeze, how beautiful the wave,

We never felt as now, when o'er the sky
 Sweet day begins to fade, and time's swift tide
 Hath brought us nearer to that ocean wide—
 Eternity—of mortal dreams the grave—
 Vast treasury of the things that may not die!

SONNETS.

BY A BRITISH-INDIAN EXILE TO HIS DISTANT CHILDREN.

I.

My sad heart sickens in this solitude—
 Home is no longer home,—yet eloquent
 Are these lone walls of by-gone merriment—
 The noisy pranks of that small blithesome brood
 That call me *father*! Memories sad intrude,
 Like silent ghosts, where late the air was rent
 With shouts of joy—where merriest hours I spent
 With merriest playmates in their merriest mood!
 Dear human links that bind me to life's oar!
 Sweet stars that pierce the dark cell of my heart!
 Clearer than in a glass, e'en now before
 Mine eyes ye come, as when so grieved to part
 I shed the bitter tear:—ah! Fancy's art
 Transcends the wondrous skill of wizards hoar!

II.

Not mirrored shapes—*realities* ye seem!
 Sweet ones! at this glad moment I behold
 What never famed Italian painter old
 Hath rivalled, or the poet's printed dream—
 A *living picture*! She whose soft eyes gleam
 With gentle love—who, coy, but ah, not cold,
 Drops their fair lids when strange looks are bold—
 Sits at the side of one whose bliss supreme
 Is all maternal To that mother's knee
 The youngest girl, half-pleased, half-frightened, lies;
 For lo! my cherub boy, with innocent glee,
 Masks his frank features for a gay surprize!
 Loud laughs the second-born:—her charms are three—
 Rose cheeks, and cherry lips, and violet eyes!

III.

I hear the waves upon the sad sea-shore—
 And ah! my visionary group hath fled!
 To me those dear existences are dead;
 For distance is a death that all deplore
 Who part as we have parted, never more
 To meet as we have met—alas! instead
 Each with a sadder heart, a graver head—
 So different, though the same! Perchance before
 Their cottage white my prattlers are at play!—
 I hear the waves upon the sad sea-shore!
 Those billows roll between us,—who shall say
 They'll bear my treasures back—that they'll restore
 A family to a father, weak and gray,
 Who soon must sleep beneath earth's grassy floor?

Calcutta, July 12, 1842.

We have said that a beautiful scene, or a beloved child, calls forth a more rapturous expression of feeling from D. L. R., than all the enchantments of the gentler sex can evoke. His appreciation of the beauties of nature as displayed on land and water, we have already amply illustrated. Of his devotion to his children, the book contains many tokens,—they have inspired some of his best and most heart-stirring poetry. And how could the muse be embodied more beautifully, more purely than in a lovely and loving child. “Of such is the kingdom of heaven,” and on earth, our guardian angels oft assume their form and feature. We knew a man who, when tempted to sin, if he had only strength to carry him amongst his children, was beyond the tempter’s power; even if he could but occupy his heart with thoughts of them he was, he said, almost safe. But to return to our poet and *his* children. Thus he speaks of them as the “consolations of exile,” even when absent and distant:—

Fair children! still, like phantoms of delight,
 Ye haunt my soul on this strange distant shore,
 As the same stars shine through the tropic night
 That charmed me at my own sweet cottage door.
 Though I have left ye long, I love not less;
 Though ye are far away, I watch ye still;
 Though I can ne’er embrace ye, I may bless,
 And e’en though absent, guard ye from each ill!
 Still the full interchange of soul is ours,
 A silent converse o’er the waters wide,
 And Fancy’s spell can speed the lingering hours,
 And fill the space that yearning hearts divide.
 And not alone the written symbols show
 Your spirits’ sacred stores of love and truth,
 Art’s glorious magic bids the canvas glow
 With all your grace and loveliness and youth;
 The fairy forms that in my native land
 Oft filled my fond heart with a parent’s pride,
 Are gathered near me on this foreign strand,
 And smilingly, in these strange halls, reside!
 And almost I forget an exile’s doom,
 For while your filial eyes around me gleam,
 Each scene and object breathes an air of home,
 And time and distance vanish like a dream!

There are several other pieces addressed to his children, or of which they are the subject; but the following verses seem to us so good, that we are tempted to pass by the rest, and to give these entire, notwithstanding their length:—

STANZAS TO MY CHILD.

I.

I gaze on thy sweet face,
 My lightly laughing boy!
 And charms no painter’s hand could trace
 Behold in pride and joy,

While pleasure almost turns to pain,
 (For human hearts may scarce sustain
 Such bliss without alloy),
 Till tears, too sweet for those who grieve,
 Gush forth to chasten and relieve !

II.

And e'en when sorrow's hour
 Brings gloom upon my soul,
 And shades o'er Life's dull landscape lour
 Like clouds that slowly roll
 Round solemn Twilight's dusky car,
 Thine image kindles as a star,
 To cheer me and console,
 And dreary thoughts and mournful dreams
 Soon pass like mist 'neath morning beams.

III.

For in that bright blue eye
 Still glow the rays of bliss,
 Like lustre from an azure sky,
 Or realms more fair than this ;
 Though vexed with worldly cares I roam,
 They shall not darken this dear home,
 Nor check the rapturous kiss
 That greets thy fresh and rosy charms
 When clasped within mine eager arms !

IV.

This heart indeed were cold
 To feeling's gentle sway,
 If while thy fairy form I fold,
 And those small fingers play
 Around my neck, thy face the while
 Upraised to catch the wonted smile,
 Mine eye could turn away,
 Or that calm sullen language wear
 That tells of sadness or despair.

V.

I have not darkly roved
 O'er Nature's fair domain,
 Nor gazed on sun-lit scenes unmoved
 In hours of mental pain,
 And far less could my soul disown
 The light round sinless children thrown,
 That ne'er can shine again
 When years bring guilt, and life no more
 Is bright and joyous as before.

VI.

I see my own first hours,
 While lingering over thine ;
 I see thee pluck the fresh spring-flowers,
 An artless wreath to twine ;
 The same bright hues their beauty yields
 As those I sought in dewy fields,
 When kindred bliss was mine ;
 And while by memory thus beguiled,
 I almost deem myself a child.

VII.

How oft the phantom Care
Hath swiftly passed away,
As some night-bird that may not dare
The morning's holy ray,
While half unconsciously mine eye
Hath drank thy charms, till suddenly
I felt the fond smile play
Around my lips, nor could refrain,
But kissed thee o'er and o'er again!

VIII.

I've watched thy little wiles,
A thousand times and more,
And yet they win my ready smiles
As freely as before;
Thy dear, familiar, prattled words
Are sweeter than the songs of birds
On some calm sun-lit shore;—
Each *new* grace brings as proud surprize
As lights a star-discoverer's eyes.

IX.

E'en "thrice-told tales" are sweet
That cheerful children tell,
On sounds their lovely lips repeat
The ear for aye could dwell;
Unlike all other things of earth
Their winning ways and sinless mirth
Still hold us as a spell;
In every mood, in every hour
They bear the same enchanting power.

X.

Ah! dearest child, if thou
A child couldst thus remain,
And I for ever gaze as now
On one without a stain
Of earthly guilt or earthly care,
With heart as pure and form as fair
As sainted spirits gain,
Methinks e'en this drear world might seem
A heaven as sweet as man could dream!

XI.

But mortal flowerets grow
Till all their bright tints fade,
And thy maturer bloom must know
The bleak world's tempest-shade:—
Thine eyes a father's fall shall trace,
His form shall sink before thy face,
And when thine heart hath paid
Its tribute brief of natural tears,
Thou'lt seek awhile what soothes and cheers.

XII.

As I now gaze on thee
E'en thou perchance shalt gaze
On one whose smiles of guiltless glee
The same proud bliss shall raise,

'Till he to sterner manhood grown
 Shall see thee to the grave go down,
 And while thy frame decays
 Beneath the cold, damp, silent sod,
 Shall follow in the track thou'st trod.

XIII.

Alas ! how this dim scene
 Is fraught with change and death !
 What countless myriads here have been
 To breathe a moment's breath,
 Then sink beneath that mortal doom
 That makes the wide green earth a tomb,
 Its flowers a funeral wreath ;
 And oh ! what countless myriads more
 Shall rise and fall ere Time is o'er !

XIV.

One after one we fill
 The darkly yawning grave ;
 On Time's vast ocean never still
 Thus wave succeedeth wave ;
 And all, that from the wreck of life,
 The change, the tumult, and the strife,
 The happiest fate may save,
 Is but the memory of a dream,
 A name whose glory is a gleam !

XV.

But hence with thoughts like these,
 (The present still is ours !)
 They come like autumn's blighting breeze
 Through summer's leafy bowers ;
 Thy glittering eye and sunny brow
 Are all my soul shall gaze on now ;
 And when the future lowers,
 I'll think of that celestial clime
 Where all things own eternal prime !

XVI.

The transitory gloom
 Is floating fast away !
 I cannot long behold thy bloom
 And dream of dull decay ;
 And like a sun-burst on the scene
 Where April's fitful clouds have been
 Is joy's returning ray,
 While balm is shed from fancy's wing,
 Like odours waving spice-boughs fling.

XVII.

Oh, how that fair face glows !
 How that small bosom heaves !
 Those red lips tremble like the rose
 When light airs part the leaves ;
 A sudden laughter fills thine eye,
 And comes as if thou knew'st not why,
 As viewless zephyr weaves
 The dimples shining waters show—
 Like those thy cheeks are wearing now !

XVIII.

Oh ! spirit gladdening sight !
 Oh ! happiness divine !
 To feel a father's sacred right,
 To call such cherub mine !
 A humble name, and lowly state
 Have been, and still may be, my fate,
 Yet how can I repine
 At want of wealth, or fame, or power,
 While blest with this fair human flower !

That is about the longest poem in the book. D. L. R.'s muse, though often on the wing, has never taken a long flight. This is unfortunate for his fame as a poet. No modern bard may hope to live in the mind of posterity, unless he has enshrined his memory in some goodly monument, the work of his own genius. Even the glowing lyrics of Burns would scarce suffice to preserve the individuality of their author, unless aided by his "*Cottar's Saturday night*."

D. L. R. has scarcely attempted narrative poetry, unless we may recognize such an attempt in one or two short stories in blank-verse, and as many "*anecdotes*," gracefully rendered in rhyme. One of the former entitled "*A soldier's dream*"—of the last judgement and its consequences,—seems to be the result of an experimental attempt at the grand style in poetry—our author's first (and happily, we believe, his only) attempt, and that too a very little one, in this style. We give a small sample of D. L. R.'s dealings with the horrible:—

And now with horrid laughter mixed with yells
 More terrible than shuddering Fancy hears
 Raising strange echoes in the charnel vault,
 Uprose grim Fiends of Hell, and urged us on,
 Through paths of hideous gloom, till like the sea
 At night, wide shown beneath the lightning's glare,
 A boundless plain quick burst upon the view !
 In the dim distance glittered shafts of war ;—
 Wild Horror's cry, and Hate's delirious shout,
 The din of strife, and shrieks of agony,
 Came on the roaring blast ! A mighty voice,
 Piercing the dissonance infernal, cried,
 "*On to the Hell of Battle !*" These dread words,
 Like sudden thunder, startled and dismayed
 Each quailing warrior's soul. But soon despair
 Was wrought to frenzy, and we madly rushed
 To join the strife of demons !

One alone
 Amid that countless throng now caught mine eye !
 His was the form I loved not in my youth,
 And cursed in after years We fiercely met—
 A wild thrust reached him. Then he loudly shrieked,
 And Death's relieving hand besought in vain,

Where Death could never come ! With quenchless rago,
And strength untamed, on his triumphant foe,
Again he turned !—but *he* was victor now ;—
And in unutterable pain—I woke !

'Twas morning—and the sun's far-levelled rays
Gleamed on the ghastly brows and stiffened limbs
Of those that slumbered—ne'er to wake again !

Surely our tender-hearted poet must have supped on something heavier than ambrosia, before he dreamed this dream and wrote this poem !

It is only experimentally, too, that our poet has essayed his powers as a humourist. In only one of his effusions in verse do we find any attempt at the facetious, and this solitary effort is not, to our thinking, a happy one. It is a piece entitled "The Rivals," which commences thus:—

I wish, mamma, you'd tell that man
To keep his money—and his distance ;
For let him teaze me all he can,
He'll never conquer my resistance.
He slyly pinched my cheek one day—
(The wretch !) and tried to look most charming,
While I felt any thing but gay,
And thought his fondness quite alarming.
" Come now," said I. " I'll test your love ;"
[The rich old hunks looked pleased and tender,
" Ah ! Dearest !" cried he, " Darling ! Dove !
What service could I fail to render ?"
" I care not for your purse or place,"
Said I, " for these could charm me never ;
But grant one favour—hide your face,
And let us say farowell for ever."

And, after the young lady has indirectly expressed a decided and very proper preference for her poet lover over "the rich old hunks," she concludes thus:—

I wish, mamma, you would not quiz,
You vex me with your wicked smiling ;
You think I'm smitten with his phiz,
And that his Muse is too beguiling ?
Well, have it all your own way, then,
And, if it will afford you pleasure,
I'll own he is the best of men,
And that his heart would be a treasure.
" Behold the gentle minstrel comes !—
You love each other, and you show it,"
(Exclaims Mamma,) " so no more *hums* ;
Charles, take her !—Mary, here's your poet !—
Exchange your vows and laugh at sorrow,
Indulge in love's delicious frenzy,
And Mary shall be styled to-morrow,
The pretty Mrs. Charles Mackenzie."

The psychological poetry of D. L. R. is distinguished rather by purity of sentiment and elegance of expression, than depth of thought and power of imagination. There is no aiming at the sublime or the mysterious. The reader is never oppressed by a weight of imagery, or bewildered by abstrusities of expression. There are no "versified metaphysics" in the volume before us, and we are glad that it is so. He may run who readeth, and never have to stop or turn back to ponder over a true or beautiful thought, ere he can recognise its truth or its beauty. The greatest fault, if it be not rather a mere characteristic than a fault, is the general prevalence of a melancholy feeling, the feeling of an exile. D. L. R. is an expatriated Briton, doomed for a very uncertain time to fast from the beauties of European nature and the delights of English social life, in the fires of this dull, tame, scorched and steaming Bengal. He is a poet and feels this privation. He is, moreover, a father separated from his children, and this adds poignancy to the feeling. Hence, not only does this spirit pervade much of his poetry, but it also displays itself in the subject, tenor and title of many of his poems. It is not, however, that the poet cannot appreciate the beauties of the soil and clime on which and in which it is his lot still to dwell. That he can do so, and that yet, in spite of his frequent and laudably earnest efforts at resignation, he still feels all the woes of exile, is manifest in such verses as the following :—

HOME-VISIONS.—WRITTEN IN INDIA.

I.

The skies are blue as summer seas—the plains are green and bright—
The groves are fair as Eden's bowers—the streams are liquid light—
The sun-rise bursts upon the scene, like glory on the soul,
And richly round the couch of Day the twilight curtains roll.

II.

But oh ! though beautiful it be, I yearn to leave the land,—
It glows not with the holier hues that tinge my native strand,
Where shadows of departed dreams still float o'er hill and grove,
And, mirrored in the wanderer's heart, immortalize its love !

III.

I gaze upon the stranger's face—I tread on foreign ground,
And almost deem Enchantment's wand hath raised up all around :—
My spirit may not mingle yet with scenes so wild and strange,
And keeps in scorn of fleshly bonds its old accustomed range.

IV.

In that sweet hour when Fancy's spell inebriates the brain,
And breathing forms to phantoms turn, and lost friends live again,
Oh ! what a dear delirious joy unlocks the source of tears,
While like unprisoned birds we seek the haunts of happier years.

But we were discussing the character of D. L. R.'s psychological poetry, and must not be tempted back to wander among the beauties of his description. Briefly then, for we find that we are transgressing the limits which we have assigned to this branch of the subject, we will proceed to select a poetical piece, which will suffice to show that our author can deal with other and more serious subjects than bright skies and bright eyes. The following appears to us excellent alike in style, sentiment and moral :—

DEATH.

"I leave you and all my other concerns, in the hands of that God, who will certainly do that which is best for us both ; but I can assure you, that if my prayers, and the prayers of a great many excellent friends here about, can keep you a few years longer from heaven, you will not be there very soon."—*Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, D. D.*

I.

We weep and tremble at the doom—
 The dreadful doom of death :
 'Tis sad amidst the fair earth's bloom
 To yield this mortal breath !
 The brave may proudly bear the pain—
That soon must pass away—
 But oh ! to think that ne'er again
 Dear friends with eager hands shall greet,
 Or fond hearts share Love's converse sweet,
 O'erwhelms us with dismay !

II.

'Tis true that trusting faith is told
 Of worlds beyond the sky,
 And few there are so blind or bold
 As dare such creed deny ;
 It is not that an after-state,
 Or dark or doubtful seems ;
 Alas ! we shrink from future fate
 Because we may not brook the thought
 That hours with Life's endearments fraught
 Are unreturning dreams !

III.

We find each earthly bliss alloyed,
 Each smile foretells a tear ;
 But yet the breast would soon be cloyed
 That never felt a fear :—
 The beauty of the brightest beam
 Is deepened by the shade—
 Fairest the stars through darkness gleam—
 The broad red sun of even-tide
 Assumes a more imposing pride
 In floating clouds arrayed.

IV.

Perfection hath not reigned on earth,
 Nor ruled the human mind ;
 We pant not for diviner worth
 Nor raptures more refined ;

A human weakness makes us cling
 To human forms alone ;
 We feel we cannot coldly fling
 On Lethe's dark insatiate stream
 The charms of Life's familiar dream
 And turn to scenes unknown.

v.

'Tis this that fills the final hour
 With mournfulness and dread ;
 Love's tender ties and friendship's power
 Avail not with the dead !
 And though we meet to part no more
 We shall not be the same ;
 The things that linked our hearts of yore
 The damp cold hand of death divides,
 And nought in holier realms abides
 Of this terrestrial frame.

vi.

Thy radiant fields, Eternity !
 The dreamer's breast alarm ;
 They echo not a human sigh
 Nor own a human charm !
 Thy skies the dazzled soul appal
 And too severely glow ;
 Their hues no mortal days recall ;—
 And in thy bright and boundless space
 Where only spirits dwell, we trace
 No features loved below !

vii.

Oh, visions weak and idle fears
 That fleshly hearts beguile,
 At which methinks through pitying tears
 Angelic faces smile !
 Were that dark curtain drawn aside
 This world and heaven between,
 How all the painted mists of pride,
 Delusive hopes, and fancies vain,
 Would fade like twilight's shadowy train,
 'Neath day's broad sky serene !

viii.

For He, who breathed us into birth,
 And placed us here below,
 Who made the dull mole under earth
 A sense of pleasure know,
 Who bade the bee suck luscious life
 From plants that poison bear,
 And gave to Man in fields of strife
 A taste of peace—in heavenly bowers
 Will surely grant diviner powers
 Diviner bliss to share.

ix.

With God shall God-like spirits dwell,
 With God-like rapture glow,
 Nor on their dim deserted cell
 One glance regretful throw ;

And as the man out-grows the child,
 Each earth-freed soul mature,
 With Life's mean gauds no more beguiled,
 Shall proudly rise o'er mortal dreams,
 And scatter, like a sun, the steams
 Of this low soil impure !

And now we turn to our poet's prose compositions, not reluctantly, for we find in them much reading as pleasant and profitable as that supplied by his verse. It is here that he displays the rich and varied treasures of his literary erudition, setting them worthily in a style, pure, elegant and charming. He is a true poet—we will not pretend to say, of the highest order—and as a poet he is, perhaps, best known to the public. But we like him better as an essayist than as a poet. Indeed, it is in this department of literature that his matured powers have been most largely exercised. Like the majority of able prose writers, he began in verse ; and, unlike many of that majority, he succeeded sufficiently well to win the reputation of a poet. Prose however has been his business, verse the occupation and solace of his leisure hours. But while his poetry is all poetry, much of his prose is truly poetical in sentiment and expression. Take for instance this, our first excerpt, from a delightful essay on his favourite subject, "Children :"—

If men may dare to idolize any sublunary thing, it is a sinless and smiling child. "Suffer," says Jesus Christ, "little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, *for of such is the kingdom of heaven.*" The author of these beautiful words was once an infant himself, and oh, ineffable glory ! the pure light that encircled the child, still shone around the man ! It is a touching, and I hope not an irreverent reflection, that he whose manhood surpassed all human conceptions—he whom men believe to have been the Deity himself—did not, in his earlier years, exhibit to earthly eyes more innocence and beauty than are easily conceivable in a human child. Could we but preserve our first purity with the progress of our intellectual powers, we should, indeed, be little lower than the angels. The description of our first parents in Paradise is like a radiant vision ; but I cannot help regarding it, beautiful as it is, as in some degree deficient in one great source of poetical and human interest, when I remember that they knew not the charms of childhood, but came abruptly, I had almost said unnaturally, into mature existence, unaccompanied by those earlier associations, which like the shadows in the golden light of evening, grow more and more lovely as our day declines, and reflect their lingering hues upon our latest path. Methinks that even Paradise itself would have looked more divine, had little human cherubim flitted gaily over the green velvet slopes, and passed from flower to flower, their light laughs breaking like celestial music on the air, and their golden locks glittering in the sun.

A lovely woman is an object irresistibly enchanting, and the austerer grace of manhood fills the soul with a proud sense of the majesty of human nature ; but there is something far less earthly and more intimately allied to our holiest imaginings in the purity of a child. It satisfies the most delicate fancy and the severest judgment. Its happy and affectionate feel-

ings are unchecked by one guileful thought or one cold suspicion: Its little beauteous face betrays each emotion of its heart, and is as transparent as the silvery cloud-veil of a summer sun that shows all the light within. It is as fearless and as innocent in its waking hours as in its quiet slumbers. It loves every one, and smiles on all !

I have sometimes gazed upon a beautiful child with a passion only equalled in intensity by that of youthful love. The heart at such a time is nearly stifled with a mixed emotion of tenderness, admiration, and delight. It almost aches with affection. I can fully sympathize in a mother's deep idolatry. I love *all* lovely children ; and have often yearned to imprint a thousand passionate kisses upon a stranger's child, though met, perhaps, but for a moment in theatres or in streets, and passing from me, like a radiant shadow, to be seen no more. The sudden appearance of a child of extraordinary beauty comes upon the spirit like a flash of light, and often breaks up a train of melancholy thoughts, as a sun-burst scatters the mist of morning.

The changing looks and attitudes of children afford a perpetual feast to every eye that has a true perception of grace and beauty. They surpass the sweetest creations of the poet or the painter.* They are prompted by maternal nature who keeps an incessant watch over her infant favourites, and directs their minutest movements, and their most evanescent thoughts. Beneath such holy tutorage they can never err. They throw their sleek and pliant limbs into every variety of posture, and still preserve the true line of beauty, as surely as a ball preserves its roundness. They live in an atmosphere of loveliness, and like moving clouds are ever changing their ethereal aspects, and yet always catch the light.

Even the moral defects of maturer years are often beautiful in childhood, and bear a different character. The cunning of the man is innocent archness in the child. Ignorance in the one, is a gross and miserable condition ; in the other, it is purity and bliss. The imperfections, that are ludicrous or offensive in manhood, in infancy are inexpressibly engaging. The stammering of an adult, or his mistakes in acquiring a new language, are unpleasing to the most friendly ear, and even lower him in some degree in his own estimation. But the first imperfect sounds and broken words of a child are as sweet as the irregular music of interrupted rivulets. They stir the heart-like magic, and impel us, as it were, in the sudden wantonness of affection, to shut the little rosy portals of the cherub's soul with a shower of impetuous kisses. The garrulity of age is not like the eager prattling of infancy. The child's artless talk can never weary us. Our ears are as tireless as his tongue.

Timidity in manhood is degrading ; but in a little child it is interesting and lovely, whether he flies from the object of alarm like a startled fawn, or nestles closer in his mother's lap. The coquetry of a woman is vanity and deceit ; but in a child it is mere playfulness and innocent hilarity. Every thing connected with childhood changes its nature. Words of abuse become words of endearment. *Imp* and *rogue*, when applied to an infant, are soft and fond expressions that fall gracefully from the fairest lips.

The drums and rattles of the child are objects of unalloyed delight, but the playthings of the man are grave and terrible delusions. They goad him with secret thorns that rankle in his heart for ever. Envy, avarice, and ambition, mingle their poison in his sweetest cup. Even his superior knowledge is but a source of evil. It surrounds him with temptations, while

* Northcote tells us, that when Sir Joshua Reynolds desired to learn what real grace was, he studied it in the natural movements of children.

it throws a shadow upon all his hopes, and takes off the bloom from life. It is too little for his mind, and too much for his heart.

The child, on the other hand, revels in his happy consciousness of present good, and foresees no future ill. He knows neither weariness nor discontent. "Solitude" to him is sometimes "blithe society," and in the thickest crowds, he is as free and unconstrained as in his loneliest haunts. His ingenuous heart is never chilled by the glance of a human eye, nor can he fashion his innocent features into a false expression. His own eye is as lucid as the breeze-bared heavens. If he reads no "sermon in stones," he sees "good in every thing." He has universal faith. He discovers nothing evil, and sees none but friends. He gives up his whole being to gentle affections, and a sense of unequivocal enjoyment. He is not what cold age would make him, "nothing, if not critical." To him the rise of the green curtain at the theatre reveals a real world. He has ever a tear for the distresses of the heroine, and breathes harder as he gazes, with all his soul in his eyes, on the hero's adventurous exploits. The tricks and conundrums of the clown are never flat, or stale, or unprofitable to him; and he fitly testifies to their merit, when holding his lovely head aside (his cheek as round and blooming as a sun-kissed peach,) he claps his little palms together in an ecstasy of admiration, and then turns to the maternal face, as if assured of her hearty sympathy in his delight.

Here is a specimen of a different style,—and on a very different subject, Dr. Samuel Johnson as a critic :—

One of the most celebrated of the poet-critics of modern times was Doctor Samuel Johnson, who displayed extraordinary sagacity and acuteness in analysing the merits of the kind of poetry that was most allied to his own, but who could never pass beyond that limit, with any degree of safety or success. He could dissect with the most severe precision the unmeaning nonsense and cold extravagances of the writers whom he has so oddly styled the "metaphysical poets," though he could ill appreciate their occasional flashes of genuine inspiration; and no critic has written more sensibly upon the character of Pope and Dryden. But Milton, and Gray, and Collins were out of his jurisdiction. They made an appeal to his taste and imagination that he could not answer. He had no eye for their richly-colored visions, and no ear for their divinest music. He was proof against the "enchanting ravishment" that would "take the prisoned soul" of a more sensitive critic, and "lap it in Elysium." Speaking entirely from his own feelings, he closes his review of *Paradise Lost* with the Gothic assertion, that its perusal is a duty rather than a pleasure. Of the *Lycidas*, which is so full of rich and varied melodies, he was of opinion that the diction was harsh and the numbers displeasing. He once told Anna Seward that "he would hang a dog that read that poem twice." "What then," said Anna, "must become of me, who can say it by heart and who often repeat it to myself with a delight which grows by what it feeds on?" "Die," said Boswell's Bear, "in a surfeit of bad taste."* This is surely, not only what the lady calls it, "awful impoliteness," but a melancholy proof of Johnson's utter insensibility to some of the most exquisite charms of verse. He who could praise so highly the regular notes of Pope, had no ear for the varied movements of Milton's sonnets, some of

* Dr. Joseph Warton has remarked, that "he who wishes to know, whether he has a true taste for poetry or not, should consider whether he is highly delighted or not with the perusal of Milton's '*Lycidas*.'"

which are of such incomparable force and beauty. He has observed, that "of the *best* it can only be said that they are not *bad*." Beattie tells us, Dr. Johnson confessed to him that he never read Milton through till he was obliged to do it, in order to gather words for his Dictionary; and that he spoke "very peevishly" of the "Masque of Comus," in which are

Strains that might create a soul
Under the ribs of death.

Of Collins, Johnson's unfavourable judgment is well known. With all his partiality and tenderness for the *man*, he had no feeling for the poet. He thought his poetry was not without some degree of merit, but confessed that he found it unattractive. "As men," said he, "are often esteemed who cannot be loved, so the poetry of Collins may sometimes extort praise where it gives little pleasure;"—and this is said of the finest ode-writer in the language—one of the most poetical of poets. The author of the *Ode to Evening*, a poem that floats into the reader's mind like a stream of celestial music, is pronounced harsh and prosaic in his diction! The high tone of Gray's lyric muse, and his exquisite versification, were lost upon the patron of Blackmore, Watts, Pomfret and Yalden.* When some one spoke to him of Chatterton, he exclaimed indignantly, "Talk not to me of the powers of a vulgar uneducated stripling." What would he have said of Burns?

Dr. Johnson was one of the best of the commentators upon Shakespeare, and yet this is saying little in his favour; "Bad is the best;" Pope was one of the worst, which is saying not a little against him. Pope pronounced Shakespeare's style the style of a bad age, and observed, in reference to Sackville's *Gordobuc*, that the writers of a succeeding age might have improved, by copying from his drama a propriety in the sentiments and a dignity in the style which are essential to tragedy. Shakespeare ought to have studied Sackville as his model!! Johnson's remarks and explanations are generally sensible and clear, and his preface to Shakespeare's plays is a noble piece of writing; but he never seems to enter thoroughly into the soul of that mighty poet. He could explain an obscure passage more readily than he could feel a fine one. He who thought a dirty street in London was a more agreeable prospect than the most romantic landscape in the world, and who was so insensible to the charms of music, as to wonder how any man of common sense could be so weak and foolish as to own its influence over his feelings, and could never for a moment give up the reins of his imagination into his author's hands and be "pleased he knew not why and cared not wherefore," was not likely to comment upon Shakespeare in a worthy spirit.

This is from a paper on "False criticism by true poets." Our author in that essay produces so many proofs of the inability of the best poets to judge with any approach to correctness of the quality and worth of a brother poet's productions, that we are tempted to the conclusion that no poet can be a fair and trust-worthy critic. And D. L. R. being undoubtedly a "true poet," we are prepared to see an illustration of this theory in

* The poets in Dr. Johnson's collection were all selected by the booksellers, with the exception of Blackmore, Watts, Pomfret and Yalden, who obtained admittance on the especial recommendation of the Doctor, as he himself tells us in his Life of Dr. Watts. Spenser and Shakespeare were excluded!

some of his own criticisms on certain poets held in great estimation among prosaic persons, as for instance, Wordsworth and Tennyson, on each of whom he is somewhat severe. We think, however, that few will feel inclined to quarrel with his estimate of the poetical character and standing of Alexander Pope, as set forth in the following notice of that over-praised and unjustly disparaged poet :—

The character of Pope as a poet has been the subject of long and still continued controversy. Some critics deny that he is at all entitled to the name of poet; and others go into the opposite extreme and place him in the very highest rank. But that he is an admirable writer of some sort or other, if not a true poet, is almost universally admitted. He had, beyond all question, an intellect of extraordinary delicacy and acuteness, and possessed the power of expressing his thoughts with unrivalled closeness, elegance, and precision. But when Byron compared him to Shakespcare, he was guilty of an idle extravagance. With some hesitation regarding the rival claims of Dryden, Pope's may safely be pronounced the first name in the second class of British Poets, the first class consisting of Chancer, Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton. These four great writers are fairly entitled to such high distinction, because they pierce beyond externals and mere conventionalisms. Their representations of humanity are not local or temporary. They do not describe manners but men. They wrote for all ages and for all countries. Their language alone is not universal; and this was no fault of theirs. The curse of Babel falls with peculiar severity upon the poets, for the fresh bloom of poetic inspiration is always injured in the process of translation. But foreigners, who master our language, however unfamiliar with our manners, can never fail to recognize those truthful delineations of general and everlasting nature which abound in the pages of the four great poets already mentioned. Shakespeare especially has addressed himself to the universal heart. The jealousy of Othello and the ambition of Macbeth are as perfectly apprehended by the intelligent Hindu alumni of an English College in Calcutta, as by the students of a scholastic establishment in the poet's native land. But Pope was too much of a London poet of the Eighteenth century. He is so local and temporary that many of his allusions are now wholly unintelligible even to his own countrymen. His satires, especially, are limited and obscure. It would be almost impossible, for example, to make a native of Hindustan comprehend the greater portion of his Epistle on the *Characters of Women*. But Shakespeare's females are sketched with such miraculous power, and with such fidelity to general nature, that they are recognised in all countries and in all ages by every reader who can understand the language in which his plays are written. Some of the German writers have entered upon an analysis of Shakespeare's characters, with, perhaps, more enthusiasm and judgment than any of our own critics; and even they, who are acquainted with him only through the medium of translation, acknowledge his merits with delight and wonder. But it is hardly fair to Pope to compare him in any way or for a single moment with Shakespeare. No two poets could be more widely separated from each other in the peculiarities of their genius. We ought to contemplate Pope in his own sphere. Let those who think his station at the head of the second order of poets not sufficiently distinguished, consider how few stand above him, and what a long list of bright and honourable names are placed beneath him.

If Pope's verses owe so much to art, they owe still more to inspiration. It must be admitted that he was not distinguished for that inexpressible enthusiasm for truth and beauty, and that profound insight into general nature, which characterize the very highest order of poetic genius. These were not the predominant qualities of his mind. His genius seemed upon the whole better fitted to satisfy the understanding, than to touch the heart, or kindle the imagination; though he was occasionally both tender and imaginative in no ordinary degree. No writer ever compressed so much sound sense into so narrow a compass and with so much elegance and ease. Condensation and perspicuity are amongst his most conspicuous merits. His satire wants breadth, but it never wants point; and no author in the English language has ever turned a compliment with more exquisite ingenuity and grace. His praise was the more valuable because it was always honest. It is said that Alderman Barber gave Pope to understand that he would make him a present of five thousand pounds for a single compliment. But the poet always boasted that he was "no man's slave or heir." It is also reported that he was offered in vain a considerable sum of money by the Duchess of Marlborough if he would give a good character of the Duke.*

Though Pope could not stir the depths of the human heart or raise vehement emotions, he knew how to win our gentler sympathies. The sweetest and most unaffected passages in all his poetry are his domestic allusions. His egotism, when it is touched with tenderness, is inexpressibly engaging. He has not much humour, but his wit is always sharp and brilliant.

His versification has, perhaps, been overrated. It is highly polished, and is unrivalled in mere smoothness; but its uniformity, in a long poem, fatigues the ear. He was over-fastidious, and confined himself too exclusively to certain favourite sounds. There is hardly a line, perhaps, in all his poetry that is novel in the construction. In the sonnets of Shakespeare and the works of still earlier poets, we frequently meet with couplets of which Pope's are but the echo. In studying the versification of other poets, he seems to have been attracted rather by separate lines than to have been charmed with the general effect, and to have erred in reproducing these in too close connection without the intermixture of other sounds. The music is marred indeed by no discord, but it is wearisomely deficient in variety. The notes are sweet enough in themselves, but they are not skilfully blended. There is no "linked sweetness long drawn out," nor does he delight the ear with any musical surprise. When Pope borrows thoughts (and notwithstanding the richness of his own resources, he was a bold and frequent plagiarist) he is generally more successful than in his thefts of sound. He rarely appropriates another poet's idea without improving it.

This, we think, is *true* criticism by a true poet. But lest it should be thought that our author finds it easier to be just to the dead than to the living, let us see what he says of two of the

* The knowledge of these offers of payment for praise might possibly have suggested, however unjustly, the scandal respecting a supposed offer for the suppression of a satire on the Duchess of Marlborough (under the name of Atossa) and the poet's reported acceptance of it. Pope had also in his life-time been accused of receiving a thousand pounds from the Duke of Chandos, and ungratefully returning the kindness with satire. The receipt of this sum he flatly and indignantly denied. He proudly asserted that, if he was a good poet, there was one thing upon which he valued himself, and which was rare among good poets—a perfect independence. "I have never," he said, "flattered any man, nor ever received any thing of any man for my verses."

most popular writers of the day, Charles Dickens and William Thackeray. After speaking with well-grounded admiration of "David Copperfield," the latest work of the former, he says :—

Thackeray's *Pendennis* has been brought to a close about the same time as Dickens's *David Copperfield*, and this coincidence, in point of time, in the two stories will, perhaps, suggest to many critics a comparison between the authors. Not that a comparison can be carried out on equal terms, for Thackeray is, in all essential points, so manifestly inferior to Dickens, that it is impossible to bring them together without making the one writer a foil to the other. Dickens is, unquestionably, a writer of a very high order of genius, and has creative and poetical faculties that place him far above the author of *Pendennis* in the scale of intellect. There is, however, a greater equality in the writings of Thackeray than in those of Dickens. There are frequently whole pages, indeed chapters, in the works of the latter that in our opinion too much resemble some of the objectionable materials that make up the novel of *Pickwick*, which, in spite of a few occasional excellencies, has more sins against truth, nature, and good taste, than any novel that we ever met with from the pen of a man of genuine talent. Thackeray rarely falls so low—but then he never ascends so high as Dickens, and we suppose no one would hesitate to give the preference upon the whole to the most unequal writer of the two. And yet Thackeray's quality is not by any means a tame and dull uniformity; nor is it a uniformity of mere wit, smartness and vivacity. He has sometimes scenes of gentle pathos, though they do not stir the innermost depths of our nature like those of Dickens. It has been said that the author of *Pendennis* is a man of talent merely, and that the author of *David Copperfield* is a man of genius. This is not, we think, a just criticism. Thackeray has written hundreds of pages that none but a man of genius could write. If there were but one order of genius and no degrees of it, we should be obliged to admit that Thackeray is a man of talent only; but there are many kinds and innumerable gradations of genius; and though Thackeray is not like Dickens, a poet in prose, he exhibits a subtlety of observation, and a power of moving the feelings, of which talent alone is utterly incapable.

But Dickens's poetical nature takes him into regions of universality. He describes human nature. Thackeray is more at home in describing particular classes. No one, since Theodore Hook, has given us better pictures of ordinary London life in the upper ranks. He apprehends thoroughly what he actually sees before him, and copies it in colours of reality. He is at home in the accidental or conventional. But Dickens *creates* characters, and some of them will live for ever. They have the elements of general nature in them. They are not mere transcripts of the life of a particular class, or period, or country. Thackeray deals chiefly in light satire,—Dickens in humour. They have both a tendency to caricature, but Dickens rarely offends, whereas Thackeray has brought a hornet's nest about his ears. His caricatures of literary men, especially, have conjured up a host of rather troublesome enemies.

Thackeray's writings make us, upon the whole, dissatisfied with human life. We see too much frivolity and hollowness in *his* world to be in good humour with it. But after the perusal of Dickens,

A sadder and a wiser man,
We rise the morrow morn.

On the whole, we rather doubt whether Thackeray will be much read some fifty years hence, and we are sure that Dickens will.

But the reader, if he is guided in his opinion by our specimens, will, perhaps, begin to think that, as a prose writer, D. L. R. is "nothing if not critical." To show that such is not the case, we should like to draw slightly on the stores of his encyclopedic knowledge of literature and literary men in all ages as exhibited in his papers, On Genius ; Bulwer and the Modern Novelists ; On care and condensation in writing ; On Literary Men ; Poetry and Utilitarianism ; Shakespear's Sonnets ; On literary fame and literary pursuits ; Imitative harmony ; The art of Reading, &c.

But we must content ourselves and our readers with the following selections from papers on subjects less purely "literary," though not less interesting. Here is a bit of prose-poetry descriptive of the human head and face divine, from an essay on "Physiognomy":—

How delightful is the study of the human head ! It is a mystery and a glory ! It at once perplexes the reason and kindles the imagination ! What a wondrous treasury of knowledge—what a vast world of thought is contained within its ivory walls ! In that small citadel of the soul what a host of mighty and immortal images are ranged uncrowded ! What floods of external light and what an endless variety of sounds are admitted to the busy world within, through those small but beautiful apertures, the eye and the ear ! Those delicately pencilled arches that hang their lines of loveliness above the mental heaven, are more full of grace and glory than the rainbow ! Those blue windows of the mind expose a sight more lovely and profound than the azure depths of the sea or sky ! Those rosy portals that give entrance to the invisible Spirit of Life, and whence issue those "winged words" that steal into the lover's heart or the sage's mind, or fly to the uttermost corners of the earth and live for ever, surpass in beauty the orient cloud-gates of the dawn ! To trace in such exquisite outworks the state of the interior is an occupation almost worthy of a god.

A paper on "the Old Year and the New" supplies the following sweetly solemn remarks on the most solemn of all earthly themes, *Death*:—

It seems one of the many strange anomalies of the human mind, that it should be so eager to anticipate the future, and yet shrink back with such repugnance from that consummation to which our progress so inevitably leads. We hurry forward as if the end of life were all that we could desire. The vast number and the sociality of our fellow travellers make us forget the goal of our pilgrimage. If any single individual were to feel that he alone in the countless crowd were doomed to certain death, at a fixed period, however remote, he would look forward with a feeling too horrible for words to paint. The uncertainty of each man's allotted time, and the community of our fate, make us less thoughtful and more contented. Though it is not precisely as the poet has observed, that

"All men think all men mortal but themselves,"

yet each individual believes in his own good fortune, and expects a long

lease of life. He flatters himself that he shall survive his associates; that he shall be the last called to the dread account. He has so often escaped before, that he quells every fresh alarm with the hope of a continuation of the same happy chances. The idea of death, as I have already explained, is received with so much difficulty by those who are conscious of the strong impregnation of life through their whole system, that the most trivial objects may call off their attention from the subject. Such is the power of a happy imagination and a healthy frame.

Were we embarked on a voyage to a hostile foreign shore, and knew our selves condemned to be stripped, tortured, and hung by savage hands, we should think the longest passage too short, and curse the swiftness of our vessel. A few pleasant islands in our course would not drive away the anticipation of the last port. But as we travel towards the narrow house to lie down in darkness and corruption, we are impatient of a moment's delay, and the great object in life seems to be to shorten its duration. It is a happy thing, however, that the mind is thus strangely constituted, and that we are able to close our eyes against unpleasing prospects and turn away our thoughts from the end of all things.

There is no period of the life of man so interesting as its close. A birth occasions less excitement than a death. A new-born human being is rarely an object of particular interest to any portion of mankind, except to those who have introduced him to the world; but the lowliest spirit that ever wore human clay is dignified in the eyes of all men at the final hour. Even the poor fleshly frame which once, perhaps, afforded food for merriment, or a mark for scorn's poisoned arrows, is then regarded with a profound and mysterious reverence. We enter the death-chamber of the rudest peasant with a slow and solemn step, as if we trod upon holy ground. A too abrupt or a too easy manner would seem a sacrilege. We stand near his simple coffin in religious silence, or speak in whispers, as if fearful of disturbing his awful slumber. All ordinary and familiar sounds are like a mockery of the eternal sleeper. His cold clay is hallowed. The mightiest of earthly potentates would approach him with respect. As he lies in his silent state, there is a strange power in his fixed and pallid lineaments. He is the representative of the majesty of death.

The golden portals of palaces fly open at the approach of the King of Terrors, as freely as the shepherd's wicker gate. Neither massy battlements, nor valorous guards, nor the power of the state, nor the prayers of the priesthood, nor the ingenuity of art, nor the magic of beauty, nor the might of genius, nor the holiness of virtue, can protect the domestic hearth from that general and relentless foe. His silent footstep giveth no warning. We know not when he may steal upon us. This uncertainty is an additional horror. We know when the trees are to wither and the flowers are to fade. We prepare for the approach of winter. But death has no stated season. He comes in youth and in age, in sickness and in health. He casts no shade before him. This mighty and mysterious visitor from an unknown world, is more terrible than the simoom of the desert. He blasts the greenest landscape of life at a single breath. Like a dread magician, he enters invisibly our most secret haunts, and strikes us to the ground with his unseen wand.

When the sense of our mortality comes heavily upon the heart, what a pitiful delusion is human life! We look around us on this busy scene, and echo the exclamation of the preacher that "all is vanity!" At such a moment a film is removed from our mental vision, "a change comes over the spirit of our dreams," and that which lately seemed serious and important, we discover to be vain and idle; while all that once charmed us becomes a

mournful mockery. We gaze with pity and with wonder upon those who are still labouring under the same delusion from which we ourselves have awaked; their laughter seems hysterical and their merriment hollow. The feeling in some degree resembles, though it greatly exceeds it in intensity, the effect of closing the ears to the music of a ball room and watching the movements of the dancers. It is recorded of an impassioned Italian poet that he could never look upon such a scene, even with its musical accompaniments, without laughing and shuddering at the same moment. With a similarly blended sentiment of the ludicrous and the sad, do we gaze upon life's giddy whirl, when the golden mist of enchantment evaporates from the scene. When the remembrance of death throws a shadow upon the soul and chills the blood, our only true consolation is the thought of Him who gave us life on earth and decreed that death should but usher us into eternal existence in a brighter and a better world.

And here, in conclusion of our extracts, are two scraps of pleasant writing on a subject more pleasant and regarded with more joyous anticipations than the one just treated of, though the delights of "Going Home" to dear old England should but typify our introduction to scenes of greater and more enduring beauty through the gloomy portals of the grave:—

When I re-visited my dear native country, after an absence of many weary years, and a long dull voyage, my heart was filled with unutterable delight and admiration. The land seemed a perfect paradise. It was in the spring of the year. The blue vault of heaven—the clear atmosphere—the balmy vernal breeze—the quiet and picturesque cattle, browsing on luxuriant verdure, or standing knee deep in a crystal lake—the hills sprinkled with snow-white sheep and sometimes partially shadowed by a wandering cloud—the meadows glowing with golden butter-cups and be-dropped with daisies—the trim hedges of crisp and sparkling holly—the sound of near but unseen rivulets, and the songs of foliage-hidden birds—the white cottages almost buried amidst trees, like happy human nests—the ivy-covered church, with its old grey spire "pointing up to heaven," and its gilded vane gleaming in the light—the sturdy peasants with their instruments of healthy toil—the white-capped matrons bleaching their newly-washed garments in the sun, and throwing them like snow-patches on green slopes, or glossy garden shrubs—the sun-browned village girls, resting idly on their round elbows at small open casements, their faces in sweet keeping with the trellised flowers:—all formed a combination of enchantments that would mock the happiest imitative efforts of human art. But though the bare enumeration of the details of this English picture, will, perhaps, awaken many dear recollections in the reader's mind, I have omitted by far the most interesting feature of the whole scene—the *rosy children loitering about the cottage gates, or tumbling gaily on the warm grass.*

As thus, after my long absence from England, I smoothly glided, as in a sledge, over the level iron road, with such ease and magical rapidity—from the pretty and cheerful town of Southampton to the greatest city of the civilized world—I gave way to child-like wonder and child-like exultation. What a quick succession of lovely landscapes greeted the eye on either side? What a garden-like air of universal cultivation! What beautiful, smooth slopes! What green, quiet meadows!

~~What rich~~ round trees brooding over their silent shadows! What exquisite dark nooks and romantic lanes! What an aspect of unpretending happiness in the clean cottages, with their little trim gardens! What an air of tranquil grandeur and rural luxury in the noble mansions and glorious parks of the British aristocracy! How the love of nature thrilled my heart with a gentle and delicious agitation, and how proud I felt of my dear native land! It is, indeed, a fine thing to be an Englishman. Whether at home or abroad, he is made conscious of the claims of his country to respect and admiration. As I fed my eye on the loveliness of Nature, or turned to the miracles of Art and Science on every hand, I had always in my mind a secret reference to the effect which a visit to England must produce upon an intelligent and observant foreigner.

Our task, a not unpleasant one, is now done. We have endeavoured, in the spirit of kindly criticism, to make the reader acquainted or better acquainted with the qualities of David Lester Richardson and his works in prose and verse, as exhibited and represented in this handsome volume of his own selected writings. We have sought to establish or improve this acquaintance, not by an elaborate disquisition adapted to display our own literary powers rather than those of the author under review, but chiefly by letting him speak for himself. We have the better reason for this departure from modern custom in the fact, mentioned in the outset of this article, that the qualifications of the poet and essayist have been discussed at very considerable length in an earlier number of the *Review*. We must submit to have this called a "paste and scissors article"—if any one shall be pleased so to stigmatise it,—content to think that it gives the reader a fuller and fairer idea of its subject than an equal or greater number of pages of the most elegant or eloquent prose from another pen could have presented. To conclude we will record a confession that must stand in the place of the elaborate peroration in which, under usual circumstances, our judgment on the *Literary Recreations* or the "Literary Labours" of D. L. Richardson would be summed up.—While looking over the seven hundred and odd pages of this goodly volume, searching with a critic's eye for beauties and defects, we have learned to think more favourably of the man and his works than we had aforesaid thought of him and them.

ART. VIII.—*A Manual of Surveying for India, detailing the mode of operations on the Revenue Surveys in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. Prepared for the use of the Survey Department, and published by the authority of the Government of India. Compiled by Captains F. Smyth and H. L. Thuillier, Bengal Artillery. Calcutta. 1851.*

SEVERAL years ago, we gave an account* of the great *Trigonometrical Survey*, which was then, and is now, being carried on in India. During the six years that have elapsed since the publication of our article on that subject, we have again and again thought of giving a similar account of the *Revenue Survey*,—a less imposing, but scarcely less important work. The appearance of the “Manual” of Captains Smyth and Thuillier, affords us a favorable opportunity of carrying this intention, at last, into effect: at the same time that it supplies us with much information, which will enable us to do much more justice to the subject than we could have done at any earlier period. We are therefore about to take a “Survey” of this “Manual of Surveying,” and to adopt it as the “basis” of our remarks on the Revenue Survey of India. There will be advantages attendant upon this method, of carrying on simultaneously our notice of the book, and our account of the operations to which the book relates;—but as there is no unmixed good, either in this world, or even in the microcosm of the *Calcutta Review*, it is probable that there may be disadvantages also. It will be for our readers, after the perusal of the present article, to strike the balance of good and evil.

We intend to discuss with all freedom the merits and demerits of the “Manual;” and at the same time, to give a general view, without condescending upon details and technicalities, of the objects of the Revenue Survey, and the methods adopted in conducting its several operations. The former object may be of some service to the students who are to make use of the Manual, and may, perhaps, not be without its use also to the authors or compilers of it; especially as we understand that the edition is already exhausted, and that a second will soon be required. If we at all succeed in the latter object, our reward will be the reflexion that we have suggested some new thoughts to our readers, and given them definite ideas, instead of vague ones, on some points on which it is well that

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IV, Art. 3.

intelligent men should be informed. Perhaps we are not the less likely to succeed in this latter object, from the circumstance of our belonging to that class, for whose instruction we write. It is probable, that we may be able to give them the information that they require, and in the form in which they require it, better than could be expected of a professional surveyor, who would with difficulty sympathize with the ignorance of his readers, would suppose that they must know more than they actually do of subjects with which he has so long been so familiar, and would be apt to imagine that the details, which are so important to the carrying on of the work, are fitted to be of more interest than they really are, to the ordinary laical reader.

It is very obvious that a service in which so many persons are employed, and in which so many and so various duties are performed from day to day, imperatively requires that there should be a book of this sort, to assist those who are intending to enter into the department, to qualify themselves for the duties that are to devolve upon them, and to assist those actually employed, in constantly improving their qualifications. But it is not only to the *employés*, actual or prospective, of the department to which the authors belong, that the book may be useful. A large class of civilians are officially required to come in contact with the survey operations, and to them the Manual will be indispensable. Moreover, there are multitudes of people in India, that have occasion, frequently, to execute surveys of roads, rivers or grounds. Every officer in the army *may*, at some time, be called upon to do so; every indigo planter, and indeed, every resident in the Mofussil, must frequently have occasion to survey fields and villages; and it may be greatly to his advantage to be able to do so correctly. To these classes, therefore, and probably to many others also, this Manual of surveying will be of essential use.

The Manual consists of five *parts*, and an appendix; and it will give some initial idea of the completeness and comprehensiveness of the work, if we just state the general titles of these parts. They are as follow: I. *Geometry and Trigonometry*. II. *Surveying instruments*. III. *On Surveying*. IV. *On the Khusrah, or native field measurement*. V. *Practical Astronomy, and its application to Surveying*. We proceed to notice these subjects in their order; dwelling at greater or less length upon each, as the intention of our article may direct.

The adage that "there is no royal road to mathematics," seems destined to acquire fresh confirmation from every attempt

that is made to simplify the elements of Geometry, beyond the point of simplification that they received at the hands of Euclid. We have had occasion to see several attempts of this kind, and none of them have struck us as being, in any considerable degree, successful. The one before us is as good as most of its predecessors, and no better. If therefore it were put forth with the view of answering the purpose of a full treatise on the elements of Geometry, to the supercession of Euclid, we should censure it as a failure. But as it is given with no such ambitious pretension, but only professes to contain a series of those propositions that are of most general use in survey operations, our censure is, in great measure, disarmed. It may well, indeed, be a matter of doubt, whether it would not be better in the long run to send all aspirants for employment in the survey department, directly to Euclid, and require of them that they should thoroughly master the first six books of his Elements. But as the authors must have come into contact with a large number of such aspirants, and must know well their talents and their opportunities of study, it is fitting that we should defer to their judgment, on a matter, regarding which they have so good means, and regarding which we have no means at all, of forming a correct opinion. Instead, therefore, of recommending that the geometrical propositions should be excluded altogether from the next edition, as we confess our own feelings would prompt us to do, we shall content ourselves with offering a few hints, by which the propositions, as they stand, may perhaps be made somewhat more useful to the students of the present edition, and which we are confident that the authors will receive in good part, and take into consideration, while preparing their next edition for the press.

There are few mathematical subjects that have given rise to a greater amount of discussion than the doctrine of parallel lines. It must be admitted that Euclid's method of treating the subject is neither so elegant nor so rigid as might be desired; but we are by no means certain that any of the methods proposed as substitutes are better than that which they are designed to supersede. The inelegance of Euclid's method consists in this, that for the purpose of proving the doctrine of parallel lines, he introduces a proposition (I. 16) which is immediately superseded and rendered useless, after that doctrine is established—a scaffolding which is not a part of the edifice, but is yet indispensable to the erection of it. Now the elegance of a train of geometrical reasoning consists in nothing more than in its introducing no such scaffolding, but in making

every proposition of permanent value, as part of the structure itself. The comparative want of rigidity consists in the assuming, as an axiomatic truth, a proposition which, to most minds, is not axiomatic (12. ax.), but seems rather to require demonstration. We are of opinion that Legendre has succeeded in establishing the doctrine of parallels in an unexceptionable manner, (although this is not the opinion of many mathematicians); but his method is confessedly of too abstract a nature to be available at the early stage of a mathematical course, at which parallel lines must be introduced. With this exception, we believe that all writers who have deviated from Euclid's method have, overtly or covertly, made some assumption of which the axiomatic nature may be questioned—as, for example, that the distance between parallel lines is constant—that two straight lines, parallel to the same straight line, cannot pass through any point—or that if one straight line be at right angles to each of two straight lines, every line at right angles to the one of these lines, shall be at right angles to the other.

The assumption made by our authors is, that the interior angles made on one side of a line falling upon two parallel lines, is equal to some constant quantity. This assumption is made tacitly, and then it is easily proved that this constant quantity must be two right angles;—as thus,—the interior angles on one side of the incident line, are either equal to, greater or less than, two right angles; but as the lines on one side of the incident line “are not more parallel than” their continuations on the other side of the incident line, the interior angles on both sides must be equal to, greater or less than four right angles, according as those on one side are equal to, greater or less than two: but these four angles are equal to four right angles, since they are two pairs of adjacent angles, made by one line standing upon another line: consequently the two interior angles are equal to two right angles. Q. E. D. Now every step in this demonstration is unexceptionable, provided we admit the tacit assumption on which it is based: but it does not appear to us that this assumption is at all admissible. We have stated that hitherto no attempt to dispense with some assumption has been quite successful: and it would be altogether unreasonable to look for a successful attempt in so unpretending a geometrical course as that before us: but we do think that our authors should avoid so violent an assumption as that we have pointed out, and that the students of the work should be warned what it is that they are required to admit.

In the course of our fault-finding “Survey,” we come next to the tenth theorem, which is thus enunciated, “*In any triangle*

A B D, the half of each side is the sine of the opposite angle." Now this is far too loose an enunciation. Of course our authors mean, that the half of each side is to the radius of the circumscribed circle, as the sine of the opposite angle is to the trigonometrical radius. But as this meaning, although implied in the demonstration, is not explicitly pointed out even there, the enunciation will almost certainly mislead the tyro, who will be almost sure to suppose that one of the sides, and not the radius of the circumscribed circle, is assumed as the trigonometrical radius.

We may also notice an error that occurs in the course of the demonstration of this theorem, in which it is said, that the *chord* of an arc is the measure of the angle which that arc subtends at the centre. And we may express our doubts, as to the legitimacy of the third corollary of the next theorem. The theorem is that of Euclid, "Straight lines which join the extremities of equal and parallel straight lines towards the same parts, are also themselves equal and parallel;" and the corollary is, "It is also plain that the opposite sides of a parallelogram are equal, for it has been proved that A B C D being a parallelogram, A B=C D, and A D=B C." Now, however true this conclusion be, it does not seem to us to be logically deducible from the premises. Because a particular figure has its opposite sides both parallel and equal, it does not seem to follow immediately, that every figure, which has its opposite sides parallel, has them also equal. The demonstration of the seventeenth theorem, which is Euc. vi. 1., is only applicable to the case of triangles, whose bases are commensurable. "Let any aliquot part of A B be taken, which will also measure B D." But what if A B and B D be to one another as the side of a square is to its diagonal? Where shall we get a line that shall be an aliquot part of the one, and shall also measure the other?

Having thus freely found fault with several of the demonstrations contained in this little sketch of the elements of geometry, it is but fair that we should state that several others seem to us very neat and ingenious. We would mention, for instance, the sixteenth theorem, which is Euc. III. 36, and which is very well demonstrated by the aid of proportion, which Euclid, of course, could not use in his third book. The twenty-first theorem (Euc. vi. 19) is also very neatly proved.

This may be the proper place to point out what, we conceive, ought to be introduced somewhere into the book, viz., a short treatise on the doctrine of proportion. We do not think that it ought to be taken for granted, that those, for whom so elementary a treatise is designed, are so familiar with this doctrine, as to be acquainted with the propositions, that if four

quantities are proportional, they are proportional also when taken alternately; and that the rectangle contained by the lines, which form the extremes of an analogy, is equal to the rectangle contained by the lines that form the means.

We pass over the chapter on logarithms, merely remarking that the explanation is sufficiently clear; but that the notation adopted for expressing the logarithm of a decimal fraction is inaccurate, the negative sign being put before the logarithm, as if it affected the whole of it, instead of being placed, as is usual, over the index, to shew that it affects it only. Also the rule for finding the logarithm of a number not in the tables is inaccurate.

Here also we would have had introduced a lesson on the method of subtracting, by adding the arithmetical complement of the number to be subtracted. We can testify, from large experience, the great saving of time, and diminution of the chances of error, that result from the constant use of this method, in extensive logarithmic calculations, such as must occur in the conduct of a large survey.

The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of this first part, headed respectively "*Trigonometry*," "*Mensuration of planes*," and "*Useful Problems in surveying*," are much fuller than the preceding chapters, and seem to us almost all that can be desired, in order to equip the young surveyor for a most important part of his work. He, who has any enthusiasm in his profession, will do well to make this part of the Manual his constant study. By modifying the problems in every possible way, and solving examples in numbers, both with and without logarithms, he will acquire such familiarity with the matter, both in its principles and its details, that he will be able, with some interest, to act in accordance with the rules which he thoroughly understands, and, if necessary, to depart from those rules, and act with confidence on his own judgment, in cases to which the rules are not applicable. Thus he will have the double advantage over his fellows, that he will take pleasure in the ordinary routine work, which is mere drudgery to them; while he will be fit for work which they are unable to perform, and for responsibility which could not be imposed upon them.

As our object is a thoroughly practical one, we may point out one or two things, which might, still further, improve this part. And first, we do not think that the ambiguity of what is called the ambiguous case in plane Trigonometry, is noticed with sufficient prominence. In the first place, it is stated, that "if any three parts of a plane triangle be given, (one part being a side,) any required part may be found by construction and calculation."

Now this, though of course generally true, is not so universally. The only allusion that we find to the ambiguity, is in an example when the subject is rather hinted at than explained. "In the triangle ABC, there is given $AB = 240$, the angle $A = 46^\circ 30'$, and $BC = 200$; to find the angle C *being acute*, the angle B, and the side AC." It may be quite true, that the surveyor in the field will generally know whether the angle to be calculated is to be acute or obtuse; but this will not always be the case: and even this advantage is sacrificed when the calculator and surveyor are different persons. The ambiguity ought, therefore, to be prominently brought to the calculator's notice, that he may be always on the look out for it, when he has to do with cases in which it may occur; otherwise, he will be liable to commit blunders, which may vitiate many results, and introduce into a whole survey, confusion that will not easily be got rid of.

We would suggest also, that the method of finding the angles of a triangle, when the three sides are given, by means of the proposition, $bc : (s-b)(s-c) = Rad^2 : Sin^2 \frac{1}{2} A$, ought not to have been omitted in such a treatise. It is so much more direct than the method of dropping a perpendicular, and is, moreover, so well adapted to logarithmic calculation, that it seems to us decidedly preferable to the other method.

The last of the problems seems to require a passing notice. It is, "*to determine the area of a piece of ground, having the map given, by weight.*" The method consists in drawing parallels on the map half an inch apart, and others at right angles to them. Thus the whole face of the map is divided into squares. Of these a certain number will be complete, and those through which the boundary passes will be imperfect. First, all the squares must be carefully weighed, any part of which contains any portion of the ground to be measured, and then all the portions of the outer squares that lie beyond the boundary must be cut off, and the remainder weighed. Thus the first weight will be to the second, as the area included within all the squares originally weighed is to the required area. But the first and second terms of the proportion are ascertained by the weighing; the third is known by the scale of the map, and consequently the fourth can be found at once. Now it appears to us that it would be much better, instead of destroying the map by crossing its surface with pencil lines, and cutting off its margin close by the boundary, to copy its outline through tracing paper on which the squares had been previously drawn, and then to proceed with the tracing paper as if it had been the map. The same tracing paper might be afterwards used for a smaller map. But we should imagine that it would be

quite sufficient, excepting for maps on a very small scale, to lay upon the map a sheet of transparent paper divided into squares of a quarter or an eighth part of an inch in the side, and simply to count the perfect squares, and then the imperfect squares, and add to the number of the former half the number of the latter, assuming that on an average the boundary would bisect all the squares that it cut. We do not think the error, that could result from this assumption, would be greater than that which might be expected to result from the most careful weighing, even with a fine balance. But if greater accuracy were desired, it might be secured by diminishing the sides of the squares on the tracing paper. If these were made a sixteenth, or even a twelfth part of an inch, no considerable error could be committed by estimating, in the way we have indicated, the quantity of land contained in a map, unless the scale of the map were very small indeed.

Part II. treats of "Surveying instruments." It gives clear and distinct explanations of the construction and use of the various instruments employed, and will be very useful to the surveyor. We know not any suggestion that we can offer for the improvement of this part; and therefore pass it over with only stating, that we have been much struck on its perusal, with the amount of ingenuity displayed in this humble but important branch of applied science. It is the boast of our jurists, that there is no injury that man can receive from the hands of his fellow-man, which the English law does not afford means of redressing; and we may say, that there is no purpose, which the surveyor, or the experimenter, or any body else, can desire to effect, which our instrument-makers do not provide him with an instrument for effecting. Our readers may remember the account we gave of the original commencement of the great trigonometrical survey, when the only instruments available were, a chain, that had been intended as a present to the emperor of China, and a transit instrument of a most rheumatic constitution. Now, it would appear from the description of our authors, that there is almost an *embarras de richesses*, and that the difficulty will not be, as then, to find an instrument that will do the work, or even to find one that will do it well, but to choose from all those that will do it well, the one that will do it best.

We have said, that we intended to offer no suggestion for the improvement of this part of the work; but it has just struck us, that to non-professional people like ourselves, its value would be considerably enhanced by the addition of a short chapter, "on substitutes for instruments," or what sailors

might call *jury instruments*. ~~It~~ is useful to the professional man to be able to measure an angle to the tenth part of a second ; but it is not without its use to the non-professional traveller to be told how, with the aid of a small shaving glass and a staff, or (if he be too anti-sybaritic to add these luxuries to the Napierian allowance of a "bit of soap")—by the aid of the back of a silver watch and a sword-scabbard, he may measure the height of an inaccessible object, within two or three feet. We are sure that Captains Smyth and Thuillier could very easily point out an abundance of such contrivances, to assist the pursuers of knowledge under difficulties.

The third part treats "of Surveying," and seems to us to be admirably executed. Our authors evidently know very well, that the excellence of a surveyor consists, not in genius or in any flashy characteristic, but in good talents, united with steady perseverance and constant pains-taking. They therefore condescend upon the minutest details in their instructions to the young surveyor, and urge constantly upon him the importance of doing every thing always in the best manner. From our notions of what a survey ought to be, we should say that the expression, "well enough," should be religiously excluded from the surveyor's vocabulary, and that it should be impressed upon him, that nothing is *well enough* done, if it be possible to do it better. There is never any saving of time, in the long run, by doing any work in a careless, and consequently inaccurate, manner. And in this department especially, the man who really does most work, is the man who does his work best, not he who gets over the ground with the greatest rapidity. The two following rules we venture to quote, as of very general application, not to surveying operations only, but to almost all the matters in which men are occupied :—

9th. The surveyor should never allow himself to get into the habit of making his observations, whether angles or bearings, in a careless manner, under the impression, that a small error in one observation, will, perhaps counterbalance itself in the next ; he will find it more profitable in the end, to make *ten* careful observations during a day's work, than a hundred careless ones. The same remarks hold good for chain measurements.

10th. No observation, memorandum, or note, should ever be recorded on slips of paper, and rejected, or be thrown aside as unimportant or useless ; it is too commonly the practice to do this ; but the time may come, when the surveyor would hail with delight the recovery of the remarks or calculations, however roughly noted, which he had before thrown away.

These are golden rules, and in proportion to the scrupulosity with which he adheres to them, or rather in proportion to the conviction, matured into an unalterable habit, which constrains him to adhere unconsciously to them, will be the surveyor's success in his work.

We can scarcely express too strongly our approbation of this part of the work. The instructions are full without being very tedious : and the surveyor, who ponders them, will be prepared to meet all the difficulties that are likely to arise in the course of his work, to surmount those that can be surmounted, and not to be delayed or discouraged by those that are the necessary result of the imperfection of the methods prescribed and the instruments employed, and which he is consequently not expected to surmount.

It is in this part that we get a full detail of the various operations that are carried on in connection with the revenue survey of India, an account of the extent of country that has been hitherto surveyed, of that which remains still to be surveyed, and of the cost of the survey, past and prospective. From the description given, it would appear that the methods adopted for carrying on the survey are of the best possible description. The great object is, by means of a good system of division of labour, to secure that no one be employed in doing aught that he is not qualified to do, and no one be employed in inferior work, who is qualified for superior. In order to effect this, it is of course necessary that a methodical and energetic mind should regulate the whole ; and such a mind we should suppose, from the "Manual," is the present head of the revenue survey, one of its authors. We can only give the most general notion of the mode in which the survey is conducted.

First of all the settlement officer, or revenue collector, is charged with the duty of marking out the boundaries of the Parganahs on the ground, and furnishing to the surveyor a rough sketch called a *Thak-bust*, or demarcation map. With this sketch in his hand a man goes round the boundary of the Parganah, fixing stations at its various points, and clearing the ground for the measurement of lines and the observation of angles from station to station. Another man, or set of men, are set to perambulate the boundaries of each village within the Parganah. All this is preliminary to the survey, properly so called. The revenue collector ought to be a year in advance of the surveyors, and the "line-cutters" must at least keep well ahead of them, so that no delay may occur. The surveyor's duty is then to run a line from station to station, and to ascertain the length and direction of every part of it. As this line cannot follow the windings of the boundary exactly, it is carried as near to the boundary as possible, within or without ; and offsets are measured to the boundary itself. Every measurement, whether of length or direction, is entered in a field book. When the surveyor has gone quite round the Parganah, and returned to the point whence he set out, it is evident that on transferring

all his lines to paper, in proportionate lengths and in the right directions, the plan ought exactly to "close," or the last line ought to end where the first began. This it will never do exactly, but it must do so within certain limits of error, and if these limits be exceeded, every effort must be made to discover where the error has occurred ; and, if these efforts fail, the work, must be done over again. If the amount of error be within the limits, it must be apportioned amongst the several lines and angles.

While the Parganah-boundary-surveyor has been going on with this process, several parties of village-boundary-surveyors have been performing precisely the same process with respect to the several villages within the circuit. It is evident that the work of each one of these surveyors also must "close" with itself ; and not only so, but the aggregate of the villages must just fill up the Parganah.

If the fields belonging to a village be tolerably large, and with moderately straight and well defined boundaries, it seems to be the duty of the village surveyor to measure and define them, and to fill up all the topographical information, necessary to give a complete view of the face of the country, its trees, its buildings, and its crops. This is done both by entry in the field book, and by the construction of what are called "chudder maps," which present a general idea of the character of the country. But if the fields be very small, and their boundaries very irregular, the survey of them is handed over to a native official, who conducts it in a much ruder way than that adopted in the main survey. This is called the *khusrah* measurement ; and, as it is always checked by the general survey, since the whole ground measured must always fill its boundary, it is sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes.

Such is the whole of the work performed in the field. Sufficient data are obtained for the construction of accurate maps of the district surveyed ; and the preparation of these maps is the duty of a portion of the establishment during the period when field operations are suspended by the weather. The survey department is required to furnish in duplicate a village map, on the scale of one mile to an inch, and a Parganah map on the scale of four miles to an inch, for every village and Parganah surveyed. These are constructed from the *chudder* maps and field books of the surveyors and *khusrah* measurers. These Parganah maps are again built up into Zillah maps on the scale of sixteen miles to an inch. It is also required of the department to construct for government all the maps that they may require for any purpose, civil or military, such as the records stored up in the Surveyor-General's office enable them to construct.

All this seems very ~~short~~ simple in the description ; but it is necessarily a tedious, and in many cases a difficult process. The village boundaries are so irregular, and the limits of error allowed are so small, that the surveyor requires to have all his eyes about him. As moreover a great part of the details of the work is done by natives who do not understand English, it may be conceived that the process of constructing a map from their field-books is not a very attractive amusement. " With such an extent of native agency (say our authors) as is employed on all the surveys in India, it is a great object to plot all work in the field. It saves an immensity of labour, and the chances of accuracy are greatly increased. By the aid of the drawing board much can be sketched in, and the first impression of a locality is not lost, but at once represented on the plan. Field-books kept by natives ignorant of English may better be imagined than described. It is always difficult for any surveyor to understand fully a field-book kept by another person ; but where novices on ten or fifteen rupees per mensem attempt to keep such records, and hurry on at the railroad pace of a revenue survey in the present age, we do not envy the person who has to protract from them. The native surveyor, who brings in his board well filled, displays at once what amount of work he has done ; and a superintending officer is able to see at a glance what confidence is to be placed on the topography so defined."

We have omitted to mention that another thing is necessary in order to make any of these maps complete, that is, the determination of the meridian line. For all that we have said hitherto, a map might lie in any direction ; but whenever the direction of any one line upon it is fixed, then the direction of the whole of the lines, and the proper bearings of every point, are ascertained. It is therefore necessary to ascertain the direction of the meridian line at some place within the district surveyed, or rather at several places, in order that one ascertainment may be a check upon the others. This is done in each Parganah survey by astronomical observations. For the village surveys, it is sufficient to ascertain it by the compass, allowing for variation.

We should also have stated that it is the duty of the survey department to calculate the area of each field, village and Parganah. In the North West Provinces these computations are the basis of the revenue settlement. In the Lower Provinces, where the permanent settlement obtains, this is not necessary ; but the survey is not the less useful in these provinces, as in its absence much of the land is apt to be lost

sight of altogether, small estates being swallowed up by large ones. Then when the Jumma or Revenue on these estates is not paid, and the estates are put up for sale, it is found impossible to put the purchaser in possession.

To give an idea of the extent to which the revenue survey in this presidency has proceeded, we cannot do better than present the following extract, which exhibits clearly both what has been done, and what remains to be accomplished :—

From the year 1822, when the Revenue Surveys first commenced, up to the year 1830, the rate of progress at which the operations proceeded was extremely limited. Only 3,020 square miles, a little more than half a square degree, had then been performed in seven years, with ten Officers employed in the department—the annual rate of progress of each Surveyor ranging from fifty square miles to 338 as a maximum: and at this rate it was estimated that, the area of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces being 310,000 square miles or 77 square degrees, would require 481 years to accomplish.* The Officers employed in those days, however, had little or no assistance; and the duties, performed then by the Revenue Surveyor himself, are now entrusted to competent assistants and sub-assistants, with large native establishments under them, whilst the Surveyor acts as a Superintendent over the whole as described in a former Chapter; the result of which has been, that during the last twenty years, or since 1830, the whole of the North-Western Province Districts, all Behar and Orissa, and a considerable portion of Bengal Proper, have been completed as detailed below† No less than 46 districts of unsettled estates, amounting to 101,519 square miles, and 13 districts of Bengal and Behar, perpetually settled

* Account of the present system of Survey, &c., by Captain Herbert, Deputy Surveyor General. Calcutta, 1830.

† UNSETTLED DISTRICTS SURVEYED.

1. Paneeput.	25. Banda.
2. Hurianah.	26. Allahabad.
3. Delhi.	27. Goruckpore.
4. Rohtuck.	28. Azimghur.
5. Goorgaon.	29. Jaunpore.
6. Suharanpore.	30. Mirzapore.
7. Mozuffurnuggur.	31. Benares.
8. Meerut.	32. Ghazeepore.
9. Booolundshuhur.	33. Jolun.
10. Allyghur.	34. Dehra Doon.
11. Bijnour.	35. Buttianah.
12. Moradabad.	36. Sohagpore.
13. Budaon.	37. Ramghur.
14. Bareilly.	38. Ajmere.
15. Phillibeet.	39. Mairwarra.
16. Shajehanpore.	39. Total N. W. P.
17. Muttra.	
18. Agra.	40. Pooree.
19. Furruckabad.	41. Cuttack.
20. Mynpooree.	42. Balasore.
21. Etawah.	43. Cachar.
22. Cawnpore.	44. Jynteah.
23. Futtehpore.	45. Chittagong.
24. Humeerpore.	46. Assam.

SETTLED DISTRICTS SURVEYED.

47. Midnapore.	54. Behar.
48. Hidgelee.	55. Purneah.
49. Hoogly.	56. Tirhoot.
50. Shahabad.	57. Maldah.
51. Sarun.	58. Bhaugulpore.
52. Patna.	59. 24-Pergunnahs.
53. Monghyr.	
	59. Total Surveyed

DISTRICTS UNDER SURVEY.

1. Rajshye.	5. Goalparra.
2. Beerbhoom.	
3. Baraset.	5. Total.
4. Mymensing.	

DISTRICTS FOR SURVEY.

1. Nuddea.	10. Dacca.
2. Jessore.	11. Dacca Jellalpoore.
3. Burdwan.	12. Backergunge.
4. Bancoorah.	13. Sylhet.
5. Dinagepoor.	14. Tipperah.
6. Moorshedabad.	15. Bulloah.
7. Bogra.	
8. Rungpoor.	15. Total.
9. Pubna.	

estates, yielding an area of 53,225 square miles, have thus been surveyed in detail and mapped, leaving twenty districts of Bengal, comprising 57,990 square miles, to be taken up, five of which are now in hand.

In addition to this, the newly acquired territory of the Punjaub and Cis and Trans Sutledge have come under the Revenue operations, and afford a fine field of employment for the department.

The total area of the British possessions in India, including Scinde, Punjaub, Jullundhur Doab and Tenasserim, has been carefully estimated at 800,758 square miles, and the Native States at 508,422 square miles, making a grand total of 1,309,200 square miles, as the area of British India. This vast superficial extent of territory is confined within a length of 11,260 miles of external boundary. The *inland* frontier from Tenasserim round by the Himalayan range of mountains to Cape Mouze in Scinde is 4,680 miles, whilst the *coast* line from Singapore round the Bay of Bengal, up the Malabar Coast to Kurrachee, is 6,580 miles. Of the Native States about 200,000 square miles are already surveyed, leaving about 308,442, almost all wild hilly jungle and of little value, to be taken up.*

To this we shall only add that about fifteen and a half lakhs of rupees have been already expended, and that the work still to be done may be expected to cost about eleven and a half lakhs—a very moderate sum certainly for the survey of such an immense empire, and better expended than many of the sums that go into the disbursement side in the financial accounts of many governments.

It may be well here to point out, that while the village maps can be built up with sufficient accuracy into a Parganah map, and the Parganah maps may even be joined without much inaccuracy to form a Zillah or district map, these last will not, without important modifications, fit into one another, so as to form a general map of India. All the operations of the revenue survey are conducted on the hypothesis that the earth is an extended plane. Now although this supposition will not deviate far from the truth when it is applied to a very small portion of the earth's surface, it will be altogether inaccurate when we have to do with a large extent of territory. Now as one very important object of the revenue survey is to fill up the outlines ascer-

* Of the Native States some of the following are the most conspicuous:—

<i>Estimated Area in Sq. Miles.</i>		<i>Estimated Area in Sq. Miles.</i>	
Oude, (Lucknow)	23,738	Bhopal	6,764
Mysore	30,886	Rewah	9,827
Hydrabad, (Nizam's)	95,337	Protected Seikh and Hill-States.	15,188
Joudhpoor	53,672	Oodepore	11,614
Gwalior	33,119	Sattara	9,061
Bhawulpoor	20,003	Kolapore	3,445
Golab Singh's Territories	25,123	Cutch	6,764
Berar, (Nagpore)	76,432	Kotah	4,339
Jeypore, &c.	15,251	Indore	4,467
Bickaneer	17,676	Travancore	4,772
Jeysulmeer	12,252	Ulwar	3,573
Baroda and Kattyawar	24,249	Bhurtpore	1,978
Jhansee	15,570		

tained by the great trigonometrical survey, to put sinews and flesh upon the colossal skeleton which that survey constructs, it is evident that all the results of the revenue survey must be subjected to a Procrustean process in order that they may be available for this purpose. This however is not, we believe, done in this country. If we mistake not, the district maps are transmitted to the Court of Directors, and undergo in London that transformation which is necessary to fit them for the duty they have to perform in affording the data for a correct map of all India. We may take this opportunity of noticing that the great trigonometrical survey is going on rapidly and successfully, and that we may hope ere long to see as complete a map of India as there exists of any country in the world. This will be a noble achievement; and although it may not be hailed with so much jubilation as attended the conquest of Scind, when the Governor-General told his "brethren and friends," that "*my* armies have resumed this province from Beloochí usurpation, and opened the navigation of the Indus to all the world;" or so much as attended the conquest of the country of the Koh-i-núr—yet will its consequences be highly important, and substantial glory will accrue to those by whose enterprise it will have been accomplished.

There is a vast deal of matter in this part that we must pass over without any notice. But we must make an exception in favor of the seven chapters, which have been contributed by "Baboo Radhanauth Sikdar, the distinguished head of the computing department of the great trigonometrical survey of India, a gentleman whose intimate acquaintance with the rigorous forms and modes of procedure adopted in the great trigonometrical survey of India, and great acquirements and knowledge of scientific subjects generally, render his aid particularly valuable." (Preface, p. viii.) These chapters are clear and accurate, distinguished by a severity of style which contrasts very favorably, in our estimation, with the somewhat inflated diction of a considerable portion of our English-educated youths, and which tends to confirm us in an opinion that we have long ventured to entertain, notwithstanding its being opposed by high authorities, that mathematical studies are well fitted to produce a salutary influence on the national mind in this country.

The fourth part of the manual is, as we stated at the outset of this article, on the *khusrah* or native field measurement. This measurement is resorted to in all cases in which the fields are very small and irregular, and is effected by a distinct class of men from those employed in the professional survey. Till a

short time ago, the only instrument employed by these Amins was a rod or rope; but many of them have lately been furnished by Capt. Thuillier with compasses, which enable them to estimate angles and bearings with tolerable accuracy. This must add greatly to the value of their work. These measurements are done by contract; and it seems to be admitted that the rates allowed are too small to enable any man to live by the trade. But the means of eking out a livelihood are not far to seek. It must have been to this class of officials that the facetious Panch Kouri Khan alluded, when he described the Campaswallas as demanding an offering each morning to propitiate the genius of the magnetic needle, and to make it traverse, in order to which a certain amount of silver was deemed indispensable. That there may be occasional instances of oppression on the part of the subordinates in the regular survey is very probable; but with them such instances are the rare exception. With the Amins they must of necessity be the rule. *Il faut vivre* is their motto. Now how is this state of things to be remedied? By increasing the contract rates, and enabling the contractors to live honestly? We know not whether this would not increase the evil. At present an Amin goes to a village, attended by his Mohurrir, his cook, his two rope-carriers, his peada, his chatta-bearer, &c.—in all perhaps a party of a dozen. This party he quarters upon the village until his work is done; and every member of the party has an implied license to make the most of his position. But double the Amin's income, and he will double the number of his attendants: and each attendant, being now the *attaché* of a doubly great man, will of course double his exactions, and so, we take it, these exactions will increase by a law as regular as that by which gravitation diminishes with the distance of the attracting mass, and will be directly as the square of the functionary's official income!

It must be acknowledged, however, that the Zemindars and village officials are to blame for a considerable part of this exaction. It is their duty to point out the boundaries of the fields, and to afford all needful aid to the Amin. But it would be a sad sacrifice of their dignity were they to respond to his call without a becoming delay of a week or a fortnight. Meantime the Amin and his party are kept waiting in idleness; and what then? *Il faut vivre*;—and then it is such a nice amusement for our idle men to gather a few rupees;—and then the villagers are all persuaded that the Amin has it absolutely in his power to increase or diminish their rents at his pleasure, by making his needle point in one direction or another;—and then—*il faut vivre*. Whereas on the other hand, if these village potentates

would enable the amin to set about his work at once, he would soon find it to be for his interest to finish his measurements with as much despatch as might be compatible with the required amount of accuracy, and to be off to the next village to repeat the same process there.

These exactions are however no laughing matter to the poor villagers, who if they could speak French would certainly answer the amin's *il faut vivre*—with a *nous ne voyons pas la nécessité*. But what can be done to prevent it? Oppression is the *genius loci*, the *dharma*, as our Bengali friends express it, of the land; and until this *dharma* be reversed, every man who has it in his power will oppress every man in every way that he can.

In this part there is an interesting, and somewhat amusing chapter on the standard, or rather the standards, of lincal and superficial measure in India. The following sketch is evidently taken from the life:—

In some of the local offices the standard measure is simply a matter of tradition, and, when applied for, the Nazir of the Court is directed to report on the correct length of the *hath* or *luggee*. This he does with the utmost simplicity by holding up his own arm, from the elbow to the tip of the little finger, sometimes adding that as he is a small made man, one, two, or four fingers' breadth must be added on. The Collector on this gives an order for a rooboocary to be sent to the Surveyor Sahib, to the purport of the standard in use in his District being "one *hath*, four fingers," and the *luggee*, or *russee*, being so many of such lengths. This vague and uncertain information, however, should not satisfy a surveyor. Such data for such a purpose are manifestly absurd, and yet it is daily in practice, in many districts in the Lower Provinces, where Amins are sent out to *investigate* into special cases connected with the Civil and Judicial Courts.

The fifth part of the manual is on "Practical Astronomy, and its application to surveying." It is contributed by Babu Radhanath Sikdar; and the remarks that we made on his other contributions to the volume are nearly as applicable to the one now before us. We should have liked a little more detail, and somewhat fuller explanations, which might have been given without materially increasing the size of the volume. Moreover, we have a decided preference for *reasons* over *rules*; and should have liked very much to have had the spherical triangles, to which the computations refer, exhibited to us, and explanations given of the mode of solving them, instead of merely directions to add the cosecant of one arc to the cosine of another, and to regard the result as double the tangent of a third. We have little doubt that the Babu would himself have preferred this method of doing his work, had he not considered himself precluded from adopting it by the space

allotted to him, or by the previous acquirements of his readers.

The appendix consists of several useful tables, to which it is not necessary for us to refer.

And now we have brought our review of this volume to a close, and have incorporated such notices as we thought might be generally interesting of the objects, methods and present state of forwardness of the revenue survey. We would only add in conclusion that it appears to us that it would be well, in the next edition, to divide the work into two volumes, which might be sold either together or separately. A long time must elapse before a man, who requires to study the first chapter of the first part, can have any occasion for much that is in the following parts; while many readers might start from a point far in advance of the beginning; and many of those who begin with the beginning can scarcely be expected ever to reach the end. If this recommendation be acted upon, we may add to it the suggestion that a short treatise on spherical trigonometry would form as appropriate an introduction to the second volume as that on plane trigonometry would form to the first. The introduction of such a treatise would give far greater freedom in the treatment of various matters relating both to terrestrial and celestial measurements.

We have now only to express our conviction that—despite the errors that we have pointed out in no cavilling spirit—the Manual of Surveying for India is a good and a seasonable book, reflecting much credit on its authors, and capable of being very useful to all persons employed in, or seeking to be employed in, the department for whose use it is specially intended, and to many others who are unconnected with that department.

NOTE BY THE EDITORS.

From a press of matter, although we have considerably exceeded our usual limits, we have been reluctantly compelled to postpone several Articles and Notices, intended for publication in our present issue. In connection with certain apparent discrepancies of opinion, we would request our readers to bear in mind the Eclectic character of the *Review*. By comparing, for instance, the first article of the present number, with former articles on "Our Judicial System and the Black Acts," on "The Penal Code," and "Revelations of the Police and Courts," they will obtain a much clearer view of what our Judicial System really is, than if we had advocated one side only, however ably.

